Atılım University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
English Culture and Literature

THE PROCESS OF IDENTITY FORMATION IN EXPATRIATES: BUCHI EMECHETA'S *KEHINDE*, ZADIE SMITH'S *WHITE TEETH* AND YASMIN CROWTHER'S *THE SAFFRON KITCHEN*

Ladan Amir Safaei

PhD Dissertation

Ankara, 2014

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ACCEPTANCE AND CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the thesis titled "The Process of Identity Formation in Expatriates: Buchi Emecheta's *Kehinde*, Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* and Yasmin Crowther's *The Saffron Kitchen*" prepared by Ladan AMIR SAFAEI satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The jury has [unanimously/~~by majority of votes~~] accepted the thesis upon her defense on September, 18th 2014.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work. I hereby confirm that I have granted permission to the Graduate School of Social Sciences at Atılım University to keep and file the paper-based or electronic copies of my dissertation in the following conditions:

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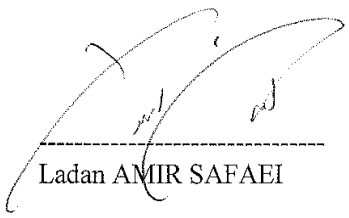

Ladan AMIR SAFAEI

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ÖZET

AMIR SAFAEI, Ladan. Göçmenlerdeki Kimlik Oluşturma Süreci*: Buchi Emecheta'nın Kehinde'si, Zadie Smith'in White Teeth'*i ve *Yasmin Crowther'*ın *The Saffron Kitchen*'i, Doktora Tezi, Ankara. 2014.

Bu tez, göçmenlerin kimlik oluşturma sürecini araştırmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışmada ispat edilmeye çalışılan husus göçmenlerin kimlik oluşturma sürecinin iki eşzamanlı aşamadan oluştuğudur. Bu aşamalardan ilki göçmenlerdeki kimlik oluşumunun doğuştan başlayıp ölüme kadar devam ettiğini (epigenetic) ileri sürerken diğeri kimlik oluşumunun kültürleşme (acculturation) süreci doğrultusunda şekillendiğini vurgular. Erik Erikson'un Epigenesis of Life Cycle (1963, 1968) teorisine göre insanlar kişisel ve sosyal kimliklerini doğdukları ülkede veya ebeveynlerinin etnik kültürü etkisinde oluştururlar. Ancak göç ettikleri ülkede, tamamen yeni bir ortamda, karşılaştıkları kültürel ve sosyal krizlerden dolayı, kimliklerinin sosyal tarafı değişikliklere maruz kalır. Göçmenlerin sosyal kimlik oluşturma sürecinde yaşadıkları ve kimliklerine yansıyan bu değişiklikler John W. Berry'nin kültürleşme stresi (acculturative stress) ve Paul Pedersen's yeniden yapılandırdığı Adler'in kültür şoku (culture shock) kavramları doğrultusunda incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, göçmenlerin kimliklerindeki değişken yapı ve onun sonucunda oluşturdukları kişisel ve sosyal kimliklerinin hayatları boyunca değişebileceği sonucuna varılmıştır.

Bu tez beş bölümden oluşmuştur. İlk bölümde, göçmenlerin kimlik oluşturma sürecinde önemli olan temel kavramlar ve teoriler açıklanmıştır. Daha sonraki üç bölümde bu teori ve prensipler, seçilen, tarih sırasına göre, Buchi Emecheta'nın *Kehinde*, Zadie Smith'in *White Teeth* ve Yasmin Crowther'ın *The Saffron Kitchen* eserlerindeki karakterlere uygulanmıştır. En son bölümde de göçmenlerin psikososyal kimlik oluşturma sürecinden nasıl geçtikleri ve kişisel ve sosyal kimliklerini nasıl oluşturdukları üzerinde varılan sonuçlar tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Göçmen kimliği, Epigenesis teorisi, Acculturation, *Kehinde*, *White Teeth*, *The Saffron Kitchen*.

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ABSTRACT

AMIR SAFAEI, Ladan. *The Process of Identity Formation in Expatriates: Buchi Emecheta's Kehinde, Zadie Smith's White Teeth and Yasmin Crowther's The Saffron Kitchen*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara. 2014.

This study aims to investigate the process of identity formation in expatriates. It is an attempt to prove that the process of identity building in immigrants is a dual process which is formed epigenetically and in accordance with the strategies of acculturation. In this dissertation, it is argued that individuals form their personal and social identities through Erik Erikson's theory of Epigenesis of Identity in Life Cycle (1963, 1968) either in their homelands or under the influence of their parental ethnic culture. However, in a totally new setting in the host country, due to the cultural and social crises that they encounter, the social side of their identity undergoes various changes. These diversions in the process of social identity development of expatriates is examined in line with John W. Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturative stress as well as Paul Pedersen's (1995) reformulation of Adler's concept of culture shock. Thus, immigrants' identity keeps its flux nature in all aspects of their life cycle as an outcome of which they are likely to shape their personal as well as social identities.

This study is composed of five chapters. In the first chapter, the focus is on the conceptions and theories that play crucial roles in the process of identity development of migrants. The following three chapters are an illustration of the validity of the theories and principles in the fictional characters in three novels chosen: chronologically Buchi Emecheta's *Kehinde*, Zadie Smith's *White Teeth*, and Yasmin Crowther's *The Saffron Kitchen*. The last chapter concludes how immigrants go through a psychosocial process of identity development and in what ways they develop their personal and social identities.

Key words: Immigrant identity, Epigenesis Theory, Acculturation, *Kehinde*, *White Teeth*, *The Saffron Kitchen*.

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INTRODUCTION

Many people in the world have either by force or voluntarily migrated from their place of birth to start a new life in a totally new environment in the same country or somewhere out of their homelands. The reason behind their migration can vary, as some might be looking for a better opportunity in terms of work or education, while some others flee their homeland in order to save the lives of their families and themselves due to fundamental changes in political, economic, or social conditions of their homelands. As the immigrants generally migrate together with their cultural heritages to the new environment that is mainly different from their own, they might suffer from adaptation problems that to some extent shake their sense of belonging and identity.

Whatever the reason might be, these displaced people may undergo various emotional fluctuations as well as confusions in the new environment since on the one hand, they are uprooted from their origin, separated from the people they know, and are disconnected from all familiar social and cultural practices, and on the other hand, they are expected to become familiar with the social and cultural practices of the new land or environment and get adapted while developing a new personal and social identity.

Identity formation in any individual is a psychosocial process (Erikson, 1963, 1968; Abram and Hogg, 1990; Korostelina, 2007; Phinney, 1992; Schwartz, 2001; Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones, 2006: Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1982; Van Dijk, 2009; Worchel, Morales, Paez, and Deschamps, 1998). In other words, it is both situated within an individual which makes it personal (psychological), and it is shaped within the social constructs of a society which makes it social. Personal identity denotes personal attributes such as ideals, beliefs, values, roles or occupations that people are categorized or treated accordingly, while social identity comprises of such properties as group membership, consciousness of culture and other social representations.

Erikson (1963, 1968) claims that the process of identity formation in individuals follows the eight stages of his Epigenetic Theory which starts before birth and continues until death. On the other hand, immigrants undergo a double-staged process in forming their identity. That is, either first or second generation, the displaced people are born in a different culture and/or grow up with their native culture; thus, they form their primary identity through their parental education and culture. However, when they encounter a new social setting that is totally different from what they have already learned and experienced, they undergo a new identity crisis as a result of which they feel compelled to re-form their identity in line with the new culture and its practices. In order to build their ultimate identity, they need to experience identity crises in all stages of their life cycle and pass through stages of acculturation. Thus, upon re-emerging from the crises they form, deform, and reform their identity to achieve a final form of identity that might be salient for the time they might be spending in their new abode.

Since the main issue to be discussed in this dissertation is the process of identity formation in expatriates, this study will be an attempt to prove that the personal aspect of immigrant identity is epigenetic, while the social aspect of it is formed both epigenetically and in accordance with the strategies of acculturation.

The methodology that will be used to show this process will be Erik Erikson's theory of Epigenesis of Identity in Life Cycle (1963, 1968), John W. Berry's Acculturation Strategy (1997) and Paul Pedersen's formulation of Adler's concept of culture shock (1995).

Many scholarly studies conducted in line with Erikson's theory, Berry's strategy, and Adler's concept of culture shock have mainly used quantitative methods of research with real data and individuals from certain ethnic and cultural background. However, what makes this study a distinct research is the application of these theories on fictional characters in various novels with diverse backgrounds. Although it might be claimed that fictional characters are not real entities, and they are the reflections of their writers, in this study all the writers are also the descendants of immigrants, so it can be suggested that the identity of their fictional characters encompass both the

characteristics of the writers' home culture as well as the features they have adopted in the new setting.

To illustrate the identity development and the process of acculturation of immigrants, three novels written by three novelists with diverse backgrounds are chosen. The first novel- *Kehinde* published in 1994 by Buchi Emecheta is one of the outstanding fictions of the 20th Century. In many of her novels including *Kehinde*, Emecheta portrays the condition of women in society to depict their struggle with sexual politics, traditional and racial prejudices, and the process of identity development in immigrants. The second novel is Zadie Smith's masterpiece *White Teeth* published in 2000 which has brought her many awards. In this novel, the focal point of Smith, who is born to a Jamaican mother and British father, is the identity crises experienced by immigrants in the multicultural British society. The last novel is *The Saffron Kitchen* written in 2006 by Yasmin Crowther, a novice British- Iranian author. What Crowther emphasizes in this novel is the identity development of displaced people.

As for the background of the novelists in the fictions chosen, it can be emphasized that there is a difference between the half Iranian and half British writer- Yasmin Crowther- and the other two authors. While Emecheta and Smith belong to the first and second generation of the immigrants from the colonies of Great Britain, Crowther is not from a colonial background. Although the novels by Emecheta and Smith can be categorized as postcolonial novels due to the writers' and the characters' background, the one by Crowther can hardly take its place among postcolonial writings as Iran has never been a colony of Britain. This choice has intentionally been made in order to avoid the misconception to assess this study as a postcolonial one. As the main aim of this analysis is to focus on the process of identity development in expatriates, the colonization factor is not taken as a measure in this dissertation.

What these novels to be analyzed in this study have in common is the idea of displacement and identity development. Although the destination of all the characters in the novels is Britain, the homeland in each novel is geographically disparate. That is, while *Kehinde* is based on a displacement story of a family from Nigeria, in *White Teeth*

the main characters are from a Muslim background in Bangladesh, and the last novel *The saffron Kitchen* is a story of immigration from Iran.

This study will be composed of five chapters. In the first chapter, the focus will be on the conceptions that play crucial roles in the process of identity development of migrants. Firstly, the concepts of identity and the processes of identity development will be defined with reference to Eriksonian Theory of Epigenesis of Identity. In addition, the concept and stages of acculturation as well as the social and cultural features that have vital impact on the process of identity development of expatriates will be explicated in accordance with Berry's Strategy of Acculturation. Also, Adler's concept of culture shock reformulated by Pedersen will be used as a framework to determine how displaced people build up their identities. Finally, the types of identity as the outcome of the process of identity development in immigrants will be illuminated.

The following three chapters will be an illustration of the validity of the theories and principles in the three novels chosen. The analysis will be limited to the process of identity development of only primary migrant characters in the novels. Dividing the process of identity development into three parts, firstly the childhood period and identity formation in this stage will be taken into consideration in all three novels. The focus of the second part in each novel will be upon identity development of adolescents. In the final section of each novel, the period of adulthood will be examined.

Although Erikson does not put forth a clear-cut age range for separating the childhood, adolescence and adulthood periods, for a sound analysis in this study an approximate range is determined for each period. As for the first stage of childhood, the period between birth and the age eleven is designated; the adolescence period is limited to the ages between eleven and eighteen, and for the final phase of adulthood, the age range from eighteen until death is determined.

The last chapter will conclude that immigrants go through a psychosocial process of identity development. This process comprises of the eight stages of epigenetic development of personal and social identities as well as developing a social

identity that is formed in line with Berry's Acculturation Strategy and Pedersen's reformulation of Adler's culture shock.

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CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Identity is one of the rare thought provoking concepts that can be traced back to Antiquity with the famous words inscribed in the temple of Apollo at Delphi "know thyself" (Worchel, Morales, Paez, and Deschamps, 1998: 1). While once it was merely the concern of psychology, philosophy and religion, in recent decades it has gained popularity in many other scientific disciplines such as humanities, anthropology and sociology.

The concept of identity has been studied from different aspects and has been defined in many different ways. Erikson (1963, 1968), and later Deschamp and Devos (1998) define identity as a concept of self which is both personal and social. It is personal as it is situated within a person, and it is social since it is shaped within social constructs of society (Worchel, Morales, Paez, and Deschamps, 1998: 2). While the personal one internally exists within an individual, the social one can have a flexible nature and to some extent undergo changes with the developments that would take place inside the individual or his/her surroundings.

Adams and Marshall assert that identity provides "(a) the structure for understanding who one is; (b) meaning and direction through commitments, values, and goals, (c) a sense of personal control, (d) consistency, coherence, and harmony between values, beliefs and commitments, and (e) the ability to recognize potential in future possibilities and choices" (Serafini and Adams, 2002: 364-365). In Eriksonian terms, identity refers to "something noisily demonstrative, to a more or less desperate 'quest', or to an almost deliberately confused 'search'" (1968: 19). Yet, there are other formulations to understand the term more clearly.

The encompassing nature of identity is explained by resembling it to a "matreshke" or an onion (Korostelina, 2007: 59). Korostelina points out that in the last decades, identity is defined as a system in "onion model" which consists of circles. In this set of circles, the most important parts of identity are placed in the internal layers while the less important ones are in exterior parts (2007: 59). However, in opposition to the onion model, Worchel and his colleagues put forward a totally different explanation for identity which focuses on its multiple and interdependent nature. They claim that identity is based on the idea that a person's behavior can be influenced by several identity forms at the same time. They insist that identity consists of several components like individual or personal characteristics, intragroup or membership characteristics, and intergroup categorizations or comparisons that generate intergroup identity (Korostelina, 2007: 62).

The identity model explained by Worchel and his colleagues (1998) confirms the dynamism in the nature of identity that is mentioned by Erik Erikson. Erikson assures that identity has a dynamic and flux nature, so it may evolve during the course of a person's lifetime both as a function of direct experience of the self and the world and perception of the reactions of others to the self (Erikson, 1968: 24). Briefly, identity cannot be formed overnight as it is a matter of process, and it needs time. In addition, as it has an interdependent nature, to form a clear concept of self or identity, on the one hand, a person needs to evaluate the ideas and beliefs that he/she develops within the framework of his/her personal views, and on the other hand, he/she needs other people's views about his/her attitudes. Eventually, people form their self-concept by evaluating both of these internal and external factors so that they come up with a certain idea of identity in a specific time period. As Worchel and his colleagues (1998) and Erikson (1968) assert, this concept of self is not the final form of identity as it may change under different circumstances during life time, and as Erikson claims, identity can never be established as an "achieved identity" (1968: 23-24). In addition, Van Dijk states that "an identity is not merely something one gradually adopts, grows into, etc. but also something one must 'learn' that is, social knowledge" (2009: 72).

Van Dijk maintains that "people construct not only a personal Self, but also a social Self as a member of-various- groups, and that intra-and intergroup perception and

interaction depend on these socially shared identities of people who categorize themselves as group members" (2009: 71). Thus, he believes that beside attributed identities such as roles or occupations that people are categorized or treated accordingly as a part of their personal Self, when acting or speaking as group members, the properties of social identity "such as specific abilities, knowledge and other social representations shared by the group" can become activated in them (Van Dijk, 2009: 72). In brief, "identities are (also) decontextualized abstractions, but they may be ongoingly specified, applied, used or 'performed' – and hence changed- in unique ways in specific situations, as is the case for all general knowledge" (Van Dijk, 2009: 72).

As for the process of identity building, Erikson asserts that this process is two-fold: the first is "located in the core of the individual" the second, "in the core of his communal culture" (1968: 22). He points out that in psychological terms

> identity formation employs a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him. (Erikson, 1968: 22-23)

What Erikson tries to emphasize is that the initial way to form one's self-concept passes through a comparison between ingroup and outgroup and evaluation of each group's criteria for judgment. That is, every individual perceives and shapes his/her own identity in line with the rules and constructs of his/her own group called ingroup. However, when it comes to judging an outgroup member, again he/she uses the typology of ingroup. Thus, as Erikson (1968: 22-23) puts it, the personal judgment of an ingroup individual is based on two levels. Firstly, he/she judges and analyzes how outgroups judge him/her by comparing him/her to themselves in accordance with their own criteria (outgroups). Secondly, the ingroup member judges and evaluates the way outgroup members criticize him using their own 'ingroup' criteria which do not

correspond with his/her ingroup criteria. At the end of this process of judging and evaluating, the individual forms his/her identity.

Erikson believes that individuals do not complete their physiological growth, mental maturation and social responsibility until their adolescence period. He claims that individuals either physically or mentally experience identity crises in all phases of their growth (1968: 91). To Erikson, these crises are the critical confusions in the lives of individuals that lead them to form their identities for certain periods.

Identity crisis, a term coined by Erik Erikson, is not as fatal as it sounds to be. The word crisis does no longer connote catastrophe as it used to be several decades ago, but it designates a necessary "turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential, and therefore, the ontogenetic [from embryo until adulthood] source of generational strength and maladjustment" (Erikson, 1968: 96). It is, in fact, a moment when development must move one way or another, bringing forth the resources of growth, recovery, and differentiation (Erikson, 1968: 96). To him, the individual should have developed physiologically, mentally, and socially in order to get over the crisis. Following these crises, the identity finds a form that will decisively determine later life.

Erikson argues that a human being re-emerges from his inner and outer conflicts "with an increased sense of inner unity, with an increase of good judgment, and an increase in the capacity 'to do well' according to his own standards and to the standards of those who are significant to him" (1968: 92). The phrase 'to do well' points out cultural relativity that can refer to acquiring possessions, learning new skills and knowledge, getting along well, conforming and rebelling (1968: 92). To him a healthy personality should develop cognitively and socially. That is, the person should master his environment, should show a certain unity of personality, and should perceive the world in a correct way (1968: 92). The ultimate form of an individual's identity can be built up through this process.

To examine the process of identity development in individuals, Erikson's views on the epigenetic principle is of great significance. In Eriksonian terms, personality

development is parallel to epigenetic principle or growth of organisms in utero. In this system, every organism has a ground plan, and “out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole” (1968: 92). The maturation of an organism highly depends on the pre-described "locomotor, sensory, and social capacities” (Erikson, 1968: 93). Erikson emphasizes that all these organisms or critical items of psychosocial growth are systematically related to each other, and there is need for a proper sequence in their development. However, it should not be ignored that all these items have existed in some form prior to their critical time (Erikson, 1963: 271).

Erikson assures that each organism confronts a critical time or a crisis through which it should pass. He puts forth the idea that “each successive stage and crisis has a special relation to one of the basic elements of society, and this for the simple reason that the human life cycle and man’s institutions have evolved together” (Erikson, 1963: 250). In other words, during the process of personality or identity development, together with personal experiences, an individual is in need of a reasonable and trustworthy guidance “to obey inner laws of development, laws which create a succession of potentialities for significant interaction with those persons who tend and respond to him and those institutions which are ready for him” (Erikson, 1968: 93). As a result, one’s personality develops “according to steps predetermined in the human organism’s readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with a widening radius of significant individuals and institutions” (Erikson, 1968: 93). Although Erikson does not claim that all developments appear after a series of conflicts and crises, he emphasizes that “psychosocial development [is] proceed[ed] by critical steps- ‘critical’ being a characteristic of turning points, of moments of decision between progress and regression, integration and retardation” (1963: 270-271). Briefly, an individual develops his/her psychosocial evolution both internally and externally. Thus, identity formation can only be accomplished by establishing a bridge between physical and psychological growth as the inner part and the social growth as the outer part of this development.

Erikson divides the process of personality development of individuals into eight stages. Although there are estimated age limits for each stage, Erikson does not give a certain age line for the start of each stage as it may depend on various factors. He

believes that during psychosocial development, in order to develop his/her identity, each individual passes through eight stages of life in which he/she may experience several other crises. Aftermath of each crisis that he/she re-emerges from, he/she steps into a new stage, and finally forms his/her identity that may be open to new crises. This encountering between the inner and outer worlds starts from birth, when a baby leaves the familiar environment of the womb to meet the social setting in his/her culture.

As Erikson (1963, 1968) states, the first stage starts from birth and continues nearly up to the eighteenth month. During this period every individual experiences the first conflict in trusting the social environment. Erikson puts forth the idea that during infancy, the infant who is not familiar with the social environment, develops a sense of trust for the caregiver or the mother while being fed. Experiencing a feeling of continuously being cared for or being shown affection by this familiar figure, Erikson believes, strengthens trust in the caregiver or the mother who is an outer social being. Thus, the infant develops a sense of identity through which he/she correlates his/her anticipated inner sensations of being a trustworthy person with the outer familiar, same, continuous, and predictable things and people such as the mother or the caregiver (1963: 247-248). He also asserts that any frustration in enduring this feeling results in mistrust in the outer social environment (1963: 247- 251, 1968: 94).

Like Erikson, the Attachment Theory formulated by John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth in 1991 puts forth the idea that the child's tie with his/her attachment figure and "its disruption through separation, deprivation, and bereavement" may influence the child's development (Bretherton, 1992: 759). That is, they claim that early family relationships have important impacts on the personality development of a child.

While Bowlby mainly focuses on parent-child separation which is an important event that would be effective in a child's personality development, Ainsworth's theoretical basis is launched upon security development that highlights the importance of developing a secure dependency between the parent and the child to contribute to the child's getting ready for the unfamiliar situation out of the home's secure environment (Bretherton, 1992: 760). To them the frequent substitution of the attachment figure may result in inability in making a long term relation in future (Bretherton, 1992: 763). On

the other hand, Cassell in his Object Relation Theory points out that upon separation of an individual from his/her mother, the individual can develop a healthy unitary self only when he/she can substitute the mother figure with another significant figure who in a healthy atmosphere gives his/her gentle care toward the individual (Cassell, 2001: 4). Briefly, mother or caregiver is the milestone in identity formation of children during childhood period.

Allen, Hauser and Spurell for their part claim that the role of attachment figure is not limited to the childhood period. They contend that in adolescence and adulthood periods, the individuals may fail "to participate in satisfying social relationships and to appropriately understand and evaluate social interactions" (1996: 254). By referring to Bowlby, Allen, Hauser and Spurell maintain that the feeling of insecurity in this period might also "lead to biased or negative expectations of oneself or others in interactions (1996: 255). It is due to this insecure feeling that both adolescents and adults have difficulty in psychological, physical/biological, and social/environmental adaptation (Allen, Hauser, and Spurell, 1996; Erikson, 1968). Allen, Hauser and Spurell also assure that unresolved attachment organizations in the adulthood period might have a basis on the previously experienced trauma or loss in the history of the person (1996: 254). Thus, separation or deprivation from an attachment figure may have a long-lasting influence throughout the life cycle of a person.

The second stage is the period of early childhood between the ages of two and three. This, Erikson claims, is the period of toilet training or anal behavior. In this period, children strive to succeed in establishing their autonomy and exercising their free will, and when they fail to succeed, they develop a sense of shame and doubt.

According to Erikson, shame is a self-conscious feeling which shows "one is visible and not ready to be visible" (1968: 110). Erikson assures,

> There is a limit to a child's and an adult's individual endurance in the face of demands which force him to consider himself, his body, his needs, and his wishes as evil and dirty, and to believe in the infallibility of those who pass such judgment. Occasionally, he may turn things

> around, become secretly oblivious to the opinions of others, and consider as evil only the fact that they exist: his chance will come when they are gone or when he can leave them. (1968: 111)

In this stage, the child may develop a psychotic tendency to discriminate or estrange himself/herself. He/she obsessively desires to see things as they are instead of appropriating them wilfully. That is, when he/she is ashamed, he/she may display two alternative attitudes, either he/she becomes apologetic and afraid to be noticed, or he/she "may find sanction and ritual in the shameless defiance of gangs" to regain and retain his/her autonomy (Erikson, 1968: 111-112).

Doubt, on the other hand, is the dark continent which can be invaded by others as a kind of attack to the autonomy of the child. This doubt can both come from outside as well as from inside. In Eriksonian terms, the external doubt can be defined as "paranoiac fears concerning hidden persecutors and secret persecutions threatening from behind" (1968: 112). Self-doubt, the internal form of doubt, can be seen in the form of swearing at one's self or at others, together with a feeling of being dirty and messy.

Therefore, the relation and regulation between the adult (attachment figure, mother, or caregiver) and the child is vital. The mother as the outer source has to let the child practice his/her autonomy and free will to achieve self-esteem, otherwise the child would reveal an aggressive, hateful self-insistence or self-restrained attitude against the outer control (Erikson, 1963: 273, 1968: 94-109).

Erikson also maintains that parents can only convey or transfer what they have experienced in their own lives to their children. Thus, if the parents have lived an autonomous and dignified life, their child can easily develop a sense of independence, autonomy and trust; however, when the parents fail to grant these feelings to their children, these children may undergo a lasting sense of doubt and indignity that might result in their frustration in marriage, work, and citizenship (1968: 112). Erikson, asserts that this quest for autonomy may continue in later stages of a child's life since it is connected to emancipation or liberation from the mother/parents, and he claims that

"most rebellious youths can also regress partially (or sometimes wholly) to demanding and plaintive search for a guidance which their cynical independence seems to disavow" (1968: 114). In other words, although adolescents strive to attain their independence or autonomy, occasionally they feel the need of parental support which is seen as regression in their process of identity development.

In connecting these two senses of trust and doubt with social institutions as the social part of psychosocial identity development, Erikson claims that religion is one of the institutions that trust is related to, and this feeling also to some extent is associated with the principle of law and order which triggers the sense of rightful dignity, lawful independence, and justice that might even be practiced in later stages (1963: 254).

The third stage in which the child experiences feelings of initiative and guilt covers the ages from three to five, called preschool period. During this period the child is full of curiosity and he/she tries to explore the things happening around him/her, and also in this period he/she masters his/her lingual ability to question everything. With the help of locomotion and language he/she becomes able to enhance his/her imagination without being fearful. Therefore, in order to find out what kind of a person he/she will become, he/she needs to develop his/her sense of initiative by practicing his/her autonomy both at home and outside (Erikson, 1968: 115).

Parents play a great role in this period as the child mainly identifies himself/herself with his/her parents "who most of the time appear to him[/her] to be powerful and beautiful, although often quite unreasonable, disagreeable, and even dangerous" (Erikson, 1968: 115). The reason why parents may seem unreasonable, disagreeable and dangerous is that, the child is in a continuous struggle for autonomy, so he/she strives to keep the rivals out and he/she develops a sense of jealous rage and anticipatory rivalry both against his/her siblings as well as parents who were the ones that benefited from the privilege of taking initiative first (Erikson, 1968: 118-119). This jealousy may be echoed in the relationships with the peers as well.

In the process of identity development of the children, parents' parenting styles are also influential. Among other parenting styles, Baumrind focuses on the two

important styles of parenting which are called authoritative and authoritarian. To him, in authoritative parenting a mother or father

> …attempts to direct the child's activities but in a rational, issue-oriented manner. …[The parent] encourages verbal give and take, shares with the child the reasoning behind [his/]her policy, and solicits …[the child's] objections when he [/she] refuses to conform. Both autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity are valued... Therefore, … [the parent] exerts firm control at points of parent-child divergence, but does not hem the child in with restrictions. …[The parent] enforces [his/] her own perspective as an adult, but recognizes the child's individual interests and special ways. The authoritative parent affirms the child's present qualities, but also sets standards for future conduct. …[The parent] uses reason, power, and shaping by regime and reinforcement to achieve [his/] her objectives, and does not base [his/] her decisions on group consensus or the individual child's desires. (Baumrind, 1966: 891)

On the other hand, authoritarian parenting style is a more strict manner that is used to "shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of the child in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority" (Baumrind, 1966: 890). Through this style, the parent

> values obedience as a virtue and favors punitive, forceful measures to curb self-will at points where the child's actions or beliefs conflict with what [he/]she thinks is right conduct. [He/]she believes in keeping the child in his/her place, in restricting his/her autonomy, and in assigning household responsibilities in order to inculcate respect for work. [He/]she regards the preservation of order and traditional structure as a highly valued end in itself. [He/]she does not encourage verbal give and take, believing that the child should accept [his/]her word for what is right. (Baumrind, 1966: 890)

Darling and Steinberg (1993) assure any parenting is used for the socialization of children into dominant culture, and the influence of different parenting styles "varies depending on the social milieu in which the family is embedded (487). Nevertheless, one thing for sure is that through parenting styles parents strive to "help children and adolescents develop an instrumental competence characterized by the balancing of societal and individual needs and responsibilities" (Darling and Steinberg, 1993: 487). Therefore, children primarily build up their personal and social identities through their parents' parenting styles.

In this stage of their lives, both girls and boys develop a sense of curiosity in their sexuality and sexual roles which result in their developing "the prerequisites for masculine or feminine initiative and, above all, some sexual self-images which will become essential ingredients in the positive and negative aspects of …[his/her] future identity" (Erikson, 1968: 118). Games are other means through which children at this age reveal their sense of initiative. While playing outside, the child is in a position to do well, enjoy the competition, insist on its goals, and taste the pleasure of conquest (Erikson, 1968: 118-119). However, his/her internal conflict starts when he/she feels he/she is not able to dominate the house, thus, experiences a sense of inadequacy and loss of autonomy at home which might result in developing a sense of inferiority.

In order to overcome this frustration and regain autonomy, the proportion of intoxicated imaginations increase, and a sense of guilt starts in the child. This sense is defined by Erikson as a strange sense that implies a crime or wrong action that is committed by the individual. To Erikson, it is "a strange sense, for it seems forever to imply that the individual has committed crimes and deeds that were, after all, not only committed but would have been biologically quite impossible" (1968: 118). Erikson also claims that the sense of morality and conscience which are the social parts of the psychosocial identity of a child develops in this period. Through a feeling of guilt, on the one hand, the child becomes a potential danger for himself/herself as he/she hears his/her inner voice and blames himself/herself for his/her excessive imagination and guilt, and on the other hand, he/she develops hatred toward his/her parents who are the initial models and executors of conscience. As a result of this inner and outer conflict, for the child "morality can become synonymous with vindictiveness and with the

suppression of others" (Erikson, 1968: 119-120). Furthermore, this stage can be the initial stage to store the potential destructive drives that may re-emerge when provoked in subsequent stages.

In pre-school age, children may be subjected to corporal punishment in order to be trained. Parents or caregivers may tend to use corporal punishment to ensure that the child has perceived the importance of the message given to them clearly (Donoghue, 2005: 80). In other words, corporal punishment may be "considered a culminating form of the communication of anger to be used when other forms have failed to elicit the desired response" (Donoghue, 2005: 80). However, children's perception of corporal punishment is much different from that of the adults. Holden and West argue that it is between the ages of five and seven that children start to use their logic verbally and mentally. This neurological growth enables the children to "understand, at least partially, adults' reasons for demanding compliance with specific rules and to negotiate meaningfully about these demands (qtd. in Donoghue, 2005: 80). Donoghue also emphasizes that children during five and seven years of age learn to develop a sense of interaction with other children and instinct to protect themselves out of familiar circumstances. Thus, they try to apply and practice this ability with their peers at school, with their siblings at home and with their friends in play context (Donoghue, 2005: 81).

The fourth stage in the life cycle starts at about the age of six and ends at about twelve, and in this stage the child experiences industry and inferiority. This, in fact, is the school age when the child has to cope with new social and academic demands. Following the third stage of initiative, the child avidly experiences a sense of sharing "obligation, discipline, and performance with …[his/her] peers, and in this period …[he/she] eagerly identifie[s] …[himself/herself] with …[his/her] teachers and the parents of other children, and even with the older children in …[his/her] environment" (Erikson, 1968: 122).

In addition, he/she tries hard to get literate on technological tools, especially through toys, and he/she masters social experience at school by experimenting, planning and sharing. Academic skills that are quite new to the child may bring his/her own goals, limitations, achievements and disappointments. Thus, experiences in

technological tools and technical skills develop his/her sense of industry (Erikson, 1968: 122-123). As a result, when the child achieves success in producing things, he/she feels as a productive unit who may gain recognition in society, however, failure in productive process makes the child develop a sense of inferiority in the eyes of others, and a feeling of maladjustment that stems from his/her parents' failure in making him/her ready to this new stage (Erikson, 1968: 123-124). To Erikson, identity formation

> arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption in a new configuration, which, in turn, is dependent on the process by which society (often through subsocieties) identifies the young individual, recognizing him[/her] as somebody who had to become the way he[/she] is and who, being the way he[/she] is, is taken for granted. (1968: 159)

What Erikson asserts is that youngsters' identity formation is a dual process that not only depends on their own reformation of childhood identifications through harmonizing them with the societal requirements, but also on the way they are identified, accepted, and recognized by the society. If society recognizes the youngster as the one who arouses displeasure and discomfort, the community suggests or partially forces him/her to change in a desirable way to develop good will which may seem to the youngster as doing something or being someone that is not himself/herself anymore (Erikson, 1968: 160). However, when the child resists this suggestion, then he/she is labelled as being inferior (Erikson, 1968: 160). Thus, the concept of 'fittedness' in society is dependent on the values and expectations of society that the child or the adolescent needs to match with his/her personal expectations and identifications.

As previously stated, teachers are the ones whom children frequently identify themselves with in this stage. Erikson puts forth the idea that if the teacher does not emphasize the positive skills or capacities of a child and does not recognize a psychiatric problem in a child, that child may directly develop a sense of inferiority through which he/she would feel he/she will never be "any good" (Erikson, 1968: 125). In this way, the child estranges himself/herself and this estrangement may influence

his/her sense of identity to remain undeveloped, and also, it remains in him/her for long years, even in his/her work and family life in future.

Erikson concludes that this stage is socially the most decisive stage in the identity development of a child. For one thing by the end of this stage, a child passes from childhood to latency period as Freud calls, thus, "all the earlier drives re-emerge in new combination," and on the other hand, the child is expected to reach a sense of competence in "technological ethos of a culture" (Erikson, 1968: 126). Consequently, either a child develops his/her identity as a person of tasks with "a strict sense of duty in doing what one is told to do" or a person who performs the task through his/her natural tendency and personal insights as the one who finds out what he/she must do by doing what he/she likes (Erikson, 1968: 126).

The fifth stage of Eriksonian life cycle starts at about the age of twelve and lasts until the individual becomes eighteen. This transitional phase between childhood and adulthood periods, called adolescence, is the turning point in the identity development of a person when he/she practices role-confusions to form his/her identity. In this stage, the young person questions all his/her previously experienced confusions and crises in childhood, and for the first time he/she attempts to form his/her initial form of identity. The duality or confusion that he/she experiences is partially dependent on how he/she perceives himself/herself, and how others judge him/her (Erikson, 1968: 128). Erikson asserts that young people "are sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the ideal prototypes of the day" (1968: 128). These crises are defined through the two dominant concepts of identity and role confusion.

Erikson also contends that the process of ego identity or personal identity formation is "more than the sum of the childhood identifications" (Erikson 1963: 261). He assures that prior to establishing a final form of personal identity in this phase of their lives, through appointing "perfectly well-meaning people to play the roles of adversaries," the youngsters are in need of "a moratorium for the integration of the

identity elements ascribed in the foregoing to the childhood stages" with the new opportunities offered in social roles (Erikson, 1968: 128, 1963: 261).

Erikson defines moratorium as a period when the young adult "through free role experimentation may find a niche" (1968: 156) in his/her society to stay with himself in order to integrate all the ideological, social, and moral values of childhood to the ethical values in adulthood (Erikson, 1963: 262-263). In fact, it is a period of delay for the juveniles who are not ready to meet the obligations and commitments that will be transferred to them by society. Erikson ascertains that the psychosocial moratorium is more than a delay, and it "is characterized by a selective permissiveness on the part of society and of provocative playfulness on the part of youth" (1968: 157). As Erikson puts it,

> the adolescent process, however, is conclusively complete only when the individual has subordinated his[/her] childhood identifications to a new kind of identification, achieved in absorbing sociability and in competitive apprenticeship with and among his age mates. These new identifications are no longer characterized by the playfulness of childhood and the experimental zest of youth: with dire urgency they force the young individual into choices and decisions which will, with increasing immediacy, lead to commitments 'for life.'" (1968: 155)

That is, in this period the youth needs to revise all the previously learned values, skills, and knowledge and reorganize them according to the present situations. Erikson (1968) maintains that if the moratorium ends up in the young adult's realizing that the confusions that he/she has faced are only foolish transitory role confusions, then the commitment has been successfully completed, and the adolescent becomes able to form his personal identity in a sound way. Thus, his/her re-emergence from moratorium leads him/her to gain a status that may become a milestone in his/her identity formation. However, at the end of the moratorium period, some teenagers may fail to commit to the forceful demands of society as a result of their own drives, desires or emotions. In this case, the adolescents fail to commit to these compelling desires, so they might tend to

reveal delinquent attitudes which manifest the role confusion that would impede their process of identity development (157-158).

During the process of identity development in adolescence, peers play a critical role in the identity development of individuals. Schools are the first social environment in which the youngster learns to build communication with his/her peers. In adolescence, the relationship between peers is much different from the relationship between adolescents and their parents due to the fact that there is no coercive pressure between them, and they freely choose their friends among the individuals who share common behavioral attitudes and identities (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93). What is apparent in this process of peer identification is that membership to a peer group contributes to the social identity development of adolescents, and enhances their self-esteem. However, when adolescents are rejected by their peers, they tend to lose their self-esteem, and live a lonely and depressed life (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93). Thus, peer influence in the adolescence period might be either positive or negative.

Through adolescence period, teenagers become "able to use formal logic" and they "experience sexual feelings" which result in change in their behaviors towards their parents (Donoghue, 2005: 82). That is, they seek for more independence and authority to be free to make their own choices. In this period, adolescents might overestimate their reasoning skills which might result in serious dispute and fight for dominance between them and their parents who believe "their almost-adult children want nurturance and need protection" (Donoghue, 2005: 82). This bilateral challenge over gaining dominance and respect gives rise to adolescents' facing parental aggression, but "adolescents resent authoritarian approaches to solving disputes. "They also dislike being disciplined as if they were small children" (Straus, 2009: 36). If adolescents are subjected to corporal punishment, Straus believes that, this punishment has a lasting damage which is likely to "evoke anger, humiliation, alienation, and depression" (2009: 38). In case of failure in retaining a healthy relationship with their parents, adolescents "might be kicked out of their homes prematurely or being subjected to parental tyranny" (Donoghue, 2005: 83).

Revising the dilemmas and crises that the adolescent has experienced in the last four stages, in the adolescence period, individuals are confronted with a sense of estrangement that is called identity or role confusion. In other words, through this stage, the adolescent seeks to figure out if "the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a career" (Erikson, 1963: 261-262). This confusion may result from various previous experiences as doubt in one's ethnic and sexual identity, or sense of inferiority and hopelessness in respect to forceful parental role assignment (Erikson, 1968: 132). These crises may sometimes have destructive results. As Erikson puts it,

> …[confused youngsters] temporarily overidentify themselves, to the point of apparent complete loss of identity, with the heroes of cliques and crowds. This initiates the stage of 'falling in love,' which is by no means entirely, or even primarily, a sexual matter – except where the mores demand it. To a considerable extent adolescence love is an attempt to arrive at a definition of one's identity by projecting one's diffused ego image on another and by seeing it thus reflected and gradually clarified. (1963: 262)

The young adults may display different forms of running away. This escape may be in the form of "dropping out of school, leaving jobs, staying out all night, or withdrawing into bizarre and inaccessible moods" (Erikson, 1968: 132). Additionally, they primarily reject all peers, elder friends and advisers who ignore the confusion that they suffer from in this phase of their lives. To Erikson, these youth "can become remarkably clannish, intolerant, and cruel in their exclusion of others who are 'different' in skin color or cultural background, in tastes and gifts, and often in entirely petty aspects of dress and gesture arbitrarily selected as the signs of an in-grouper or out-grouper" (1968: 132). Thus, what they mainly care for in this period is categorizing or stereotyping the people around as the ingroups and outgroups, and "test each other's capacity for sustaining loyalties in the midst of inevitable conflicts of values" (Erikson, 1968: 133). By the end of categorization and testing, youths come to a sense of trust in

their ingroups and discriminate their outgroups that will ease their reemerging from confusion.

Although Erikson highlights the two statuses of 'ego identity achievement' and 'identity diffusion' which are the two polar alternatives in this period, Marcia, in his Identity Status Theory, asserts that the identity statuses that individuals define themselves upon depend on the degree they have explored and committed to the outcoming identity status (1966: 551-552). In other words, two variables of crisis and commitment are to be considered as critical factors to assess an individual's identity status.

Marcia's theory defines the four statuses of identity in adolescence. To him, an achieved identity is formed when an individual passes through a crisis and makes a decision among the choices he/she has had in his/her own terms. This identity can either be a variation of his/her parental wishes or beliefs or simply a newly formed identity that has been formed after the individual comes into a resolution after re-evaluating the residual and host cultural practices. As Marcia asserts, neither the changes in the environment nor the unexpected responsibilities would confuse the individual (1966: 552).

One of the intermediate statuses that Marcia defines is moratorium status. In this status, contrary to identity diffusion, the individual at least has a commitment though it is vague. He/she is positioned in the middle of a crisis in which he/she should choose among his/her parents' wishes, societal demands, and his/her own capabilities. From time to time he/she gets bewildered of being trapped in unresolvable questions (Marcia, 1966: 552).

The other intermediate status is foreclosure in which the individual has experienced no crisis in his life. Although he/she might have goals, there is no distinct line between his/her goals and the goals that his/her parents have assigned for him/her. He/she might have an unchangeable and rigid personality; however, in certain conditions when his/her parental values become nonfunctional, he/she might undergo a feeling of extreme threat (Marcia, 1966: 552-553).

In identity diffusion, the hallmark of an individual is his/her lack of commitment whether experiencing a crisis or not. There is an apparent uncertainty in making a choice, so the decision of an individual might alter upon any change in circumstances. The individual seems neither willing to make choices, nor does he/she attempt to put himself/herself under a commitment to do so (Marcia, 1966; 551-552). In brief, the statuses of identities of individuals might vary under different circumstances. There is no order in the position of these statuses as none has a priority over the other. Thus, each status can become salient in a certain period, and once- salient status might lose its efficiency in other stages of one's life circle.

After adolescence, there comes the sixth stage called young adulthood period which appears nearly after the age of eighteen until forty. Erikson calls this stage 'beyond identity' and what he means by this term is the period of identity crises that appear after adolescence period. In this phase, adults experience intimacy and isolation.

Arnett claims that the period of very early years of adulthood, when the adults are between eighteen and twenty-five, can be defined as "emerging adulthood" which is neither adolescence nor adulthood (2000: 469). He asserts,

> Emerging adulthood is distinguished by relative independence from social roles and from normative expectations. Having left the dependency of childhood and adolescence, and having not yet entered the enduring responsibilities that are normative in adulthood, emerging adults often explore a variety of possible life directions in love, work, and worldviews. Emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life's possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course. (Arnett, 2000: 469)

After the young adult emerges from the identity crises that he/she lives in adolescence, he/she becomes ready for intimate relations. Erikson defines intimacy as "the capacity to commit himself[/hersef] to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to

develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises" (1963: 263). Intimacy is counterpointing and fusing of identities. One part of this intimacy consists of sexual intimacy which is a need for someone else "be it in friendship, in erotic encounters, or in joint inspiration" while the counterpart of this intimacy is called 'distantiation' or isolation (Erikson, 1968: 135-136). The young adult who is sure of his/her identity in that period may develop a deep intimacy and a successful relationship that would be satisfying for him/her. Through intimacy, the young adult can experience genitality fully, and with his/her genital combat he/she seeks to find his/her true identity (Erikson, 1963: 264). Erikson defines genitality "as a permanent state of reciprocal sexual bliss" (Erikson, 1963: 264).

However, when an adult whose identity is not well-developed experiences intimacy, he/she can hardly accomplish intimacy as a result of which he/she retains a sense of isolation due to the immoral relations that he/she has lived (Erikson, 1968: 135-136). In this situation, the adult feels impelled to reject or isolate "those forces and people whose essence seems dangerous to one's own" (Erikson, 1968: 136). Thus, he/she develops a prejudiced attitude through which he/she views "all outsiders with a 'fanatic overvaluation of small differences'" (Erikson, 1968: 136). It means, when an adult finds out that the people with whom he/she has started an intimate relationship are different from himself/herself, he/she develops a dangerous sense of superiority over them and in line with his/her struggle for identity, he/she cruelly differentiates the familiar from the foreign. Erikson asserts that isolation in this stage may lead to character problems in young adults (Erikson, 1963: 266).

The seventh stage in the life cycle that starts at about the age of forty and lasts until sixty-five is middle adulthood period. In this phase of life, an individual reaches a period in which he/she practices his/her generativity. Erikson defines the term generativity as a period in which adults guide the next generation, and to do so they focus on their productivity and creativity (1968: 138). Either parenting a child or creating innovative changes for the benefit of others may help them overcome the generativity crisis in this stage.

Although generally it is believed that children are dependent on their parents, Erikson asserts that in this period, the dependence of older generation on the younger ones should not be ignored (1963: 266-267). That is, having completed his/her evolutionary development, a middle-aged adult becomes "the teaching and instituting as well as the learning animal" (Erikson, 1963: 266-267). In other words, middle-aged adults are also in need of guidance and encouragement to learn new things from the younger generation while they are still in charge of guiding and supporting them. Thus, generativity is essential in psychosexual as well as psychosocial development.

Erikson maintains that some young parents either due to their childhood impressions, their faulty identifications with their parents, their individualistic personality, or their lack of faith hesitate to have children and to provide true care for them (1968: 138). Should an adult in this stage fail to achieve generativity, "regression to an obsessive need for pseudo-intimacy takes place, always with a pervading sense of stagnation, [boredom] and personal impoverishment" (Erikson, 1963: 267).

The last stage in the life cycle is after middle-adulthood period and is called maturity. After experiencing triumphs and frustrations all through his/her life, in this stage, the fruit of his/her previous stages ripens. The individual looks back at his/her life and feels ego integrity and fulfilment. Erikson defines ego integrity as "a post-narcissistic love of the human ego –not of the self- as an experience which conveys some world order and spiritual sense, no matter how dearly paid for" (Erikson, 1963: 268). The mature person lives only his/her life cycle that is only a segment of history, and he/she develops his/her integrity by his/her culture or civilization. In this stage he/she is ready to fight against all economic and physical threats in order to defend his/her integrity (Erikson, 1963: 268). Ego integrity cannot be accrued only due to the fear of death. It reminds the mature person that his/her life cycle is getting completed and the time is too short for an attempt to find an alternative road for integrity (Erikson, 1963: 269).

In line with the explanation of the eight stages of life cycle, it can be restated that Erikson emphasizes the significance of personal growth and communal change, and he assures that they are inseparable in identity formation, and identity formation can be

conceptualized as a kind of psychosocial relativity which dynamically moves between "the psychological and the social" (Erikson, 1968: 23). Thus, Erikson claims that in order to form one's identity, one almost always counts on both one's "self- constructed dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and personal history" as well as parameters set by cultural context (Erikson, 1968: 24). To elaborate, as Schwartz puts it, identity is a synthesis of personal, social, and cultural self-conceptions (2001: 7). As can be apparently seen in the previously explained stages, identity formation is a process of evolution.

The process of identity development that the immigrants follow in the new setting is a similar process that the immigrants have once passed through while forming their initial identity in their homelands or under their parents' indigenous culture. In other words, after immigrants move into a new environment, once more they go through the same process of identity formation in line with Eriksonian epigenetic stages of identity in life cycle. However, there are some important aspects that should be considered. Firstly, in this new context, the immigrants do not necessarily experience identity crises in the same order. Furthermore, while some expatriates might experience all the previously mentioned crises in the process of identity development when they are displaced, some others might experience a few of them, and finally, the order of the crises they might live, may not necessarily be seen in the same order as explained in the eight stages of life cycle.

Thus, in this part of the study, the focus will be on the conceptions that play crucial roles in the process of identity development of migrants. In the following part, firstly, the concept of acculturation or contact between the two cultures will be defined within the framework of Berry's Strategy of Acculturation. Later, through the stages of acculturation, the social and cultural features that have vital impact on the process of identity development of expatriates will be explained. In addition, Adler's concepts of culture shock reformulated by Pedersen will be elaborated to determine how displaced people maintain their identities. The types of identity as the outcome of the process of identity development in immigrants will be illuminated afterwards.

In cross-cultural psychology, it is believed that the identity of dislocated people display "some complex pattern of continuity and change" in the new environment (Berry, 1997: 6). What the cross-cultural psychologists focus on is the idea that in a new setting, the immigrants, who have already established their identities in line with the culture in their homes, try to get adapted to the new cultural context of the host country. Thus, there starts a contact between the already existing culture of an immigrant with the newly encountered cultural practices of the host society.

As the focus of this study is on the changes in behaviors and cultures of individuals through the process of identity development in a new setting, the concept of acculturation, not transculturation, is used in this dissertation.

Gibson defines the term acculturation as "the process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact" (2001: 19). One thing to be considered is that acculturation is long-term and gradual (Berry, 2005: 698-699; Rai and Panna 2010: 19-20). Berry (2005) assures that acculturation is more of a collective process than individual. That is, the changes that result from the contact between two individuals or groups are dual as they might influence the person/group both psychologically and culturally (698).

Primarily, together with the process of acculturation, there starts a manifestation of acculturation or cultural changes in the behavior and attitudes of the individuals which reflects the psychological side of the process. With reference to his previous studies, Berry assures that "these changes can be a set of rather easily accomplished behavioral shifts (e.g. in ways of speaking, dressing, eating, and in one's cultural identity) or they can be more problematic, producing acculturative stress as manifested by uncertainty, anxiety, and depression (2005: 702). On the other hand, the changes may appear in "the social structures, institutions and in cultural practices" which are defined as collective/group or cultural acculturation (Berry, 2005: 698). It can be concluded that, while acculturation process may echo a collective or group change which would indicate the change in cultural patterns of a specific group, psychological acculturation manifests the idea that not all individuals may reveal the same changes as they may not have been acculturated to the same degree.

By referring to the definitions of Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, Berry emphasizes that acculturation is a neutral term and by the end of the process the people of both cultures may be influenced, yet in practice, one side is more acculturated and experiences more changes (1997: 7). As a result of this process, the people who have changed more are likely to be defined as 'minority' or the people with less dominant power while the ones who undergo fewer changes in their attitudes and cultural patterns are recognized as the 'majority' (Berry, 1997: 7) or dominant group.

The issue of how immigrants are acculturated is also an important topic. Berry asserts that either dominant or non-dominant groups pass through a dilemma as to what extent they should maintain their cultural view or whether they should keep contact with and participate in other cultural practices (Berry, 1997: 9). For entering the process of acculturation, each and every immigrant needs to, personally, encounter a new environment and notice the differences. During all the stages of acculturation, the immigrants seek to find a way to re-form their identity. There are several strategies of acculturation that immigrants maintain to establish their identities. Berry (1997) sets his strategies of acculturation as: assimilation, integration, marginalization and separation (8).

To Berry's model of acculturation strategy which is explained as a U-form strategy (1997; 2005), displaced people do not only show an attempt either to preserve or reject their heritage culture, but there are some intermediate statuses of partial acceptance or refusal of the culture of home or host. That is, while in some circumstances they experience high levels of acculturation, in other instances, the levels of acculturation is at its minimum.

The two extreme strategies that Berry defines are separation and assimilation. According to these two strategies, the immigrant chooses only one of the cultures that he/she has come to know in his/her life: either his/her home or the host culture. In line with separation strategy, a non-dominant member clings to his own cultural background so that he/she rejects any changes in his attitudes or behaviors in line with the practices of the dominant culture (Berry, 1997, 2005). These individuals cherish the cultural baggage that they have brought with them and ignore the cultural values of the society

of settlement. The other extreme strategy is assimilation. It is a stage that may occur when a non-dominant member of a cultural group does not wish to maintain his cultural identity, so he/she seeks for an interaction with the culture of the dominant group. "Here individuals prefer to shed their heritage culture and become absorbed into the dominant society" (Berry, 2005: 705). That is, by getting alienated toward their residual culture, individuals become able to adapt to the new society entirely.

Apart from these extreme strategies, an immigrant may develop some degree of cultural integrity or a total denial of the two cultures that he/she has come to know. These strategies are integration and marginalization. In cases where the individual on the one hand maintains his/her residual culture and on the other, seeks for partial interaction with the cultural practices of the dominant groups, integration process becomes visible. In this phase, individuals are in the position to value both native and host cultures simultaneously. The other intermediary strategy in acculturation called marginalization emerges when the non-dominant member neither pursues his/her cultural identity nor is interested in participating in the dominant culture's practices (Berry, 1997, 2005). The individuals, who adopt a marginalist approach, display an unconcerned attitude toward both home and host culture.

It should be emphasized that all these strategies may occur only in the process of acculturation of non-dominant groups when they are under no pressure or limitation in getting acculturated. In addition, while some of these strategies can come into existence at once, in some cases, the expatriates may or may not experience any of them at all.

As this study aims to analyze the identity formation in expatriates, only psychological aspects of acculturation will be discussed here. Berry highlights two concepts of behavioral shift and acculturative stress in order to conceptualize the outcomes of acculturation (2005: 707). He argues that behavioral shifts that observe individuals' behavioral repertoire "take place rather easily and are non-problematic" (Berry, 2005: 707-708). However, the problematic part of acculturation is explained with the concept of acculturative stress which refers to the time that individuals experience greater levels of cultural conflict. Berry states that "in this case, individuals understand that they are facing problems resulting from intercultural contact that cannot

be dealt with easily or quickly by simply adjusting or assimilating to them" (Berry, 2005: 707-708). Thus, to figure out the stress that results from acculturation and the way immigrants try to cope with it, there is a need to examine the acculturative stress and its outcome that immigrants experience following their entry and settlement into the new setting.

Berry's concept of "acculturative stress" is an alternative term for Adler's "culture shock." The reason why Berry refuses using the term 'culture shock' is the negative connotation that it has; therefore, he replaces the term with 'acculturative stress' that, in psychological terms, connotes both positive and negative aspects of stress as acculturation might refer to both positive and negative sides of change in individuals' attitudes (Berry, 2005: 708; Pedersen, 1995: 8). Adler defines culture shock as

> …an important aspect of cultural learning, self- development, and personal growth. The problems and frustrations encountered in the culture shock process are important to an understanding of change and movement experiences, and that such transitional experiences can be the source of higher levels of personality development. Implicit in the conflict and tension posed by the transitional experience lies the potential for authentic growth and development. (1975: 15)

Oberg describes culture shock as "an adjustment to a new culture following the loss of social and individual identity, identity crisis, and social discomfort" (qtd. in Korostelina, 2007: 118). Pedersen also defines "culture shock as an internalized construct or perspective developed in reaction or response to the new or unfamiliar situation. As the situation changes in unexpected directions, the individual needs to construct new perspectives on self, others, and the environment that 'fit' with the new situation" (Pedersen, 1995: vii). Pedersen claims that culture shock is

> …(1) a process and not a single event, (2) may take place at many different levels simultaneously as the individual interacts with a complex environment, (3) becomes stronger or weaker as the individual learns to cope or fails to cope, (4) teaches the individual new coping strategies

> which contribute to the future success, and (5) applies to any radical change presenting unfamiliar or unexpected circumstances. (1995: vii)

Thus, each individual's response to culture shock is subjective and personal, and it might result in various attitudes when it recurs. Pedersen maintains that individuals may show various reactions while experiencing a culture shock. He expresses the immigrants' reactions in confronting with cultural shock in five different stages.

Pedersen contends that culture shock indicates "a progression of attitudes regarding one's self and others from a lower to a higher level of development" and it starts with a "higher stage of fascination, adventure, optimism, or excitement" (1995: 26). During the first stage called "honey moon" as the immigrant has just arrived at a new place, he/she shows excitement and curiosity in the new culture and he/she is eager to keep contact with another culture. In this phase, the immigrant's identity is rooted deeply in his/her home culture (Pedersen, 1995: 3), and he/she seeks to enjoy the commodities and facilities that the new setting has provided for him/ her. As he/she is not aware of the challenges that the new context might be creating in future, he/she tends to focus on the similarities between the two cultures. In this stage, the displaced person is likely to get adapted psychologically and culturally (Berry, 2005: 699).

As immigrants are highly amazed by the diverse cultural practices in the new settlement during the 'honey moon' period, they show a tendency toward adapting to the environment predominantly through mimicry. Berry (2005) maintains that mimicking is entirely related to the process of acculturation. He claims that as acculturation is a long-term process, in time, the members of diverse cultures come to form "mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations" (699). Thus, in order to get adapted to the conditions in the "culture-contact settings" these individuals from different cultures start "learning each other's languages, sharing each other's food preferences, and adopting forms of dress and social interactions that are characteristic of each group" (Berry, 2005: 699-700). As a result, through mimicking, the non-dominant members of a society might imitate the cultural practices of the host land in order to get adapted to the norms.

One of the decisive aspects in mimicry is food that manifests the difference in cultures which might influence identity formation. To Scholliers, although eating is a biological act, in its core it bears more than that. He argues that food can be identified with a broader set of values such as class, religion, culture, ethnicity, occupation, identity and age (Scholliers, 2001: 5-9). Thus, food can be considered as a stimulating factor in developing cultural identity, and an individual's choice for the food to consume is a way to reveal a sense of belonging to or internalization of a specific culture that the person has chosen.

The difference between the language of home and host is also a stimulating factor that leads to identity crisis in expatriates which can be overcome through mimicking the host culture in this stage. As language can become an aspect in discriminating people as ingroups and outgroups, immigrants show a tendency to adopt the language in the host country in order not to be alienated (Wardhaugh, 1986: 100). That is, during the "honey moon" stage, immigrants who are fascinated with the opportunities in the host culture, strive to mimic the dominant language in society that might bring status and recognition to them. By copying the accent, intonation and the nuances of the language of the mainstream, they enhance their self-esteem and try to attain a powerful stand in the host community.

In this stage where "differences are intriguing and perceptions are positive" (Pedersen, 1995: 27) the displaced people are also likely to mimic the dominant people in appearance and behavior. In the primary stage of culture shock, the immigrants are generally so interested in the idea of being accepted by the host society that they change their appearance and create a self-image that is similar to the native people. They also try to develop a taste for the cultural aspects (choice of music, socialization methods, styles of houses, etc.) of the new settlement so that they would be valued and accepted as a part of the mainstream. However, while imitating the dominant people's attitude, the person might somehow minimize his/her own cultural identity, which might result in further confusions in identity development in his/her life cycle.

The second stage- the dis-integration- "involves a sense of confusion and disorientation where differences between home and host cultures become very

noticeable causing tension and frustration" (Pedersen, 1995: 79). Although in the first stage of culture shock, the immigrant is profoundly positive about the unfamiliar environment in the host country, in the second stage he/she re-emerges from the primary shock and approaches the cultural differences with doubt. That is, being overwhelmed by the requirements of the new culture, the individual starts blaming himself/herself for his/her inadequacies for not being able to overcome these difficulties (Pedersen, 1995: 79). Thus, the contrast between "the new cultural reality and previously learned patterns" may result in dis-integration of personality which leads the displaced person to manifest emotions such as "confusion, disorientation, loss, apathy, isolation, loneliness, and a sense of inadequacy" (Pedersen, 1995: 79).

No matter how alluring the challenges in the new culture are, the immigrant starts comparing his/her indigenous cultural practices with the ones in the dominant culture more than before. As he/she has not become integrated to the culture of the host country, he/she typically has a low self-esteem which encourages him/her to cling to his/her past more strongly. One of the frequently shown attitudes in this stage is nostalgia.

Multitude of factors ranging from loss of a person, a place, displacement, and cultural dislocation or loss of familiar ways of life through exile may generate nostalgia. Davis defines the word nostalgia "as a painful yearning to return home" (1977: 414). Berberich notes that the term is inevitably linked to memory and this memory is not necessarily a personal memory (2007: 28). By referring to Zygmunt Bauman, Berberich states that memory "is the after-life of history. It is through memory that history continues to live in the hopes, the ends, and the expectations of men and women" (2007: 28). As a result, it is crucial to investigate whether memory shows the reality or the imagination of a person.

In nostalgia past is idealized and memories "are seen through rose-tinted glasses" (Berberich, 2007: 29). Through nostalgic remembrances, individuals always undergo a depressive mode in which they experience a sense of homesickness, pain, and longing for return. Thus, their response to their loss appears in the form of mourning or grief (Rubenstein, 2001: 81). Kate Douglas proposes that "in nostalgic texts, the present

is commonly perceived as less ideal and less desirable" (2010: 85). The "idealization of childhoods from past eras allows certain social periods and historical moments to be remembered and mythologized" (Douglas, 2010: 86). There is always a longing for home or a place in the past. The past is unreachable and distant. "Nostalgia provides a means of resisting distressing images and preoccupation of the present" (Douglas, 2010: 86). Rubenstein believes that by transmuting its pain, nostalgia can figuratively render and repair the lost past (2001: 37). That is, through fixing the pains that stem from the history or memory of a person, one can come to terms with his/her self or identity. Brown Rose asserts that although immigrants' looking back to home is an attempt to find out who they are and where they belong to, it is also a way for them to find stability and establish a place in the host country within the mainstream (2009: 4).

In brief, in the second stage of culture shock, immigrants' identity is in a state of moratorium between their home and host culture, and the intriguing facilities of the new setting do not seem to be appealing as they were in the first stage. Korostelina asserts that in many immigrants the process of "cultural adaptation is impeded by negative reactions of resistance and rejection" (2007: 119). These people may experience melancholy and depression "as they see no possibility of accommodating new cultures into their worldview" (Korostelina, 2007: 119). Nevertheless, by minimizing the contact with the dominant community members and attaching themselves to their parental cultural practices, they try to withdraw themselves from the confusion to resume their identity development.

It is during the third stage named as the re-integrated stage that a displaced person gradually starts to get integrated into the new culture and develops his/her abilities and skills in the new culture. Pedersen (1995) compares emerging from the second stage and entering into the third stage to a person's re-emerging from depression (134). He asserts that upon re-emerging from depression in which anger is directed inward, the depressed person usually directs his/her anger toward the others and blames them for the depression he/she has experienced (Pedersen, 1995: 134). It is the same with immigrants, since in the re-integration period the displaced person feels extreme anger and resentment due to the difficulties that the new culture has created for him/her.

Pedersen assures that the irony in this stage is that the immigrant rejects the host culture and disregards the similarities and differences between the cultures of home and host severely (1995: 134). He/she "is likely to depend on stereotyped generalizations to evaluate and judge the host culture person's behavior and attitudes," (Pedersen, 1995: 134). In this stage, the immigrant is too defensive and considers the host people as "the scapegoats for all the real or imagined inadequacies resulting in typically defensive statements and strategies" (Pedersen, 1995: 134). In other words, the displaced person is in an attempt to project his/her personal insufficiencies to the culture and attitudes of mainstream members by blaming them to be the reason for his defensive manners. However, to Pedersen the ironic part of this stage is its being a step toward forming "a new identity based on cognitive and emotional experiences with the new culture" (1995: 134). By the end of this stage, the immigrant makes a final choice either to reject the host culture or move to a higher level of adaptation. He/she "is likely to regress to the more superficial tourist phase or move toward a higher level synthesis and balanced resolution of conflict" (Pedersen, 1995: 135). This decision is a subjective one, and the progress to the next stage entirely depends on the degree of stress and adaptability in expatriates.

The fourth stage is that of the autonomy which is when the immigrant practices his/her autonomy to understand the other culture in a better way and he/she develops his/her competence. The immigrant "begins to establish an objective, balanced, and impartial view of the whole situation" (Pedersen, 1995: 201). He/she develops a perspective through which he/she analyzes and interprets both cultures objectively (Pedersen, 1995: 3). Although he/she is aware that he/she is still a member of the outgroup community in the host country, he/she sees himself/herself more sociable with the local people, and he/she shows a more adaptive manner toward the culture. The typical attitudes that the immigrant displays in this stage are "a sense of being in control, a self-image as an 'old hand' in the host culture, a sense of credibility and increased self-confidence in making the right decision" (Pedersen, 1995: 201-202). That is, the displaced person diminishes his/her defensiveness and becomes more self-assured, adjusted and skilful to enjoy the host culture.

One of the skills that dominantly plays a role in this stage is language skills. By becoming competent in the language of the host culture, the migrant's self-esteem increases. Wardhaugh claims that the choice of language to use depends on various factors such as "solidarity with listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance" (1986: 106). Furthermore, the choice of code to be used is important in how others view or judge a person as well as how that person wishes others to view you (Wardhaugh, 1986: 113-114, Erikson, 1968: 22-23). When speaking, bilinguals utilize two systems for using languages namely: code-switching and code mixing. In code switching the bilinguals might switch the codes according to situations or topics. That is, in situational code-switching they switch from one language to the other depending on the situation whereas in metaphorical code-switching the change in language depends on the topic of conversation.

The other system of code-mixing is conversational code-mixing. In this system, both languages can be used in the course of one single utterance (Wardhaugh, 1986: 106). In other words, "conversational code-mixing involves the deliberate mixing of two languages without an associated topic change" (Wardhaugh, 1986: 107). To Wardhaugh, a speaker who mixes codes while conversing with a friend or acquaintance from the same cultural background, "will almost certainly shift entirely to English when addressing a monolingual English speaking person" (Wardhaugh, 1986: 108). This conversational code-mixing is not a haphazard mixing stemming from laziness or ignorance, but "it requires conversants to have a sophisticated knowledge of both languages and to be acutely aware of community norms" (Wardhaugh, 1986: 108). Consequently, the displaced people, who are more capable in language skills of the host land not only can perceive the nuances of that language and culture, but also enhance their self-esteem through practicing it in order to reveal their degree of adaptation.

The final stage of culture shock is an idealized phase of interdependence, and it occurs when the immigrant shows his/her reciprocal interdependence by becoming ideally bicultural. He/she develops an insight in both cultures by examining and understanding the features of both cultures. It is in this stage that the immigrant may get adapted to the new culture with a personal worldview and show creative behaviors to the extent that he/she is adapted (Pedersen, 1995: 3). An immigrant internalizes both

cultures “to the point where … [he/she] accurately and appropriately acknowledges some ownership, responsibilities and privileges in that new host culture” (Pedersen, 1995: 245). In other words, an individual exhibits “a high level of trust and authentic sensitivity to the conditions of the host culture” (Pedersen, 1995: 245). In this stage, the immigrant integrates and synthesizes all his/her emotions that he/she has experienced in all four stages before in order to form his/her new identity or self. Pedersen adds that this stage should not be considered as the final stage in developing one’s identity in the process of acculturation or culture shock, but “a state of dynamic tension between self and culture that opens new perspectives” (1995: 245). In line with these new insights, he/she comes to believe that neither of the cultures that he/she has been exposed to is superior to the other, yet incorporation of both can lead him/her to a sound identity which opens the doors to acknowledging the interdependence of new realities.

As a consequence, when an immigrant moves into a new social environment, he/she might view the differences and changes in the culture with sympathy and optimism in the first place; however, getting the chance of comparing the two cultures, he/she seeks for contacts with his/her own culture, and he/she rejects all the new practices and views them with hatred. With the development in his/her language skills, and when he/she gets more oriented to the new culture, the process of cultural adaptation starts. In this stage, the migrant keeps his/her autonomous status either to be adapted to the mainstream culture and develop his/her identity in line with the requirements of the host culture, or he/she consciously decides to go back to his/her home culture as a result of failure he/she faces in getting adapted to the new setting.

The same process of culture shock may be experienced by immigrants when after many years of living abroad, they go back to their country of origin. This type of culture shock which takes place upon the re-entry of immigrants to their home country is called reverse culture shock. As Mitchel states, displaced people carry “a static, mental and emotional snapshot of home” when they leave their homelands (qtd. in Reisinger, Kozak, and Visser, 2013: 50). To Mitchell, when upon their return they find out that the home that they expect to stand still during their absence has so changed that it no longer matches their image of home, they live a shock which is referred to as a reverse culture shock (qtd in Reisinger, Kozak, and Visser, 2013: 50). Gaw maintains

that “Reverse culture shock is similar in definition to culture shock, but the adjustment process focuses on the difficulties of re-adapting and re-adjusting to one's own home culture after one has sojourned or lived in another cultural environment” (2000: 85). According to Gullahorn and Gullahorn (2010), the only difference between these two shocks is that the sojourners do not expect to face such a shock after they return home (34-35). Hence, not only the host culture, but also the culture of home and the changes that appear in years might create a crisis in migrants.

Subsequently, passing through the process of acculturation, immigrants might develop different identity types that might be reflected in their individual attitudes, reactions, beliefs and ideals. As Erikson (1963, 1968) notes, identity has a dynamic and fluid nature, and once a salient identity is developed in a certain period, it might be changed, or it might lose its efficiency under other circumstances.

As mentioned previously, the conception of identity, embraces not only personal identity but also social identity which is a multifaceted and versatile concept. That is, social identity embraces collective/group as well as ethnic and cultural identities in it. Each of these components of identity from time to time may become the salient part of an individual’s identity that might dominate an individual’s attitude, reaction, beliefs and ideals. Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones argue that “social and cultural identity underlie acculturation and … personal identity can help to ‘anchor’ the immigrant person during cultural transition and adaptation” (2006: 2).

As a result of acculturation, different types of identity are formed. The first one is personal or individual identity. It can be distinguished both in cognitive and psychological structure. In cognitive structure, personal identity is defined by a system of concepts and terms that denote specific attributes of the individuals. To be more specific, these attributes can be termed to define “feelings of competence, bodily attributes, way of relating to others, psychological characteristics, intellectual concerns, [and] personal tastes” (Turner, 1982: 18). In Eriksonian terms personal identity is the ideals, beliefs and values that an individual keeps, follows and respects (1963, 1968).

The psychological side of self-concept or individual identity is more related to terms and concepts that an individual defines himself/herself within a framework of his/her membership of various groups or categories such as sex, nationality, religion, or political view (Turner, 1982: 18). Personal identity refers to an identity in which individuals identify themselves with the ingroup and distance themselves from the outgroups (Schwartz, Montgomery and Briones, 2006: 6). In personal identity, there is a set of individual features through which individuals perceive themselves as people who are unique and distinct. However, to understand this uniqueness and distinctiveness, they need to interact with other persons or groups to assess themselves as identical to a group or different from others (Korostelina, 2007: 35).

In other words, Korostelina emphasizes that "individual identity includes self-sameness, continuity in time and space, as well as differentiation from other people" (2007: 35). In Hinkel and Brown's terms, one's personal identity is to a great extent connected to other people's identity as it can be defined by referring to others and be defined as a positive identity when he compares himself/herself with in-group and out-group and achieves a positive distinctiveness through evaluative comparison (Abram and Hogg, 1990: 48).

One of the thought provoking ideas when defining personal or individual identity is the concept of twin identity which gives rise to the idea of duality and doubleness. John Hendman notes that "the experience of duality can be described as the foundation stone of human consciousness" which "rests upon our recognition of the distinction between the 'I' and the 'not I'" (1990: 1). However, he believes that 'not I' "is not always experienced as external to the individual; it can also be experienced as existing within the Self" (Hendman, 1990: 1). Therefore, there is a double identity or two selves in twins. Keppler assures that there is a closeness or affinity between the two selves and it shows

> itself in various ways: by inexplicable emotional reactions to each other, usually antagonism, but often attraction by insistent preoccupation with each other, by an intimate insight into each other's mind or soul, more often displaced by the second self but sometimes shared by both or to

> both incomprehensible, by behaving towards each other or attitude toward each other. (1972: 11)

Twins might see themselves either as a unit, who do not categorize their twins as an outgroup, or as a distinct or separate self or individual to whom their twin might be seen as a rival with whom they have to struggle as an outgroup member (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Hendman emphasizes that contrary to the common belief which asserts the idea that duality generates opposition and contrast, duality "can also be likeness. It can be complementary, as in the platonic conception of twin souls which seek each other in order to make a whole out of their sundered halves; sympathy between individuals, even human love, can be seen under one aspect as ultimately the search for wholeness or integration within the self" (Hendman, 1990: 1). Thus, twins can be referred to as the entities that have a dual nature which constitute self and other, division and unity, and ingroup and outgroup. Hendman highlights that,

> The true double is a second half or alter ego, which appears as a distinct or separate being apprehensible by the physical senses but existing in a dependent relation to the original but by no means subordinate because often the Double comes in to dominate, control or usurp the functions of the subject. The subject or his double are physically similar, often to the point of absolute identity. (1990: 14)

That is, the physical similarity or relation between the twins does not disrupt or shadow the power relation and the desire for attaining dominance in the twins.

Greenberg and Greenberg believe that twins are "seamlessly interchangeable" and possess "a mysterious preternatural bond" (2012: 6). In her dissertation, Sophie Cassell refers to the studies of Lander to highlight that there is an extremely close bond between the twins that sometimes parents encourage one of the twins to identify himself/herself with the other one instead of identifying himself/herself with the parents as his/her object of identification. In fact, through this bond with their twins, the twins learn "to cope with their separateness with their parents" and have "a perfect soul mate

capable of deep, intuitive, empathetic understanding" (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7).

By referring to the studies of Burlingham, Greenberg and Greenberg (2012) assert that although twins may enjoy a feeling of security in twinship bond, in reality there is a struggle between them to maintain independence (7). What Burlingham stresses is that there is a coexisting need in twins both to keep the bond and develop a separate identity which sometimes might become confusing for them. While on the one hand, they seek for self-gratification, on the other hand, in spite of the close bond that exists between them, they have to compete with their twins who are their rivals and with whom they have to share their parents, toys, food, etc. (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Thus, during the process of identity formation, they experience a conflicting fear of separation from their twins when seeking for self-gratification or personal identity (Cassell, 2001: 4; Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Nevertheless, this feeling of competitiveness and rivalry, is transformed into a desire to share what Burlington defines "as the continuation of their former competition" in a later period (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Thus, twins' identity can be elaborated as an individual identity as well as a collective one which bears both the first self and the second self simultaneously.

The other type of identity that may appear in the process of identity development of individuals/immigrants is group or collective identity. In this type of identity, an individual is not viewed as a unique unit but a part of interchangeable social identities. Group identity is not developed in line with the relationship between the group members, yet it is the outcome of common beliefs, goals, and membership in the group (Korostelina, 2007: 24). That is, when individuals categorize themselves as a part of a group, then their collective identity becomes salient, thus, they identify themselves with the group with which they share values, beliefs and interests. In immigrants, this categorization might be manifested in line with their ethnic, cultural or religious background.

In this kind of identity, group norms regulate the actions to be done or not to be done for the group members, and the members are expected to apply these criteria in

their reactions and attitudes (Korostelina, 2007: 74). Group beliefs, norms, and values are of great significance and are perceived as facts not to be rejected by the members. Following these norms brings confidence to the members and "a decrease in trust frequently leads to the weakening of … identity and to group dis-integration" (Korostelina, 2007: 74). As a result, in order to share the sense of solidarity and cooperation with their groups, immigrants cling to the norms of their group and develop a sort of collective identity. One important issue in collective identity of immigrants is that by becoming a member of a group, they strive to minimize the negative consequences that might harm their sense of self in a totally new context.

Gender identity is also another form of identity that influences individuals/immigrants in the process of acculturation and identity development from childhood until adulthood. The concept of gender is explained in contradistinction with the concept of sex which focuses mainly on biological differences between males and females. Gender, on the other hand, refers to the psycho-socio-cultural aspects of masculinity and femininity constructed by culture which is reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of individuals (Fausto-Sterling, 2000: 3). "Cultures identify 'masculine' and 'feminine' attributes by the likelihood that each attribute is associated with one sex and not the other" (Lindberg, 2008: 1). Furthermore, an individual starts to follow the norms of his/her parental culture even before he/she can understand these norms. In line with these pre-described cultural constructs, an individual forms his/her gender-based identity or gender-role identity.

Klemans, De Rose, Graber and Brooks-Gunn define gender identity as the endorsement "of a particular gender as a part of one's sense of self (2010: 527). Through gender-role- identity, an individual views himself/herself as masculine or feminine. Through these identifications, the individuals adopt the attitudes or behaviors they should show or avoid in society. These attitudes might show differences during the process of identity development depending on the changes in the lives of individuals.

In the process of identity development of immigrants, the impact of gender-based identity might be immense since displaced people, who have a totally different culture from the culture in the host country, might encounter extreme differences in

gender constructs of the two places. Thus, being not familiar with the nuances of culture in the mainstream society, from time to time they might seek to practice the features of their own culture regarding gender roles. On that account, they may either experience harsh criticisms by the host people for not following the gender-based rules in the dominant society, or they may live a deep identity crisis in developing their gender identity which is mainly based on the norms and cultural constructs of their home country.

Social identity has a more encompassing nature, and it is a concept of self through which an individual defines himself/herself as a member of a group which he/she belongs to and shares emotions and values with (Abram and Hogg, 1990: 2). Social identity to Tajfel is the individual's awareness of belonging to a certain social group that emotionally leads him/her to develop specific favoritism toward the ingroup members; however, in order to explain his/her own position in society, he/she is apt to explain it in contrast with the features of outgroup members or categories (Worchel et al, 1998: 5). In other words, Phinney states that social identity is a self-concept through which an individual defines himself/herself as a member of a category or a group, and this membership brings him/her status, value and identity as a social individual (Phinney, 1992: 156).

Abram and Hogg claim that social identity touches upon "a sense of involvement, concern and pride [that] can be derived from one's knowledge of sharing a social category membership with others, even without having any material personal intent in their outcomes" (1990: 3). Through social identity there appears a comparison in individuals where they behave or discriminate favorably toward the members of their social ingroup and against the members of other social groups or outgroups (Abram and Hogg, 1990: 3). When personal identification is salient, a person behaves as an individual who has distinguishing features compared with other individuals, yet the salient social identifications make the individual become aware of his/her social category, thus he behaves accordingly (Abram and Hogg, 1990: 4). Van Dijk assures that people may have many different identities due to their belonging to various groups. This multiplicity and combination in social identity might create conflicts "depending on the current goals and other characteristics of the social actors and the social

situation" and therefore, "may lead to the ongoing construction of various kinds of 'hybrid' identities, to a change of stable identities, as well as to a manifestation of the creation of a new social identity (2009: 73).

Ethnic identity is one of the aspects of social identity, and it develops with experience and changes in social and historical context (Phinney, 1992: 156-158). Phinney asserts that ethnic identity can easily be related to the concept of group identity "that is, a sense of identification with, or belonging to one's own group" (Phinney, 1992: 158). Jensen emphasizes that "a central focus of research on ethnic identity formation is how members of ethnic and racial minority groups negotiate their identifications with their own groups in the context of living among other ethnic and racial groups" (2003: 190). In order to describe ethnic identity, Phinney (1992) highlights the difference between ethnicity and ethnic identity. She defines ethnic identity as self-identification as a member of an ethnic group which differs from ethnicity which is group membership defined by parental ethnic heritage (158). Thus, ethnic label, which is possible through self-identification with a chosen group, is a personal and a free choice of an individual, while ethnicity is a parental force. Korostelina assures that compared to other identities, ethnic identity shows a higher degree of stability over time (2007: 63).

Cultural identity may be mistakenly identified with ethnic identity. Jensen and Phinney highlight the difference between the two by defining ethnic identity as "the subjective meaning of one's ethnicity and the feelings that one maintains toward one's ethnic group" while to them cultural identity should be considered in a broader and more encompassing sense since it "refers to specific values, ideals and beliefs … adopted from a given cultural group as well as one's feelings about belonging to that group" (Phinney, 1992: 156-158). As Jensen puts it, an individual forms his/her cultural identity by "making choices about the cultural contexts that one identifies with in the first place" (2003: 190). That is, in forming cultural identity, the individual's deciding on the cultural community he/she belongs to is of great importance.

Jensen argues that in face of any cultural differences in multicultural societies, the individuals shape their cultural identities according to their own personal choices

(2003: 190). Thus, forming a cultural identity is a conscious and free choice of the individual. However, Jensen stresses that although these individuals might share some beliefs and values according to their cultural identity, "this does not entail that all members of a cultural community hold uniform beliefs and engage in identical practices" (2003: 190).

In short, through the process of identity development, the migrants might develop diverse identities. The identity that they develop in different stages of their life cycle is related to the internal and external factors (personal, cultural, and social) that influence their sense of belonging. As stated before, these identity types might either coexist in an individual or they might lose their efficiency when the need for them disappears. One thing for sure is that every person in a specific stage of his/her life might exhibit the features of the identities mentioned, yet for immigrants, who have lost the familiar environment of home and culture and are displaced the identity to develop is a dual process. Firstly, they form an identity in line with their indigenous culture, and for the second time after displacement, in the new environment with totally varied cultural and social practices they re-form and shape their new identities.

GCRIS

CHAPTER 2

KEHINDE

Buchi Emecheta's novel *Kehinde* (1994) has its root in autobiographical realism and cultural facts. Although the title of the novel seems to be a proper name for the protagonist, going through the details of it, the influence of cultural practices in Nigerian (Igbo) culture becomes apparent when it is realized that 'Kehinde' is the name that is culturally given to the second-born of twins while the first-born is called "Taiwo" (Peek, 2011: 85). The use of the name 'Kehinde' as the title of this novel emphasizes the importance of twinship and implies the hidden concept of duality in the process of identity development of the protagonist Kehinde.

Kehinde is based on the life of a Nigerian family who has moved to Britain in 1960s after the ending of the colonial period. The forty-year-old father of the family, Albert Okolo, is a shopkeeper who has worked in a warehouse for eighteen years. He has moved to Britain to continue his education, and he has sent for Kehinde his wife to join him in Britain. Kehinde, the mother of the family, works in a bank and she has been promoted in her job although she is neither white nor English. She earns more than her husband and with her position in the bank, she gets a mortgage and buys a house. They have two children: a boy called Joshua, who is fourteen, and a girl named Bimpe, who is eleven. The story begins upon the arrival of a letter from Albert's sisters who ask him to go back to Nigeria and spend the rest of his life in his homeland.

Despite Albert's pretending that he has no intention to go back, he forces Kehinde to abort her baby, he resigns from his job, and they pack many of their belongings such as the king-size bed, other pieces of furniture and their Jaguar and ship them to Nigeria. He leaves Kehinde and their children in London and arrives in Nigeria. Two years later, he asks Kehinde to send their children for whom he has arranged a

boarding school, and tells Kehinde to wait in England until she sells the house. Meanwhile, Kehinde takes two tenants to help her to afford her expenses, and she faces harsh criticism from many people who treat her as a woman who has intentionally sent her family to Nigeria to live her life freely in Britain.

After three years of living in England alone, she decides to go back and join her family, where she finds out that her husband has married another woman from whom he has two other children. She notices that she can no more get adapted to the culture in her homeland, so she makes her final decision to go back to England and continue her life there since she realizes that culturally she is closer to that country.

2.1. CHILDHOOD PERIOD

The only character whose childhood period is explained in this novel is Kehinde. As stated in the theoretical part of this study, there are several concepts that dominate the childhood period of an individual according to Eriksonian epigenetic stages of life cycle (1963, 1968). In this novel, the personal and social factors that result in crises in the process of identity development of Kehinde are: trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. doubt and shame, initiative vs. guilt, and industry vs. inferiority. In addition, when analyzing the process of identity formation in her childhood, the concepts of twin identity as a dominant part in her personal/individual identity should also be considered.

Kehinde is born into the African culture, and she has been raised in line with the constructs of this culture until the age of eighteen. Therefore, the identity that she has formed during her childhood period exhibits the effects of a dominant African culture. One of the influential factors in the process of identity development of Kehinde is her being a twin. Kehinde, born as the second one of the twins, loses both her twin and her mother at birth. She explains the process of her birth as:

> I wanted to come out first. To be the Taiwo, the one who tasted the world first. I tried to hold back what was left of my sister, but even her wrinkled

> lifeless flesh had a stubborn will. Her tiny wizened head came out first. My mother had no energy to give birth to me…They cut her open and I, Kehinde the twin who follows behind, was taken out. My mother and my twin sister were dead. (Emecheta, 1994: 18)

Her regret about her position as the second-born twin has its root in the cultural norms of Africa, where she is born. Peek in his book *Twins in African and Diasporic Cultures: Double Trouble, Twice Blessed* states that the first born- Taiwo- is always senior to the second born- Kehinde- who is junior (2011: 85). Thus, Kehinde, the protagonist, is culturally categorized as a follower who in no sense would attain a primary position in her life. This cultural norm shakes her sense of autonomy and leads her to develop a sense of inferiority through which she feels herself as an "unfitted" person to the norms of society (Erikson, 1968: 160). As Kehinde is a twin, she also develops a twin identity. Although it is believed that due to their preternatural bond, twins are prone to develop a sense of trust in their twin, the rivalry between siblings and the desire to reach self-gratification might occasionally direct them to compete with their twins (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Thus, Kehinde's struggle to attain a position as the first-born is an attempt to develop a separate individual identity that would bring a sense of independence and autonomy to her (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). That is, by overcoming this pre-birth competition, she would be recognized and be accepted culturally.

There are diverse cultural beliefs regarding twins in Africa. According to the cultural views in Nigeria, some people believe that having twins is an indicator of good luck and the double blessing since the parents can benefit from their spiritual powers (Peek, 2011: 85), while others consider being a twin whose mother and other twin have died during birth is a sign of bad luck. In Kehinde's family, it is believed that Kehinde has brought bad luck to her mother and twin sister, has deprived her other siblings of the joy of having a mother, and has been an ill-lucked child (Emecheta, 1994: 19). Peek asserts that in some cultures in Nigeria birth of twins is associated with multiple births of animals, and they are afraid "that one of the pairs … [may be] a spirit partner and therefore a bad omen for a given community" (2011: 87). As Ifeyinwa, Kehinde's older sister, later explains to her, in their family it is also believed that she has eaten her twin

in her mother's body, and since it is believed that she carries the soul of her twin, the "chi," inside her, and killing her would mean killing two people, her mother denies to "take something to purge … [her] out" (Emecheta, 1994: 80). Starting from her birth, not only is she blamed for the loss of her mother and twin, but she also becomes an unwanted child so that her father decides to give Kehinde to a childless aunt called Nnebogo to look after her to avoid the bad luck she would bring to the family.

When she recalls her childhood, she confesses, "Nobody wanted me. Luckily, Aunt Nnebogo …took me away from all those people who accused me of being a child who brought bad luck (Emecheta, 1994: 18). As a result of her being categorized by her father and her family right after her birth as an outgroup member, she is denied the joy of being a member of the family she was born into, and she is displaced from the familiar environment of home. This displacement evokes a sense of self-blame in her as she thinks she is born as an unlucky child who would be the reason of misfortune for her family. Erikson (1968) maintains that in the process of identity development in the childhood period, the sense of guilt might be so destructive since children might cultivate hatred to their parents in the later stages of their lives when they find out the guilt that is attributed to them is not their fault (119). This hatred is noticed in the later stages of life.

Although Kehinde's family associate her birth with bad luck, which leads Kehinde to develop a deep sense of guilt, while living with Aunt Nnebogo, she hears people say,

> … as soon as I came to Aunt Nnebogo's life, her fish business flourished. She had enough money to rent a room for her own in Macaullum Street in Ebute Metta. She became independent, and was rich enough to be able to afford the burial of her mother who died when she was quite little. (Emecheta, 1994: 18-19)

Kehinde realizes that there are other people around who do not hold her responsible for the death of her twin and her mother and that, in fact, she has brought good luck to her aunt. Even though at birth and during her early childhood she is too young to be

conscious of the disturbing feeling of being an unwanted child, and the negative feelings of guilt, shame and inferiority instilled in her by African culture, in the later stages of her life, she cannot help but experience various identity crises. In other words, African cultural beliefs have intensely influenced Kehinde's sense of self during her life. Her early unconscious awareness of her bringing good luck to her aunt helps Kehinde overcome her sense of guilt which, according to Erikson (1968: 119-120), is a destructive feeling, and it initiates a sense of shame and inferiority in a person. Furthermore, the same realization serves as a stimulating factor in her identity formation.

Kehinde's twin identity, though unconsciously, continues to be formed after she is sent to live with her aunt. Until the age of eleven, she does not know that she has a twin. In African culture, when one of the twins dies upon birth, it is forbidden to tell the surviving twin that the other half of him/her has deceased (Peek, 2011: 87). This cultural belief might be the reason why Kehinde's family members do not tell her about her twin sister. What is more, a memorabilia is prepared to "localize the soul of the deceased as to maintain the spiritual bond between the living and the dead" (Peek, 2011: 85-86). This memorabilia is sometimes given to the surviving twin to play with in order to "minimize the natural instincts in twins to want to see one another after a long separation" (Peek, 2011: 86). In line with this practice Kehinde is given a "Wooden Taiwo" to which she is strongly attached and she never parts with it. Even though she is never conscious of its significance, wherever she goes, she takes her Taiwo with her. Therefore, it may be suggested that in Kehinde's childhood world, the hero that she identifies herself with is an imaginary person who in fact is her twin sister, Taiwo. Although Kehinde is not aware of her being a twin, instinctually she divides everything into two. She states,

> When they gave me *akara* [spicy bean batter (Emecheta, 1994: 143)] or *moyin moyin* [small bean loaf containing fish or egg (Emecheta, 1994: 144)] as a toddler, I would share it into two, part for me and part for my Taiwo- the one who came to taste the life for me. I did this even though I did not know I was a twin, or that I had deprived my Taiwo of her life. I even talked to her in my sleep, without knowing who I was talking to.

> Sometimes Aunt Nnebogo used to be impatient and angry with me wanting to do everything twice. (Emecheta, 1994: 19)

She even goes further in her childhood to make a hollow in the middle of the mat where she sleeps herself as the most convenient place where she thinks her Taiwo could sleep as well (Emecheta, 1994: 30). Not physically, but spiritually she continues her bond with her twin even though she is not aware of her existence. Greenberg and Greenberg claim that in the earlier stages of their lives, twins always consider and define themselves as a unit and not as an individual (2012: 7). Consequently, they tend to make a complete whole out of two halves (Hendman, 1995: 1). Kehinde's attitudes in this stage are due to the preternatural bond with her twin that manifests her desire to get united with her twin to create a complete identity.

While Kehinde's insistence on sharing everything with an imaginary person might seem as games children play at the play age, in reality they are internal crises that she goes through. On the one hand, not being aware of having a real family, Kehinde clings to her twin to overcome her fear of separateness. On the other hand, Kehinde's attachment to her twin is due to her childhood fear of darkness. She is very young, and her aunt is not well informed about the childhood fear as she has never been a mother before. Kehinde is deadly afraid of darkness, and she expects her aunt to understand her. Once Aunt Nnebogo tells her to go to pee in the backyard before they go to sleep. Kehinde remembers the day as:

> KEHINDE. I don't get up immediately because our room is at the back of the house. To get there we have to pass the room of the landlord and his people, and walk along a dark corridor, with no electric light.
>
> KEHINDE. 'Are you coming?' I ask sleepily.
>
> AUNT NNEBOGO. 'Why? Are you frightened of the dark? Only witches are frightened of the dark.'

> The statement shocks me into wakefulness. Other parents drag or carry their children inside at night. I want Aunt Nnebogo to do the same, as if she were really my mother. I want to show I'm like the other children in the yard. (Emecheta, 1994: 29)

Bowlby sheds light on the issue of attachment by stating that "attachment behavior tends to be most obvious when the attached person is frightened, fatigued or sick and is assuaged when the attachment figure provides protection, help and soothing" (Bretherton, 1985: 6). Aunt Nnebogo's not providing the support that Kehinde needs, and her failure in protecting Kehinde as a real mother shatters her sense of trust in her aunt. That is why when she fails to feel security in the presence of her aunt, she becomes more reliant on her imaginary attachment figure or twin in order to enhance her sense of security in her mid-childhood stage.

Later she learns that she has had a family, and a twin sister who died at birth. This news results in one of the severe identity crises she has experienced, and it makes her furious and ill. Her illness is a psychological reaction or crisis that has emerged in the form of a physical illness which is partially the manifestation of her displacement and being separated from her family which augment a feeling of doubt or mistrust in her (Erikson, 1963: 247-248), and partially it is due to her internal conflict as a result of the loss of a twin, who is the complementary part of her identity (Hendman, 1990: 1). Despite her aunt's efforts to sooth her, Kehinde desperately seeks to learn about her twin as well as her siblings in Sokoto (Emecheta, 1994: 30) as an attempt to form her personal as well as twin identity. Thus, she decides to go and meet them.

The night before she goes to visit her family, all her sense of curiosity is awakened. She has many questions to be answered upon her arrival:

> I am curious about me. 'My brothers and sisters? Me?' My voice wab-vers. So I do have brothers and sisters. Then why don't I see them? Why don't I see my Papa and brothers and sisters? Malechi and *Elofunna* and the others live with their Mama and Papa, why do I just live with my Mama alone? (Emecheta, 1994: 30)

Kehinde's questions display her sense of doubt which Erikson believes is formed at about the ages of two or three (1968: 112). However, this external doubt is formed in relation to her curiosity when she compares the family settings around and notices that her family has a different structure which does not follow the norms she sees around as it lacks the father figure and siblings. This lacking part of her family triggers her sense of inferiority which is the most dominant sense that individuals develop as the social part of their identity at the age of eleven (Erikson, 1968: 123). Consequently, her decision to meet her family can be an attempt to correct the maladjustment in her family setting in order to regain her self-esteem among her friends.

For the first time, at the age of twelve Kehinde meets her real father and siblings. When her father welcomes her, she wonders why she is not "allowed to stay with the rest of …[her] family" (Emecheta, 1994: 78). She needs to sort out why the family has categorized her as outgroup or othered her while the other siblings are let live all together. She feels abandoned and inferior which initiate another identity crisis in her.

Having not yet overcome the primary crisis in her family house, when she is told to call her father's second wife "mother", she gets more confused and cannot help but ask her father "How many mothers do I have?" (Emecheta, 1994: 79). This reaction of Kehinde's demonstrates her confusion about the concept of 'mother' due to her being brought up in Lagos by her Aunt whom she has identified as mother (Emecheta, 1994: 79). In line with Cassell's Object Relation Theory (2001), Aunt Nnebogo is the attachment figure who fulfils the role of mother in Kehinde's childhood. She is the one who has, to some extent, implanted a sense of trust in Kehinde. After eleven years of taking care of Kehinde, she is full of tears when she sees Kehinde is packing to go to her father's home, yet she is so caring and understanding toward Kehinde that she does not even try to stop her. The aunt's attitude is pervading a sense of independence and purpose (Damon, Menon, and Bronk, 2003: 120) in her. Erikson claims that the sense of doubt in childhood can partially be overcome through parents' encouragement in providing autonomy and independence for their children (1968: 112). Although Aunt Nnebogo is not Kehinde's biological mother, she paves the way for her to meet her real family and complete her personal and social identity development. On this account, it can be assumed that Kehinde's resistance and hesitation in accepting her father's wife

who “had cool green eyes that did not smile” as mother, is highly related to the concept of attachment relation. That is, Kehinde rejects her step mother in whose presence she does not feel security.

In line with the Bowlby’s Attachment Theory (Bretherton, 1992) what triggers Kehinde’s confusion is the cultural beliefs in Nigeria where mother is not only the person who gives birth to a child, but the person who looks after and brings up a child, the father’s all wives, the grandmother, and even the elder sister could be called mother (Emecheta, 1994: 79-80). This bewilders Kehinde more since following her primary separation from her mother and from all her family members and a secondary separation from Aunt Nnebogo whom she has substituted as her attachment figure, she encounters many other potential attachment figures whom she neither knows nor feels intimate with. Thus, Kehinde’s perception about the concept of mother collapses due to a lack of security in a new environment. That is, she experiences an identity crisis which upsets her sense of trust in all those people in her new home.

Erikson (1968) emphasizes the concept of mother as one of the most vital issues in developing a sense of trust and mistrust in a child. Erikson assures that for a child to achieve a sense of trust, there is the need for stability and consistency in care. By quoting Bowlby, Bretherton states that “the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment” (qtd in Bretherton, 1992: 761). In addition, all the uncertainties in relationships should be resolved in the eyes of a child to overcome a feeling of mistrust. However, the multiplicity of attachment figures in Kehinde’s ‘new’ home, increases her sense of mistrust.

Although Erikson puts forth the idea that the sense of trust vs. mistrust develops in a child until the age of two (1963: 247-248), in case of dislocated people or the ones who are separated from their real families and especially mothers, as is in the case of Kehinde, the child undergoes an identity crisis in which he/she becomes more confused as to whom he/she should rely on. It is Kehinde’s curiosity to learn about her real family that takes her to her father’s house in Sokoto; nevertheless, she becomes totally upset for her decision since she finds no reliance or attachment figure in her father’s home.

Kehinde longs for the trustworthy and familiar atmosphere that was provided for her by her non-biological mother; thus, rather than staying in her real father's house and calling strangers 'mother,' she wishes to go back to Aunt Nnebogo as soon as possible (Emecheta, 1994: 79). In a nostalgic sense she idealizes her Aunt's house (Berberich, 2007: 29) where she feels safe.

As Bretherton puts it, in the absence of an attachment figure whenever attachment behaviors are activated, both children and adults undergo a process of grief and mourning (1992: 763). This explains Kehinde's disappointment and grief, so she tries to sooth herself in building up a strong relationship with her elder sister Ifeyinwa. This powerful bond between Kehinde and Ifeyinwa is not related to their coming from the same blood, but rather it is based on the concept of stereotyping in social identity theory. As Tajfel asserts, a stereotype is a group or category that shares common features and is in favor of its own category while treating outgroup people with prejudice (1982: 3). When Kehinde finds out that her ideas and criticisms are shared also by her sister who outgroups her father's wife, and who is against the cultural norms that are practiced in their hometown, she develops a feeling of trust in her. Ifeyinwa confesses,

> I had to do a great deal of housework to help the green-eyed one and her innumerable babies. The good thing is that my husband's work is in Lagos, and your school is just outside Lagos, so during holidays, you can come and stay with me or Aunty Nnebogo…Pooh, it's like a zoo. Everybody having children all the time. (Emecheta, 1994: 81)

Ifeyinwa's arguments put her in the same stereotypical group with Kehinde. Through this solidarity between the sisters, once more Kehinde feels secure and becomes likely to re-emerge from her identity crisis regarding the concept of attachment figure. As a result of this new categorization, all the other members of the family become outgroups who, Kehinde believes, should be discriminated against. Thus, in her late childhood and early adolescence period, as she does not have the option to go back to her Aunt, Kehinde substitutes her sister Ifeyinwa as her attachment figure in whom she finds a

sense of security (Emecheta, 1994: 80) and forms her social identity in this stage under the influence of her sister.

Like Erikson, Bowlby puts emphasis on the "embryological development" period, and points out that the attachment behavior is not only noticeable in childhood but all through the entire life cycle of a person, especially in times of stress (Bretherton, 1985: 6). He notes that "attachment is not indicative of regression, but rather performs a natural, healthy function even in adult life (Bretherton, 1992: 762). Bowlby asserts that "a well-loved child… is quite likely to protest separation from parents but will later develop more self-reliance" (qtd. in Bretherton, 1992: 763). However, in Kehinde's case, there is no loving and caring parent. Instead, she experiences a series of confusions regarding attachment figures and a sense of security throughout the novel. In the sections about adolescence and adulthood periods, it will be noticed how the displacements in her childhood and inconsistency in building a security bond with an attached figure give rise to her developing an unstable sense of trust when she grows up.

The result of her return to her real family and her attempt to develop a sense of belonging is an unmitigated frustration for Kehinde. Although she is with her real family, she feels she is lost- a feeling that she experiences again after her return from London to Ibusa (Emecheta, 1994: 75). When she is on her way to the convent school at the age of twelve, she reveals her true feelings towards her real family:

> I did not miss my father. He had so many people to love that I felt insignificant… I never knew my brothers very well, as I did not grow up with them, and I felt they were like gods, only to be spoken to on rare and important occasions. Our big mother came with us, and was full of advice and prayers. She said I should write to her often, but I am ashamed to say I never wrote, because she could not read. (Emecheta, 1994: 83)

Kehinde can hardly develop a sense of trust toward her family members who have never shown a caring attitude towards her, have left her on her own to survive, and have blamed her for the death of her mother and Taiwo. Although previously she has suffered

from a sense of guilt upon which youngsters blame themselves for everything negative happening around (Erikson, 1968: 118-119), after noticing that as a girl child she can never attain a primary position among her ingroups, and she is culturally discriminated negatively due to her gender, she develops a sense of inferiority that shakes her self-esteem. In order to overcome this crisis, she leaves her family home and deepens her relationship with her sister Ifeyinwa, the only person in the family who truly cares for her and shows "a kind of love and closeness … [she] had never before experienced" (Emecheta, 1994: 80). Kehinde regains her sense of trust and self-esteem with her sister's encouraging assistance.

It is her patient sister who gives her vital support during her adolescence period by answering all Kehinde's questions and providing her with information about having breasts and bleeding (Emecheta, 1994: 82) that is a vital support during adolescence period since it generates a sense of solidarity between women and boosts the adolescent's self-esteem (Delaney, Lupton, and Toth, 1988: 168). This closeness and care of Ifeyinwa continues until Kehinde's adulthood when she is in the most critical period of her life to decide whether to go back to England leaving her husband and children there in Nigeria, or not. As a result, Kehinde's sense of trust flourishes as a result of her sister's support. To put it differently, Ifeyinwa is identified as an attachment figure or mother that enhances Kehinde's sense of trust as well as security that she needs to perpetuate her identity development.

It is the deep childhood confusion about an attachment figure and the lack of a mother in Kehinde's life that lead her to make a decision to create her own family when she gets married. She has no intension to confuse her children as to whom they should call mother. Her decision, in fact, is one of the most severely criticized English attitudes by Nigerians who cannot conceive how brothers and sisters can be called "half" when they do not have the same mother (Emecheta, 1994: 80). This might be considered as Kehinde's first step in rejecting her home culture in her early adolescence, and her tendency in getting adapted to English culture in future.

All in all, in Eriksonian epigenetic theory, during their childhood period, individuals are inclined to develop a sense of trust, autonomy, initiative and industry

until the age of eleven. In case they fail to develop these senses, they may develop mistrust, shame and doubt, guilt and inferiority. To evaluate the process of identity development in Kehinde, it can be concluded that Kehinde has experienced severe crises regarding the concept of attachment figure in this period. She has hardly felt secure in her 'homes.'

The other sense that influences her identity formation is the sense of doubt that stems from her multiple displacements. She has never experienced a feeling of tranquility in this period since she does not feel herself to be belonging to a space, so she has never had a 'home' where she could rest in peace without doubt. From time to time, Kehinde practices her autonomy partially due to her aunt's attitude who cares for her. With her own autonomy, she decides to leave the familiar home of her aunt to go and find her real family who comprised a part of her identity. However, she gets frustrated due to the crises she encounters in her father's home.

The concept of guilt is one of the most dominant feelings that starts from her infancy. She is alleged both by her family and society to be the reason of her mother and twin's death. Thus, for a long time she blames herself to be guilty in this regard. This sense also provokes the sense of inferiority in Kehinde. The only time that she overcomes the feeling of guilt is when her sister Ifeyinwa assures her that cultural beliefs that shape the ideas of people in many societies do not necessarily reflect the truth. Thus, Kehinde develops a sense of trust in her sister whom she identifies as a member of ingroup. In short, Kehinde does not form a sound identity during her childhood period. Therefore, as Erikson puts it, these failures will be the effective factors during her adolescence period.

2.2. ADOLESCENSE PERIOD

In the novel *Kehinde*, there is not much information about Kehinde's adolescence period. The only information given about her youth is when she is sent to the convent to continue her education. The convent is in Lagos where her sister

Ifeyinwa lives. Thus, she has an opportunity to go and stay in her sister's house occasionally. However, what disturbs her is her sister's husband's polygamous life (Emecheta, 1994: 83-84). Being about fifteen, Kehinde's cultural identity rejects polygamy which is one of the common practices in African culture. Thus, she does not define herself as an ingroup member in the society where she lives, and she also alienates and categorizes her family members as outgroups by saying I want "to erase them all from my mind" (Emecheta, 1994: 84). As she is reactive to the polygamous life style in Nigeria, at the age of eighteen she decides to marry Albert, who is going to live in England which would provide an escape for her from polygamy (Emecheta, 1994: 84) that she does not approve of.

In her adulthood, when talking about her memories in the convent, she assures that she cared for her friends in the convent more than any of her family members (Emecheta, 1994: 83). Kehinde's reliance on her friends in that period is a typical adolescence behavior since contrary to parent-child relations, the relationship with peers is not based on coercive pressure, and youth practice their autonomy in choosing their friends (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93). Therefore, through the bond that she has built with her friends, she re-gains her sense of trust that she could not obtain with her family members. The significance of peer influence in Kehinde's life is also reconfirmed in her young adulthood through her relation with her friend Moriammo who is much closer to her in Britain than any of her family members and who helps her to go back to Britain by lending her money to rescue her from Nigeria and Albert's family's cultural pressures.

The two teenage characters in the novel are the children of Okolo family: Bimpe, the daughter, who is twelve and Joshua, the son, who is fourteen. They are both born in London. As they are in the early stages of their teens, they experience various identity crises that are influential in their identity development. Predominantly, the reason behind most of their confusions is their parents' forceful cultural and ideological attitudes that somehow shake their social identity development.

Bimpe, the twelve-year-old girl child is the one who is in the early stages of her adolescence. She has been raised with her parental residual culture, yet spending her

time with her English peers at school, she becomes aware of the differences between Nigerian and British culture. The first time Bimpe experiences being outgrouped or alienated by her family is at the beginning of the novel, when Albert, the father, informs the family about the letter he received from his sisters in Nigeria.

> ALBERT. It's a letter from Aunt Selina and Aunt Mary. They want me to return home.
>
> KEHINDE. They want you to return home? What of us? Kehinde asked, bringing a pot of tea. They have been hinting at it for a very long time, now they've got the courage to spell out. Return home, return home indeed! They keep forgetting that you left Nigeria a young bachelor and now you have a wife and kids. Return home, just like that, enh? ...
>
> BIMPE. Don't we count then? Bimpe piped in.
>
> ALBERT. Will you keep quiet please young lady! I happen to be talking to your mother. (Emecheta, 1994: 1)

The pronoun 'me' Albert uses creates a crisis both for Kehinde and Bimpe. Their reaction reflects a similar feeling of exclusion. Albert and his sisters' not categorizing Albert's family as ingroups disappoints Kehinde, and she gets frustrated because she feels inferior. Bimpe, who is eager to get involved in the conversation and state her view about it, reacts to her father, too. Although Albert tries to sooth them all by defining the cultural difference in Nigeria and Britain, and explaining "when they say 'you' they mean all of us," (Emecheta, 1994: 1) he fails to succeed, so the only way to survive at that moment is hushing his daughter. The method that Albert chooses to make himself free from this trap is an authoritarian parenting style to control and shape the attitude of her daughter in order to solve the dispute (Baumrind, 1966: 890; Straus, 2009: 36). By clinging to his cultural practices according to which men have absolute power and cannot be criticized, refuted or rejected, Albert exhibits a salient gender identity that is formed in line with his dominant African culture.

Bimpe's question, indeed, reflects her desire for recognition as a teenager which is one of the significant factors in the adolescence period. Not being counted as a person whose name should have been mentioned in the letter, she feels as an invaluable member of the family. As Erikson puts it, the recognition that the young adult is seeking has nothing to do with achievements but a sense of being given status and function through which he/she transforms into a person whose identity formation is gradually completed in the eyes of the ones who are important for him/her (1968: 156). He maintains that, the two issues of recognition in society and identity development of youngsters (Erikson, 1968: 159) are closely related.

To evaluate the issues of 'being recognized and fittedness' (Erikson, 1968: 159) in Bimpe's case, it can be said that in Albert's view, Bimpe's protesting against her father's idea is a sign of her being a dissident who is not fitted to her parental cultural norms and higher authority (Baumrind, 1966: 890). However, as Bimpe is born and brought up in Britain, her perception of societal and cultural norms does not match those of her father's. In her early adolescence period in Britain, due to her interaction with her British peers and social circle, she has adopted British culture and developed a social identity according to which both children and females are more recognized and respected compared to the ones in Nigeria. In line with her salient British persona, she behaves like an independent British adolescent who can easily share her views in her family. However, upon her father's quieting her, she undergoes an identity crisis and gets frustrated for her father's outgrouping her as a person with a lower status who is not recognized in her family. This paternal attitude results in her developing a sense of inferiority.

Another crisis that the Okolo family members experience because of the cultural diversity is on food. In *Kehinde,* while parents wish to continue their African food culture in Britain, the children attempt to mimic their peers at school and start complaining about "the monotony of having ground rice and soup every evening" (Emecheta, 1994: 2). This desire of children for British food implies multiple issues. Firstly, it shows how in this certain age period, adolescents, no matter what their background is, seek to be like their peers. In addition, an individual's choice for the food to consume is a way to reveal a sense of belonging to or internalization of a

specific culture that the person has chosen. According to Scholliers, psychosocially, food is a perfect means for identification with a group or the perception about that group (2001: 4). Thus, food can be considered as a stimulating factor in developing cultural identity. Therefore, to prevent her children from being outgrouped by their classmates, as an alternative solution, Kehinde heats "some baked beans and serve[s] them on toast with a little salad of lettuce and tomatoes" (Emecheta, 1994: 2) because the food that one prefers, might bring collective self-esteem as well as group solidarity to an individual which might result in an individual's identification with that specific group (Scholliers, 2001: 4). The parental exposure of their own food culture on their children is an apparent forceful act for developing a feeling of ethnicity, which is defined by Phinney as an attempt to strengthen one's bond with his/her parental ethnic background (1996: 157). However, the children's criticism toward their parental cultural food is an effort to build up their own cultural identity which is formed in line with the norms of British culture. That is, both Bimpe and her brother Joshua desire the same kind of food that their peers are used to consuming in their British homes (Emecheta, 1994: 2). Through their food choice they would gain a cultural identity that would make them a member of their peer groups in Britain and enhance their self-esteem which is a milestone in building a sound identity.

The issue of language is another dilemma that children of immigrant families face in the host culture. As Portes and Rumbaut claim, language defines "the limits of communities and nations and leads to bounded national identities and ethnic solidarities" (2001: 131). In other words, when people use the same language, they categorize themselves as the members of the same cultural community and that results in tightening their bonds with their culture. Both Bimpe and Joshua reject to call Igbo language their mother tongue since to them English is their first language. When Kehinde and Albert shift to their Igbo language to continue their quarrel regarding the letter, Joshua turns to his sister and says,

> JOSHUA. Let's get out of here. Whenever they speak their language, it means they don't want us around…[KEHINDE] simply laughed and ventured, 'whose fault is that you don't speak your mother tongue when you refuse to learn?'

> JOSHUA. You mean *your* mother tongue. Mine is English. Remember you said that when I was born, the first thing you said to me was, "Hello Joshua!" So I speak the first language I heard. (Emecheta, 1994: 3)

These words support the views of Du Gay who maintains that "through language people internalize the attitudes of a group (Scholliers, 2001: 6) and become a member of that group. That is to say, they share the same identity with that group. When Kehinde and Albert shift to Igbo language, it becomes a way of categorizing their own children as outgroups as well as attempting to show their children that the language of their ancestors, not the English language, is their first language

During the process of acculturation, immigrants get confused in choosing either their parental language or the language they have learned in the host country. "On the one hand, the native languages that they bring with them are closely linked to their sense of self-worth and national pride. On the other hand, these languages clash with the imperatives of a new environment that dictate abandonment of their cultural baggage and learning a new means of communication" (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 131). However, it is through the host language that the immigrants are mainly admitted into the social circle in the new environment. Thus, Joshua and Bimpe obviously develop a social identity in which British culture and language are more dominant in this certain period. The reason behind their rejecting their parental language is partially due to their being born in the host country and desire to develop a bond with British cultural identity, and partially because of the prestige that the dominant British culture would bring to these children of a minority group.

Tajfel (1982) connects the process of social identity formation in expatriates to the importance of how minority groups are received or perceived in the host society. That is, the status of the immigrant community in the dominant culture might inspire the immigrant children either to reject their ethnic ingroups or not. Tajfel (1982) highlights this process by emphasizing the difference between the status of majority and minority groups in multicultural societies. He assures that while some unprivileged adolescent

immigrants “reflect the social consensus about the status and the image of their group by adopting outgroup identifications and preferences” (Tajfel, 1982: 9), some others show “interest in preserving their self-image and cultural, familial, linguistic and religious identities” (Tajfel, 1982: 11). Thus, neither Joshua nor Bimpe consider themselves as African ingroups since they are afraid that they would be losing their self-esteem among their British ingroup members.

As mentioned previously, adolescence period is one of the most crucial periods in identity development of the teenagers. Bimpe is under the influence of both the British culture and the imposed parental indigenous culture, so she displays a moratorium status (Marcia, 1966: 551-552) in the stage of identity development in her early adolescence period. She gets confused when she finds out that the values and beliefs of her paternal culture is totally different from what she has experienced in British society and mainly at school with her peers. Therefore, she is caught in a kind of uncertainty in making a choice whether to conform to her parental culture or to the host culture but as mentioned before, this identity status is not stable and can change under certain conditions.

After Albert moves to Nigeria, he sends for his children, and before Kehinde joins the family, they live with their father and the extended family for three years. During this period Bimpe’s moratorium status slightly changes into “a foreclosure status” (Marcia, 1966: 551-552). That is, being unable to make her own decisions, she conforms to all decisions that are made about her and for her by her father. In other words, she shows a conformist identity in order to minimize tension in the family. In her mid-adolescence period, firstly she finds out that her father has married for a second time, and she does not show any reaction. On the contrary, she approves this marriage by stating that her father is lonely in Nigeria, and in her view, marrying Rike, who performs the role of little mother to them, is something necessary (Emecheta, 1994: 73). Upon her father’s losing his job and struggling with economic hardship, she again shows a conformist attitude and accepts to become “a day girl” by leaving the boarding school. She does not reject it since this is what everyone is expecting of her and not of Joshua because he is a boy, and boys are always privileged in African culture (Emecheta, 1994: 120). Bimpe,

in this stage of her life, seems to be accepting the gender identity that the African culture has determined for her.

Later, in a letter to her mother, Bimpe writes and reveals her tendency to return to Britain which implies her wish to once more enjoy the comfort and economic welfare she was accustomed to have there. However, as she is in a foreclosure status of identity, she is uncertain in making a decision whether to stay in Nigeria or go back to Britain. She writes,

> …Nigeria is great too. I like the clothes, the weather, the music, but you need a lot of money to enjoy all this. If your Dad is not working and the only income coming in is from his second wife, then life is no joke. Most of my friends still think that England is the gateway to Heaven, and I think they are right sometimes. (Emecheta, 1994: 120-121)

Although she likes Nigeria, she still longs for the comfortable economic condition they have had in England. What she is experiencing is a role confusion that results from the British identity that she has attained in Britain. Beside the role confusion that she experiences as a part of her personal identity, Bimpe's confusion can be assessed according to the idea of culture shock which would be influential in her social identity development. That is, after her displacement and the primary honey moon stage in Nigeria in which she is influenced by the intriguing positive perceptions (Pedersen, 1995: 27), facing the difficulties and frustrations in the new setting, her identity moves to the second phase of culture shock, the dis-integration period, where she feels disoriented and incapable to fit into the new society (Pedersen, 1995: 79). Therefore, she becomes doubtful about her self-perception in her parents' homeland. She also criticizes the education system in Nigeria by comparing it to the one she remembers in Britain. In her letter she explains,

> People are neurotic about certificates here. I suppose it's because if you don't have a good education, you perish. I would like to pass my exams but I don't particularly like school here anymore. It's always study, study, study. Young people don't live here, they just work, and when I

> return from school, the amount of house work I am expected to do, Ma, it's incredible. (Emecheta, 1994: 120)

At the end of the letter, she asks her mother when she will send money for Joshua and her to go back to Britain. Bimpe's letter is a sign of nostalgic idealization of her life in Britain. Douglas defines nostalgic remembering as a cultural remembering through which some social periods and historical moments are mythologized (2010: 86). Bimpe tries to overcome the distressful present situation by idealizing the educational system in Britain where people have a chance to live their lives rather than getting drowned in studying to obtain a certificate. This comparison is also the revelation of her dis-integration in the process of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 79), and it shows she is not yet integrated to the African culture.

Indeed, these minor criticisms exhibit her wish for forming an identity in line with her personal capabilities and the social norms that she was familiar with in Britain; however, as the status of her identity has not been formed clearly, the uncertainty in her decision making, as well as the cultural norms and paternal forces in Nigeria have somehow impeded her real identity. As Erikson (1968) assures, during the moratorium period, the failure in reorganizing and adapting the previously experienced identifications in childhood to the new situations in adolescence period might result in identity diffusion (157-158). Thus, in order to come to terms with the current conditions in Nigeria to form her identity, she develops a defence mechanism that Freud defines as 'reaction formation.' Through this mechanism the individuals adopt "attitudes and behaviours that are opposite to one's true thoughts and feelings" (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 46). In other words, Bimpe conceals her wish to return to Britain and behaves in a conformist way with the cultural and parental norms in Africa.

Following the perpetual role confusions that Bimpe lives, when she starts a relationship with her new African boyfriend, she decides to stay in Nigeria and spend her life with her boyfriend there even when her mother sends money to her to come back to Britain (Emecheta, 1994: 140). Bimpe's relationship with her boyfriend symbolizes a "romantic attachment relation" which is replaced by parental attachment relation that is primarily based on security and trust. As Allen and Land assure, in the

adolescence period, teenagers are likely to believe that their "parents may be deficient in some ways in meeting [their] attachment needs," so they show a tendency to replace their parents with their peers either in romantic relations or careers (1999: 320-322). In other words, Bimpe's lack of a responsive mother figure and paternal support leads her to substitute her boyfriend as an attachment figure who would provide "important sources of intimacy, feedback about social behavior, social influence and information, and ultimately attachment relationships and lifelong partnerships (Allen and Land, 1999: 322). In addition, Allen and Land contend that sometimes peer pressure in attachment relationship can be so extreme that

> peers begin replacing multiple parental functions, adolescents may reflexively tend to 'obey' peer directives just as they have previously done with parental directives, and may experience an almost reflexive desire to please peers just as they have previously done with parents. (1999: 322)

Under the influence of the dominant African culture and not feeling the immediate supportive presence of her mother as an attachment figure, she makes her final decision to stay in Nigeria. Apparently, in this stage of her life, Bimpe has passed into the third stage of culture shock called re-integration (Pedersen, 1995: 134). Through her emotional experiences, she has re-emerged from the confusion and depression that she has lived, and she has moved forward to synthesize the cultures and find a resolution in the conflict she has suffered from (Pedersen, 1995: 134) in order to re-build her identity.

Bimpe's bowing to the constructs of their culture in Africa and following her boyfriend, the dominant male attachment figure in her life, can also be connected to the concept of gender-based identity. Lindberg suggests that female adolescents tend to assume a more traditional form of "femininity" and attach themselves to another attachment figure (Lindberg, 2008: 8). Thus, in order to form her identity and overcome the severe crises in this period, Bimpe refracts her attention from her parents who are not much attentive and available to boost the sense of trust in her (Bretherton, 1985: 6) and substitutes her boyfriend for them. Since her boyfriend is born into the African culture, under the patriarchal norms, he directs Bimpe to build a subordinate gender-

based identity to conform to the expectations of cultural constructs which assign the role of follower for women.

The other character to be analyzed in this novel is Joshua, the fourteen- year- old son of the family. Until the age of fifteen he grew up in Britain under the influence of his parents' indigenous culture as well as the dominant culture in Britain. In his mid-adolescence before he goes to Nigeria his social identity is much closer to the British culture. Just like other teenagers, he is highly dependent on his peers' ideals, beliefs and value rather than his parents' (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93). Once, Joshua argues with his father about watching TV:

> Joshua wanted to stay up late and see the end of the football match, arguing that he was fourteen and all his friends at school would be talking about the match the next day. 'I'll look a fool, Dad, if I can't put in a word, just because you didn't let me stay up to watch. Think of it Dad!' (Emecheta, 1994: 3)

This crisis of Joshua with his parents is deeply related to his fear of being discriminated against and scorned by his British peer groups at school for having no interest in the hot agenda of the day. Discrimination is the most fearful event in the life of teenagers in this phase of their lives. The condition for immigrant teenagers is much harder. On the one hand, they have to struggle for a sense of recognition as teenagers (Erikson, 1968; Steinberg and Morris, 2001), and on the other hand, they have to resist against cultural and ethnic discriminations by their peers from the host country. As a result, Joshua strives to be admitted into peer groups at school by having a mutual topic to talk about in order to develop his self-esteem, status in society, and a sense of recognition which shape his personal as well as social identity (Erikson, 1968: 123-124). That is why he warns his father in this concern because for him the recognition of his peers is more valuable than following his parents' cultural practices.

However, to Albert, who was born and had his adolescence period in Nigeria, Joshua's disobedient manner is a totally English attitude that he cannot accept. Albert's African identity is still salient even after passing eighteen years in Britain. In Albert's

culture children do not reject their parents' will, and they do not care about being respected or accepted by the outgroup members. To Albert, Joshua is a Nigerian boy who has to behave in accordance with his African cultural values. When he compares his own adolescence in Nigeria, where they did not even own a TV at home (Emecheta, 1994: 4), he gets more annoyed to find out that his son has developed an identity that would distance him from his parental residual culture. Although Albert gets frustrated with Joshua in Britain, after he moves back home, Joshua's identity shows a complete change toward African cultural identity.

After Albert's leaving London to go back to Nigeria, the latest residual parental culture begins to take presence in Joshua, who is brought up by his father, who had been under the influence of his parental African culture in which men are more dominant and women are suppressed. Thus, Joshua starts criticizing his mother for not being able to sell their house. He constantly tells his mother that if his father were there, he would have managed to sell the house immediately. He is also angry with his mother who perpetually assigns "women's work" to him. He complains about his mother's asking him to make tea by saying "just because Dad has left, you don't care who cooks the tea" (Emecheta, 1994: 43). Having grown up with home and host cultures, he seeks to find a loophole to disobey his mother's request by manipulating both English and African cultures. When he notices that his mother does not care about the African cultural norms that provide privilege for men based on their gender role, he attempts to manipulate British culture. Thus, he tries to convince his mother, who is culturally much closer to the norms in British culture, by giving a rare example from the host country, and he says "in some London families, boys don't cook rice" (Emecheta, 1994: 43). Joshua's age and his teenage attitudes in his father's absence show a tendency toward his parental culture in which he could see himself more privileged as a man, so he becomes more reliant on his gender-based identity.

Klemans, De Rose, Graber and Brooks-Gunn state that the gender-role identity is formed through social categorization and societal norms (2010: 527). In a study conducted by Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957), it is found that there are distinct general socialization practices for each gender. According to this study, there is a general tendency in rearing boys to teach them to achieve and be self-reliant and independent

while for girls the features taught are to be responsible, obedient and to be a nurturer. Joshua, in this stage of his life cycle, is experiencing a role confusion regarding his gender-based identity. However, his tendency to behave in line with the African gender-based identity is not exactly due to the culture that he has internalized but the power and status it would bring to him. In this way he can be capable to be recognized, so he would enhance his self-esteem that would ease his personal identity development.

After his father moves to Nigeria, Joshua begins to identify himself with his father more, and he tries to play the role of father in the family which would boost his self-esteem. This shift between African and British cultures is a sign of role confusion that Joshua experiences. While once he values his peers' views more than his father's cultural exposures, now when he confronts a situation in which he can attain the ultimate power and display an "authoritative manner" (Baumrind, 1966: 890) over his mother and sister- the female figures at home- he clings to the cultural identity that furnishes him with a higher status and respect. Joshua's tendency toward African culture just before moving to Nigeria is the precursor of the identity he would be developing in Nigeria, and the fact that he would not undergo culture shock in his father's homeland.

When Joshua moves to Nigeria, he enjoys the privileges of being a man in that culture. Soon he gets adapted to his school and traditions there. About his father's marrying his second wife, he does not show any reaction. He accepts this polygamous tradition for two reasons. Firstly, in Nigeria, children are not supposed to talk against their father's decision or to criticize him in any way, and secondly, he is aware that polygamy is one of the rights of men in African culture. During his life in Nigeria, he never suffers from economic hardships that his family confronts. He is not even expected to become a 'day student' when his father announces that he cannot afford paying boarding school tuitions for both Joshua and Bimpe (Emecheta, 1994: 120). As a consequence, for Joshua, Nigeria seems to be a paradise. That is why he eagerly lets his African gender-based identity become salient.

As stated in the theoretical part of this dissertation, gender-based identity is much related to cultural practices regarding gender differences. In addition, "parents'

gender-role attitudes and other aspects of parent-child relationships may be influential in the development of children's gender-role identity" (Lindberg, 2008: 8). Taking his father as his role model during his adolescence period, Joshua develops an identity that is much closer to the dominant culture in Africa. This is the way he re-emerges from the role confusion he has lived in Britain in the absence of his father. There is one more reason for Joshua's gender-based identity and that is as Lindberg states, during adolescence, the juveniles show a tendency toward a more traditional gender-role identity through which they behave in line with the stereotypical gender attitudes (2008: 1). Since adolescence is a transition period, in order to cope with the difficulties they face during this period, "females become more inclined to exhibit "compliant femininity" and seek intimate relations with others, while males exhibit "braggadocio" and seek to display their strength and independence" (qtd. in Lindberg, 2008: 2). In brief, Joshua's gender-based identity is a way for him to practice autonomy and independence that he could not have developed if he were to live in Britain.

After Joshua comes back to Britain from Nigeria, Kehinde notices a great change in his attitudes. He

> …was flexing his adolescent muscles. Kehinde looked at her son, and saw the gangling youth he had become. He felt he had the answer to the world's problems, having been to Africa, where young men were made to feel they owned heaven and earth. (Emecheta, 1994: 137).

The way Kehinde defines her son's change is the reflection of his gender-based identity and his thirst for gaining power. He considers himself as the only male figure at home who has the absolute power which is given to him by his gender. He is in his late adolescence, and he tries to force his mother to tell Mr. Gibson, their single tenant, to move out of their house. However, Kehinde is no more the submissive African woman he had last seen in Nigeria. In this certain period, Kehinde's gender identity is more in favor of the egalitarian gender attitude in Britain, and it is due to this identity that she has decided to leave Nigeria to acclaim and enjoy her rights in Britain.

Once more in his late teenage period, Joshua tries his manipulative attitudes to change his mother's decision to keep the tenant.

> JOSHUA…this is my house, and I want him out.
>
> KEHINDE. It's not quite like that. This is my house, though it may be yours one day.
>
> She waited for him to object that he was his father's first son, and that women don't own houses, but instead, … [Joshua] muttered sullenly, 'They say he's a homosexual'
>
> KEHINDE. Who says? Just because he's not married? This is England, you know, people are not obliged to be married here. And even if he were, what harm is there in that?
>
> Joshua stuck out his lower lip. '*Shio*, shameful. People like him should be shot. They carry disease, he spat.'(Emecheta, 1994: 137-138)

Joshua's claims obviously exhibit how he is inspired by the constructs of the African culture. He has developed a social identity through which an individual locates himself/herself in a system of social categorization in order to define his/her Self. This process of personal identification can result in internalization of some social categories up to the point that they become a component of self-concept (Turner, 1982: 18). By the end of this transformation, self-perception and behavior of individuals change "in line with the contextually relevant ingroup prototype" (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 123). Joshua's self-concept in this stage is formed in line with the African cultural norms according to which homosexuals have no right to exist as their attitude is shameful. Thus, as a member of African society, he positions himself in a higher status than Mr. Gibson who cannot be accepted as an ingroup member for his being homosexual.

Joshua's categorizing his mother as an outgroup member is also related to his dominant African identity as well as role confusion. To his cultural views, mothers are supposed to live for their children, they should be looked after by the male figures in

their families, they should carry the burdens of their family members all through their lives, and they do not have a right to possess houses as houses belong to men not women (Emecheta, 1994: 139). With these cultural assumptions he even boasts to his friends and his girlfriend Moya that his father has given him a house (Emercheta, 1994: 139). However, upon catching his mother in bed with Mr. Gibson (Emecheta, 1994: 138), he gets confused since to him, his mother is "not only depriving him of his rights, but ducking her responsibilities as a wife and mother" (Emecheta, 1994: 139). The confusion regarding his mother is partially related to his practicing the dis-integration period of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 79) as he feels the dichotomy between the cultural norms in Britain and the dominant gender-based and cultural identity that he has developed. In addition, this conflict that he lives in this period is partially the reflection of role confusion in him since he believes his mother's attitude is an attack to his pride, and it hinders his sense of recognition among his peers. That is why he develops hatred toward his mother.

To conclude, the main issues in the adolescence period are role confusion and identity development in Eriksonian terms. Joshua, who is in the middle of his adolescence period, experiences diverse role confusions. While in Britain, he is under the influence of his British peers, and he refuses his father's residual culture, so he develops a social and cultural identity in line with British cultural norms. Upon his father's going back to Nigeria, he desires to adopt the role of the father in the family, and his gender-identity which is more African becomes salient. When Joshua goes to Nigeria, with the significance that is given to him as a man, his gender-based identity becomes dominant. He tries to practice this identity upon his going back to Britain; however, his mother's rejecting the submissive role of an African woman confuses him once more. In the final stage of his identity development, when he is eighteen and lives in Britain, he becomes dominantly an African man who seeks to employ his cultural privileges which are not worth in British culture.

The other character, Bimpe, who is twelve, lives a milder role confusion than her brother. While in Britain, like her brother, she develops a social identity which is dominated by British culture. However, unlike her brother, Bimpe is much suppressed by her father due to her gender. She plays a role of follower in the early stages of her

adolescence and sides with her mother, takes her as her role model and when her brother argues with their parents, she supports her. Thus, her identity is much closer to British culture, yet it is not strong. When she goes to Nigeria, due to the absence of her mother, she gets adapted to the African culture easily. She develops a conformist identity. Although from time to time she criticizes the cultural practices in Nigeria, which shows her role confusion, she mainly comes to terms with her African culture-based identity.

The last character is Kehinde, about whose adolescence period there is little information. In her adolescence period, for Kehinde her friends at school are more important than her family members. This feeling stems from her childhood dislocations and lack of an attachment figure. In Allen, Hauser and Spurell's view unachieved attachment relations in childhood can also be reflected in adolescence period (1996: 254). Thus, not developing a sense of security toward her attachment figures in her childhood, Kehinde rejects the role that the culture and her family assign to her. Her final decision in this stage is building up her own family and letting them feel the security that she personally lacked in her life. Consequently, she develops an identity which does not conform to her residual culture.

2.3. ADULTHOOD PERIOD

In this novel, Albert and Kehinde are the two characters who are in their adulthood periods. They have formed their identities in their homeland under the cultural norms in Africa, and have moved to Britain after the age of eighteen. Thus, in the process of identity development, they have passed through the fifth stage of Eriksonian epigenetic life cycle in their homeland. However, as previously stated, when immigrants are displaced, under the influence of cultural practices in the new setting as they are acculturated, they start to re-form their already-built identity. The main influence that is seen in the process of acculturation of expatriates is the crises that they experience as a result of the diversities between the cultures of home and host. As a result, primarily this part will focus on the social identity of Albert and Kehinde, who

are in their "emerging adulthood" (Arnett, 2000: 469) period when they move to Britain.

Albert immigrates to Britain to continue his education after he graduates from high school, and later he sends for Kehinde to join him there. The husband and wife experience a culture shock (Pedersen, 1995) and are excited by the opportunities and privileges that Britain has provided for them when they arrive.When recalling their first years in Britain, Kehinde thinks,

> [The letters from Albert's sisters] and the newspapers seemed to be full of Nigeria's oil boom, but as far as Kehinde was concerned, they were doing fine in London and had no reason to go back. They loved parties and went out frequently in the old Jaguar, which Albert washed and polished every Friday evening. Sitting in the passenger seat beside Albert, with the car stereo playing Sunny Ade or Bob Marley, Kehinde did not worry much about what else was happening in the world. (Emecheta, 1994: 41)

She also remembers "unlike many Nigerian men, …[Albert] had adapted easily to the cultural dictates of England," so "news of increased violence and repeated coup in Nigeria had little impact" on them (Emecheta, 1994: 41). They are predominantly allured by the comfort and facilities they have accomplished in the host country. Since it is the first years of their displacement, they are under the influence of honeymoon period- the first stage in Adlerian culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 3)- so they enjoy their home, show off with their Jaguar, go to parties, and listen to British music. In other words, the Okolos,' by an opportunist behavior, mimic the people of host country who seem to be more powerful and recognized in that society (Berry, 2005: 699-700). They think by copying the British people, they would be able to reach the level of power and recognition the host people attain. However, as Homi Bhabha asserts, mimicry is an ironic compromise between the colonized and the colonial, yet it is ambivalent and a sign of double articulation. It "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (1984: 126). What Bhabha highlights is the other side of the coin which hides the immigrants' secret desire to

continue their indigenous culture and their hesitation in being influenced by the new environment and its opportunities. That is why Kehinde and Albert display their hidden African identity through boasting about their economic conditions which is entirely an African habit that makes no sense for British people. Although both Kehinde and Albert display a tendency to mimic the people in the host country, for instance by listening to British music as a step in the process of acculturation (Berry, 2005: 699), underneath this imitation there is always a desire to return home (Davis, 1977: 414), as Kehinde confesses, we "assumed…[we] would return eventually and build …[our] own house in Ibusa" (Emecheta, 1994: 41). This wish to go back can be a reflection of an internal doubt in their identity (Erikson, 1968: 112) because to some extent they feel by adopting the mainstream culture they have lost their autonomy which would result in their role confusion in their life cycle. Nevertheless, for Albert, this period of honeymoon loses its significance after a short time.

In his mid-adulthood and after eighteen years of living in Britain, Albert is still under the influence of his home culture. He continues his African habit of not eating breakfast and is very weak in establishing friendships at work. Unlike his English colleagues and just like his Pakistani friend Prahbu, whom he considers as an ingroup member due to his being an immigrant, Albert is used to asking his friend Mike's and his family's health every day and saying good morning when he arrives at work in the warehouse (Emecheta, 1994: 13). These strange attitudes of him give rise to the bullying of his colleagues that makes him develop a feeling of inferiority. Becoming a subject of scorn by his colleagues, Albert develops a defence mechanism called 'fixation' through which he remains "fixated on an old way of life, clinging to what is familiar because of fear of failure or of being unable to cope with the demands of a new situation" (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 46). Furthermore, in order to re-emerge from the crisis regarding the sense of inferiority, Albert categorizes his British work friends as outgroups and starts communicating only with the immigrants and the ones who do not criticize his dependency on his home culture. Albert's prejudiced behavior against outgroups and favoritism toward ingroups is the quest for gaining self-esteem, prestige and status in society (Tajfel, 1982: 3). It can be contended that in this phase of his life, Albert is experiencing the fourth stage of Eriksonian epigenetic lifecycle (Erikson, 1968: 122) as well as re-integrated stage of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 134). While

on the one hand he is seeking to gain his self-esteem among his work friends, on the other hand, he shows a tendency to reject the mainstream culture and depend on stereotypical generalizations to judge his outgroup work friends.

His rejecting British culture can be noticed in the concept of 'home', too. Home for Albert is nowhere other than Nigeria. Britain with its cold weather, unwelcoming atmosphere, and criticizing people is not his home. Home for Albert is Nigeria where he can feel the warm sunshine, live freely, and make friends easily (Emecheta, 1994: 6). The nostalgic idealization of home (Davis, 1977: 414; Berberich, 2007: 29) depicts that he is overwhelmed with the requirements of British culture and is depressed due to his inadequacy in overcoming the difficulties in this new society (Pedersen, 1995: 79). He can hardly overcome the distress and crisis stage that Adler defines as the second stage of culture shock.

When talking to Prahbu- his Pakistani friend-, once he confesses that he wants to go back to live in line with his father's life style, "a life of comparative ease for men, where men …[are] men and women … [are] women, and one …[is] respected as somebody" (Emecheta, 1994: 35). He says "here I am nobody, just a store keeper. I'm fed up with just listening to my wife and indulging her" (Emecheta, 1994: 35). Albert is neither happy with his job nor with his wife who earns more than him. Albert's nostalgic dream of going back (Davis, 1977: 414) to Nigeria is due to his not being recognized in Britain, his failure in business life, his earning less than his wife, and losing his power as a man in Britain. While on the personal side of his identity a sense of inferiority is prevalent, on the social side of it, failure in adjustment to the western culture can apparently be noticed. Therefore, he idealizes his past (Berberich, 2007: 29). In his memories he remembers his father;

> On Sundays, his father and his mates would put on crisps *agbadas* which their wives had spent the greater part of the week bleaching and starching. They would go from house to house visiting friends, drinking palm wine, eating kolanuts and dried fish. In this way they kept in touch with friends and relatives, caught up with home news and indulged in a little relaxation. (Emecheta, 1994: 35)

His identifying himself with his father is not much related to a sense of security or trust that Erikson believes to be the main reason of parental identification in childhood (Erikson, 1963: 247-248). Yet, in his mid-adulthood period, Albert's taking his father as his role model is an attempt to develop an autonomous and dignified identity (Erikson, 1968: 112). As an immigrant who highly values his African cultural norms, he is so distressed for not being able to be recognized in Britain. He is sure of the gender-based privileges that he would be enjoying in Nigeria upon his return, so that is why "he wanted to go home and show off his new life style, his material success. He would be able to build houses, to be someone. Nigeria was booming, and he wanted to join the party" (Emecheta, 1994: 6). In this stage of dis-integration, to him, the only positive side of spending all these years in Britain is saving a good amount of money with which he can get an opportunity to show off in Nigeria and overcome the sense of inferiority by attaining a well-respected status among his ingroups.

Having made his decision to go back to Nigeria, he starts manipulating his home culture by saying the culture in Nigeria "put[s] a lot of emphasis on home" and to Yourubas "the heir's head does not sleep outside, meaning the heir must always be buried in his father's compound" (Emecheta, 1994: 34). Briefly, he overshadows his personal failure in Britain through his home culture, in which, he thinks, he would regain his dominant position as a man.

Albert has also difficulty in accepting privileges that are provided socially and culturally for women in Britain. Culturally it is hard for him even to see that the most vital position in Britain belongs to a woman, the Queen, and soon a woman will become a Prime Minister (Emecheta, 1994: 35-36). He is frustrated with British culture and the way it has influenced his life and his wife. Albert thinks he has

> … played to perfection the role of the Igbo family man in London. But he was far from satisfied with its restrictions. Kehinde did not understand, but his sisters did. Kehinde would learn when they got home how she was supposed to behave. She was full of herself, playing the role of a white, middle-class woman, forgetting she was not only black, but an Igbo woman, just because she worked in a bank and earned more than he

> did. Many women worked in banks at home, but did not allow it to go to their heads. (Emecheta, 1994: 35)

Not only Albert discriminates English people as the members of outgroup, he also judges his wife, who as an ingroup African woman, is in favor of outgroups and exhibits attitudes that are not approved by the ingroup Africans. Hinkle and Brown argue that some members of groups with lower status and power may show a tendency toward the outgroup members who are in higher and more powerful positions (1990: 51). Thus, Kehinde's inclination toward British culture might be due to the facilities this culture has provided to her. However, to Albert, British culture is an actual threat in the identity formation of his family, who seem to be so willing in adjusting to it. In Albert's eyes, Kehinde is a delinquent African woman whose favoritism toward outgroups and her boasting for her achievement in financial setting bring nothing more than notoriety to her family and community. This categorization of Albert is related to his social identity. Emler and Hopkins contend that "individuals negotiate social identities with their communities, which in turn evaluate individuals' performances in terms of these identities" (qtd. in Hinkel and Brown, 1990: 113). Brown, Smith, and Pettigrew argue that "minorities are more apt to see their group as being more homogenous than majorities" (1990: 60). The common practice of minority groups who are deeply dependent on their cultural heritage is to "provide their members enhanced solidarity and social support" in order to overcome their inferior position (Hinkle and Brown, 1990: 60). In addition, Simon and Brown indicate that minority's desire to see their ingroups as homogenous is mainly related to their wish or desire to maintain "cohesion in the face of perceived threats to its integrity from the majority" (qtd. in Hinkel and Brown, 1990: 60). Therefore, Kehinde's social identity which is formed in a way closer to British culture than African culture makes her a "black sheep" who should be rejected by her minority ingroup due to her deviation "from the group consensus consistently" (Marques, 1990: 131).

In her mid-adulthood period, Albert is also worried about his children's growing up with outgroup British culture. He remembers when the children were much younger, they used to sleep in one room and they used to say prayers before they slept, yet they no more do it although they are from Catholic background. Thus, he is concerned about

their children's losing their parental beliefs, traditions, as well as religious practices. This doubt in Albert reflects the importance of 'generativity' in this stage of lifespan. As Erikson (1968) claims, the individuals in their mid-adulthood seek to nurture their children or create some long-lasting creative product and in this way they develop a sense of generativity, yet failure to achieve this, there starts a crisis through which they develop a sense of stagnation or boredom toward their life (138). Albert believes that his children's deviating from their parental culture will be a failure in his generativity which will result in his boredom. Thus, his sisters' insistence on their going back to Nigeria seems to him as an opportunity to raise their children in a country where they really belong so that he assumes he can save them from the unpleasant cultural practices in Britain.

During adulthood period, intimacy is an effective factor in building personal identity. The intimate relation between Kehinde and Albert is formed according to the cultural norms in Africa. Albert behaves as an African man who has to show his power even during their sexual relation. After the farewell party that Kehinde arranges for Albert, he becomes one of the happiest men in the world because he has managed to influence all the guests with the richness of their culture and traditional customs. Thus, as a way to appreciate Kehinde's efforts, after the party ends, he starts dancing with Kehinde and singing the English song of Bonnie Mack "My sweetie, my sugar" (Emecheta, 1994: 40). Kehinde becomes surprised by the change in Albert's style as he has never behaved in this way. Albert asks Kehinde,

> Make you leave all that, boh. Come now, madam wife.
>
> Albert propelled her into their downstairs bedroom. Kehinde was too weary to offer any resistance, worn out wearing a social mask, talking nonsense and being a hostess. She noticed the lightness of Albert's touch, his playfulness, and his impatience. He did not pretend to satisfy her first. He was very sure of himself, like a boy released from school. Before she could begin to take pleasure in it, he had finished and fallen asleep. (Emecheta, 1994: 40)

In many patriarchal societies as it is in African culture, sexuality is a way to show the dominant power of males. Men attain self-esteem when they dominate in their sexual relations and enjoy the privilege that their culture has attributed to them through their gender. Therefore, Albert is not much interested in how Kehinde feels since she has to be a submissive wife who would yield to her husband's wishes. Erikson (1963) assures that through intimate relations, couples come to the position to unite their identities (263); however dissatisfaction in intimate relationship causes isolation (1968: 135-136). However, the sexuality between Albert and Kehinde cannot be regarded as intimacy but a power-based sexual intercourse that results in Kehinde's frustration in this stage. Although as an African woman Kehinde has no choice to reject her husband's wish to have sexual relationship, she starts judging her life and feeling that she deserves "more consideration than Albert was giving her" (Emecheta, 1994: 41). Kehinde's questioning her submissive position in her marriage has a close relation to the difference between British and African cultures. Due to her British identity that she has developed in Britain, she believes that the intimate relationship between a husband and wife should be based on mutual pleasure not a one-sided dominant pressure by the husband. Therefore, in this phase, Kehinde does not accomplish in her intimate relation.

Upon hearing the news of Kehinde's pregnancy which exactly coincides with Albert's decision to go back to Nigeria, Albert experiences a dilemma whether to keep the baby or to have it aborted. This is one of the serious crises that Albert experiences in his adulthood. Albert, a man, who is too dependent on his residual culture, knows that Kehinde's pregnancy would be an obstacle on their way to go back. He discusses the issue with his work friend Prahbu:

> ALBERT. This is not the right time for another one. I know abortion is wrong but we are in a strange country, where you do things contrary to your culture.
>
> PRAHBU. Was that what you had in mind? Abortion?
>
> Albert nodded.

> PRAHBU. What does your wife say to that? Our women can be difficult when it comes to things like that. A white woman, easy, she'll see sense.
>
> ALBERT. Er… I haven't even told her yet. But she will do what I say, after a lot of tantrums. Stupid country, where you need your wife's money to make ends meet.
>
> PRAHBU. I know what you mean. Women rule in this country. Prahbu said in a long-suffering voice. And children are regarded as a luxury.
>
> Albert nodded. In my country, children are necessity. They mean a good old age with plenty to eat. And with grandchildren, people respect you. (Emecheta, 1994: 15-16)

In his mid-adulthood, Albert's identity undergoes a moratorium status which is a central issue in the adolescence period. He finds himself in the middle of a crisis whether to choose the parental cultural demands or society's expectations (Marcia, 1966: 552). The decision to abort the baby reflects his unstable stand in his identity. Previously, in many cases he has behaved in line with his African cultural identity. He even gets Joshua circumcised in Britain (Emecheta, 1994: 15) to show his conformity with his cultural and religious practices in Nigeria. However, in the case of aborting the baby, he takes an opposite stand against his cultural norms. He is aware of the fallacy in his decision in this regard, yet without hesitation and without asking for Kehinde's consent he decides to take Kehinde to a private clinic to get rid of the baby since the birth of the baby would obstruct their return to Nigeria. Albert shows a dominant gender-based identity about abortion, and uses projection as a defence mechanism to justify this act by blaming Britain and British culture. Freud believes that "projection may also enable a person to express threatening impulses under the guise of self-defence" (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 45-46). Thus, in favor of realizing his personal desires, he manipulates his home culture as well as British culture.

Albert's fluctuating African gender identity takes a firmer stand upon his leaving Britain and starting to live in Nigeria. When Kehinde sees Albert at the airport after two years, she notices an apparent change in his appearance as well as self-confidence.

> He looked more imposing than the London Albert, in flowing white lace *agbada* [a wide sleeved robe] and matching skull cap. His skin was darker and glossier, and he exuded a new confidence. Women knew the country did this to their men. There was no doubt about it, Albert was thoroughly at home. (Emecheta, 1994: 67)

In Nigeria, Albert has regained his power as a man, so he shows a firm identity that is based on his African culture. Contrary to his state in Britain, in his homeland he experiences a sense of being recognized which enhances his self-esteem (Erikson, 1968: 159). To Kehinde, Albert "had never been an openly demonstrative person, but in the last two years he had acquired a new layer of self-control and detachment" (Emecheta, 1994: 67). The difference seen in Albert's appearance and behavior is highly related to the self-categorization theory according to which he has formed his social identity. Hogg and Terry (2000) assure that in self-categorization theory, the main emphasis is on self and self-enhancement and the fact that uncertainty about self should be minimized (124). They further assert that "self-categorization reduces uncertainty by transforming self-conception and assimilating self to a prototype that describes and prescribes perceptions and attitudes feelings and behaviours" (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 124). The importance of self-conception in this theory is due to the fact that an individual personally distinguishes his/her position as an ingroup member by evaluating how matched he/she is with the prototypical ingroup that he/she belongs to. In this way, he/she gains authority to define his/her self within his/her own perception of what requirements he/she should fulfil in order to get closer to the norms and conditions of being an ingroup prototype. That is, the external judgments of other prototypical ingroup members to define an individual's self-conception are underestimated in this theory. The dominant self-doubt that Albert has lived in Britain among his outgroups is reduced in Nigeria, so he has come to a point to rely on himself more. In line with the familiar stereotypical norms of African culture, Albert is not discriminated due to his attitude as it used to be in Britain. That is why upon his return to his home, he feels

secure and gets recognition that is reflected both in his physical appearance and attitude. The new identity or self-concept that he has formed and/or adopted in this period is a prototypical culture- based one by which he feels himself more secure.

The salient cultural identity in Albert starts to shake upon Kehinde's arrival in Nigeria. When Kehinde returns and finds out that he has married a second woman and has a baby boy and another baby on the way, she is shocked. Being aware of the fact that Kehinde would never accept this act of him, Albert tries to validate his polygamous second marriage by relating it to religious norms in his homeland. Even though in Britain Albert has never bothered himself to go to church and practice his religious duties, in order to justify his relationship with Rike, his second wife, he tells Kehinde that a prophet in the church has informed him that Rike's baby will be born under a lucky star so that he will bring good luck to him, and that is the only reason he has decided to marry Rike (Emecheta, 1994: 86-87). This manipulative attitude of Albert reflects his newly developed social identity through which he desires to be accepted by his ingroup family members and the social circle which expect him to behave as an African ingroup member. Hogg and Terry claim that in the core of social identity development there lies 'prototype-based depersonalization,' and groups are internally structured in terms of perceived or actual group prototypicality of members (2000: 121-122). In the process of prototype-based depersonalization "self- categorization cognitively assimilates self to the ingroup prototype and, thus, depersonalizes [individualistic] self-conception" (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 123). Thus, Albert no more behaves in line with his personal identity, rather he conforms to the values and goals of the group which expect him to lead a polygamous life as a man of status.

In an indirect way he also blames Kehinde for not having a desire to have another baby after abortion, so in this way as Rike is young, she can minimize Kehinde's burden in delivering other babies (Emecheta, 1994: 87). He blames Kehinde for aborting the baby while in actual fact it is he, who tells Kehinde to abort the baby and close her tubes due to their financial situation, and it is him who arranges the clinic and signs all the necessary documents for abortion. Albert's blaming Kehinde manifests his sense of guilt which is an aspect of epigenetic identity development in the childhood period (Erikson, 1968: 115). Although he is aware of his wrong action in this regard,

once more he uses "projection" as a defence mechanism (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 45), and by ascribing his unacceptable attitudes to Kehinde he tends to relieve his conscience. Against all these forced justifications and distortions of the truth, Kehinde tries hard not to allow herself to sink (Emecheta, 1994: 88-89). She knows that what Albert wishes for is the happy life in his father's time, yet he has no other choice but accept this modern way of life in Nigeria. That is, through projection and distortion of truth, Albert tries to overcome the crisis in this period.

In *Kehinde,* another character who undergoes a change during her identity development in adulthood period is Kehinde, the protagonist. In her adulthood, Kehinde is still floundering between home and host cultures. There is no consistency as to which identity or space she really belongs to. When she hears the news of Albert's sisters' request about their going back, she is bewildered since she thinks that they are happy with their lives in Britain. However, in many different cases she criticizes British people, their attitudes and culture. This is an indication of her role confusion as an individual that is one of the characteristics of adolescence period (Erikson, 1968: 128). Kehinde is, in fact, in the second stage of culture shock- dis-integration- in which she approaches the cultural diversity with doubt (Pedersen, 1995: 79). As an immigrant, she is partially acculturated (Berry, 2005), and in accordance with her partial adaptation to the British culture, she talks less formally to her husband which is not a well-accepted attitude in Nigeria (Emecheta, 1994: 22). Her wearing Marks and Spencer outfits, eating beef burgers and drinking not tea but coffee during lunch breaks with her colleagues are the signs of her mimicking British people and culture (Berry, 2005: 699-700) that manifest her social identity that is close to the host rather than the home culture.

In spite of her British social identity and as a part of her dis-integration status, together with her friend Moriammo, though not severly, Kehinde discloses a prejudiced manner toward the white single mothers and their children when she is having lunch in a restaurant near their bank.

> The children looked pinched and deprived, the mothers harassed. It was not the first time that Kehinde and Moriammo had seen them.

MORIAMMO. These ones na one-parent family. Homeless, too, Moriammo commented.

KEHINDE. Ah, how you know that? They just be ordinary women with unemployed husbands.

Moriammo shook her head. No, I heard them talk the other day. Dem dey lie for that bed and breakfast place up Crouch Hill. Allah! I no understand why some women fit allow themselves to be trapped in such a situation. Why dem no get jobs, even if na ordinary cleaning?

A thoughtful pause followed, during which the two black women, well established in their jobs and in their homes, scruitinised the two younger women.

MORIAMMO. And dis be dem country too. I think they just lazy, whispered Moriammo, who could only see that the women were white. (Emecheta, 1994: 10)

Both of these black immigrants who have well-paid jobs and well-established houses in Britain criticize the white single mothers both for their being lazy to work instead of taking unemployment compensation from the government and having babies without being married. This criticism, obviously, appears due to their strict reliance on their home culture according to which women cannot even consider to have children without a man supporting them. Outgrouping and discrimination of these white single mothers by Kehinde and Moriammo gets more harshly when they claim that white women with low social status do not dare to show racial prejudice since “they can’t afford it” (Emecheta, 1994: 11). In line with Social Identity Theory (Turner, 1982), Kehinde and Moriammo have developed a social identity through which they identify themselves with the same social group- Black people- while discriminating white people and their life styles (15). That is, Kehinde and Moriammo consider themselves as the ones who are more recognized and valuable than the white majority who in most cases denigrate them due to their race.

Kehinde's African identity is also dominant when she discriminates an African woman Mary Elikwu who leaves her husband and takes her six children since her husband is used to beat them. After leaving her husband, Mary takes a university degree in sociology, adopts an English way of life, and starts to lead "One Parent Family Group" with her newly adopted English last name Jackson (Emecheta, 1994: 38-61). In accordance with her British identity, Mary dresses plainly and she asks Kehinde to call her by her first name and not Mrs. Jackson though "Nigerian women die for a title" (Emecheta, 1994: 39). To Kehinde with her salient African identity, Mary is nothing more than a marginalized woman "who refuse[s] to work at her marriage" and is "a fallen woman who ha[s] no sense of decorum" (Emecheta, 1994: 38-39). Apparently in her mid-adulthood period just before returning to Nigeria, Kehinde's identity is in a foreclosure status which is one of the features in adolescence period (Marcia, 1966: 552). Although while in Africa she rejects her cultural values, when she is in Britain, she clings back to those parental African values.

Following Albert's decision to go back to Nigeria, as an African cultural practice they arrange a farewell party for Albert.

> Kehinde did not let Albert down. She treated her guests to the whole array of Nigerian traditional styles and fabrics, from guinea *boubou* [a robe worn by women (Emecheta, 1994: 143)] to *aso-oke iro* [traditional Yoruba cloth (Emecheta, 1994: 143)] and *buba* [head tie], to the Igbo lace blouse and George lappa, ending with the Igbo ceremonial costume of white *out-ogwu* ["cloth wound about the body under the armpits" (Emecheta, 1994: 144). This consisted of a cloth wound around her body beneath the armpits, leaving her shoulders bare. Precious coral beads adorned her neck, hair and ears. The outfit was to emphasize her position as first wife of the first son, and the mother of a son herself. Kehinde revelled in the impression she created. (Emechera, 1994: 38)

For their English friends this cultural showing off makes no sense, yet for both Okolos and the people from a similar culture like Moriammo and Tunde, who have always had their social faces on as their "second nature" (Emecheta, 1994: 40), this party seems to

be an occasion to boast about their cultural customs at home which they did not display openly because they felt it necessary to wear social masks in Britain to prove their adaptation to the new country. In other words, as Hinkle and Brown (1990) assert, immigrants strive to gain value in the host culture, and that is why they attempt to hide their real nature through a social mask (113). However, underneath the mask the expatriates wear, there lies a lack of achieved identity in them. Kehinde's outfit and the way she tries to create an impact on their social circle is a sign of her salient culture-based identity which values African norms more.

One of the factors that results in identity crisis in immigrants is the difference between the languages of home and host. In other words, language can become an aspect in discriminating people as ingroups and outgroups when forming their social identities. In Okolo family, as mentioned in the childhood period of this study, while the parents want to converse on a private issue at home, they immediately switch to their Igbo language so that the children do not understand what their parents are talking about. This phenomenon is explained by Van Dijk and Wardhaugh as code switching (Van Dijk, 2009: 169). Van Dijk states that metaphorical code-switching "may bring an extra flavor of social meaning, e.g., of confidentiality or privacy to the conversation" (2009:169). The parents' code-switching in *Kehinde* can be defined more as a metaphorical code switching, since they hesitate to share confidential topics or their arguments in a language that their children are competent in.

From another perspective, this use of home language by the parents is an indication of outgrouping of the children who believe their mother tongue is English. In the Okolos case, shifting from English language to Igbo language shows the cultural distance between the parents and their children. While the parents share a common culture and language based on their residual culture, the children are discriminated and 'othered' when the topic to be discussed is not desired to be shared with them. Thus, the children develop a sense of inferiority by being categorized as outgroup members in their own family.

Kehinde is one of the characters who uses conversational code-mixing (Wardhaugh, 1986) perfectly. Kehinde is both competent in her Igbo language and

English. Her skills in speaking English is so developed that she is asked by the Arab Sheikh, a customer in the hotel where she works after returning to Britain, to teach his wife English (Emecheta, 1994: 129). However, all along the novel, her speech with her friend Moriammo is a complete conversational code mixing.

There are many examples of this mixed or hybrid language throughout the novel. In one case Moriammo criticizes Kehinde's eating style during their lunch break:

> MORIAMMO. Eh, today na Friday. We get plenty shopping to do. Why you dey chop, small, small like *oyinbo*?
>
> KEHINDE. Not be only *oyinbos* wey chop small small. In fact, sef, dem chop so fast too. You never see those women wey dey sell cabbage for market chop. (Emecheta, 1994: 8)

The language Kehinde uses to speak with her friend Moriammo is neither English nor Nigerian. In fact, it is an invented hybrid language consisting of both English and Nigerian that could only be comprehended by bilinguals who are competent in these two languages. Although some African words are given in the glossary part at the end of the novel, still it is hard to have a true translation of the dialogue. From the glossary the reader can understand that oyinbo means "a white person" and from the context it is clear that Moriammo is criticizing Kehinde both for eating slowly and imitating white people who chop their food slowly. However, the problem starts when one word is used for a different purpose with a different meaning which creates ambiguity in some occasions. For instance, in the dialogue above, the word "dey" has different meanings. In Moriammo's sentence "dey" stands for "do", while in Kehinde's sentence "dey" means "them". Thus, this complexity in code mixing, on the one hand, shows competence in both languages, while on the other, it exhibits the invented language that might only make sense to immigrants of the same background who are familiar with the context. It can be concluded that immigrants' use of code-mixing apparently illustrates their in-between identity which neither belongs to their home, nor to the host country.

One of Kehinde's adulthood identity crises that triggers her sense of shame and inferiority appears when Albert takes her to the clinic to abort the child. While looking for the address of the clinic,

> …they approached a lone woman in a red leather mini-skirt and a cheap fur coat. Her steps slowed as they drew level and she bent down to look inside the car. Seeing Kehinde, she straightened abruptly and wiggled away, a wraithlike worm of cigarette smoke trailing behind her.
>
> Kehinde, hunched miserably in her seat, thought that, after all, Albert had brought her to the level of that woman- that prostitude. To him, they were the same, just bodies, convenient vehicles which, when they took on an inconvenient burden, could be emptied of it by the same means. Into Kehinde's mind, interrupting her thoughts, came a voice, the same voice she often heard when she was lonely or confused. 'Our mother died having you. I too died so you could live. Are you now going to kill your child before he has a chance of life? (Emecheta, 1994: 17)

Kehinde culturally categorizes the prostitute she sees on the street, and she degrades her as a woman who belongs to a lower social status. To her African culture, a married woman should never be positioned in a status even close to a prostitute's status as it would bring shame to her and her family. However, when she thinks about Albert's attitude, she blames him for downgrading his wife to the level of that woman. In fact, Albert triggers a sense of inferiority in Kehinde by treating her as a commodity and not respecting her views since she is a woman. This sense of shame and doubt creates confusion in Kehinde and activates her inner voice, Taiwo, to warn her not to abort the baby. Although in many cases, Taiwo plays a provocative role in Kehinde's decisions and ideas, in this case both Kehinde and Taiwo share a common view. Both of them believe that "chi" or soul of a father would be born in a new born baby to protect the family, so she should not abort the baby. Keppler (1972) notes that twins are composed of two selves, and the second- self reveals the suppressed or unrealized aspects of the first self (9). Therefore, Taiwo's warnings, in fact, are the suppressed voice of Kehinde

whose social identity reveals her dominant Nigerian culture. However, she has no choice rather than accepting her husband's decision.

When Kehinde sends their children to Nigeria and stays in Britain alone in order to sell the house, once more she gets frustrated and depressed since she is neither able to sell the house after one year nor is she able to pay for fixing the leakage on the roof; thus, all her confidence slips away (Emecheta, 1994: 44). As Moriammo is too busy with her new-born baby and Kehinde has no other friends to share her anxieties with, she becomes more isolated. She feels she is marginalized to everyone else as a married woman whose family has left her and gone to Nigeria (Emecheta, 1994: 44-46).

During this period of despair and loneliness the inner voice of Taiwo is profoundly dominant in Kehinde's identity. Although she has never suspected about Albert's infidelity, her Taiwo reminds her about the customs in Nigeria. She voices out the questions that Kehinde has long buried deep inside.

> Why do Albert's letters say nothing? What is he hiding? Why does Ifeyinwa suddenly never write anymore? It was a year now since he had left. The dream she had had at the hospital came back to her, and Taiwo's voice: See our father was coming to protect you from this, but you killed him. Do you think your Alby can live alone all this time? Who do you imagine is giving him the attention he needs to survive…why don't you go to Nigeria and find out what is happening, before it is too late? Have you forgotten that in Nigeria it's considered manly for men to be unfaithful? Even if he didn't want women they would come to him. (Emecheta, 1994: 46)

Taiwo's voice is the hidden African identity that Kehinde has in her. The questions that Taiwo asks are, in fact, Kehinde's questions that she hesitates to voice out due to her British cultural identity. Kehinde tries to refute her Taiwo's claims about Albert in order to keep and continue her sense of trust in him. She believes that Albert is not like other Nigerian men since he has principles and is a careful man in keeping his family happy (Emecheta, 1994: 47). All through the eighteen years of living in Britain, Kehinde has

never seen him in an attempt to break his family apart or making Kehinde unhappy, so why should she be doubtful about him, she thinks (Emecheta, 1994: 47). The struggle between her inner voice or 'second-self' (Keppler, 1972: 9) which forces her to go back and save her marriage and her rational self which calms her down by saying there is no need to panic, continues for a short time. Kehinde does not believe a one- year period in Nigeria could have changed Albert that much. Kehinde has substituted Albert as her attachment figure during her adulthood, so she gets confused by her Taiwo's provocative claims.

As it is previously stated, an attachment figure plays an important role in developing a sense of trust and security (Bretherton, 1992; Cassell, 2001; Erikson, 1963, 1968). In her childhood period, Kehinde experiences confusions in many cases regarding the concept of attachment figure or caregiver. When she moves to Britain, as an immigrant who has left her family behind in Nigeria, she bestows all her trust upon Albert. Thus, Albert becomes the attachment figure and the protector of Kehinde in an entirely new society in Britain. The hesitations concerning his infidelity that is budded by her inner voice triggers her sense of trust in her husband. Thus, she has to reaffirm that sense of trust in order to re-emerge from her identity crisis, but there is no alternative than going back to Nigeria.

Meanwhile, Kehinde faces another crisis regarding her work. She knows that in order to go back to reunite with her family, she has to leave her job in the bank, but she is not very sure about the consequences of this decision. She is quite aware that she cannot take a similar job in a bank in Nigeria due to the boycott in force in Nigeria (Emecheta, 1994: 51), so she will be financially dependent on Albert which means losing all the power that she has gained in Britain. In addition, she has to face the cultural pressures that would be applied on her there. In African culture, an Igbo woman's capacity to work is considered as her asset, and her not being productive as a woman would lead to her being discarded (Emecheta, 1994: 52). Kehinde knows that in case of not being able to find a well-paid job in Nigeria, she will not attain a high status in the eyes of her family there, so that she would lose her self-esteem. Furthermore, as she has had her tubes tied during abortion, she has lost her chance to get pregnant and give birth to more children which is an indication of being a productive woman in

Nigeria. Taking all these into consideration and being aware that she will no more possess the same value she has obtained in Britain, she takes the risk to resign and go back to rescue her family (Emecheta, 1994: 52). What lies behind this decision is her lack of trust in her husband that is awakened by her inner voice of Taiwo, her second-self.

One more issue which is highly influential in her decision to go back is the denigration that she has lately experienced by her social circle. She is discriminated by the people of her own culture as an outgroup member when she starts living alone in Britain after Albert and their children move to Nigeria. The first criticism against her emerges when she rents one of the rooms of her house to a single black Caribbean man called Michael Gibson who is a well-spoken, well-educated and polite man working at the local community centre (Emecheta, 1994: 46). The severest criticism toward Kehinde comes from Moriammo's husband, Tunde, who is a Muslim immigrant from Bangladesh. He spits out his "pent-up envy" of the Okolos (Emecheta, 1994: 57) during his argument with his wife when their son's pram is lost in front of Kehinde's house.

> He spoke with contempt of the inadequacies of men like Albert, who leave their wives at the mercy of all-comers in London, who take their wives to clinics to abort their babies because of money. Why did he go back to Nigeria when they both had good jobs? It was because of greed and the love of women. It was obvious Alby must have another woman by now, and had no further use for Kehinde. No doubt he was trying to leave his wife discreetly since he had never been able to stand up to her. All that handholding in public was for show. (Emecheta, 1994: 57)

Tunde humiliates both Kehinde and Albert for their behaving against the norms of their ethnic social groups (Hogg and Reid, 2006: 10). In his viewpoint which is culturally formed, women are only recognized in their husbands' presence. Without Albert, Kehinde would be nothing more than a prostitute, who has no value in society, and who should be at the service of all men around. Thus, he bans his wife from associating with Kehinde, since to him Kehinde is a woman who has sent all her family members to Nigeria "so she could have a good time" in Britain (Emecheta, 1994: 56). He also

accuses Albert to be a womanizer and a person who does not respect his cultural practices in Britain as he is always under the dominance of his wife and pictures a happy marriage. Beneath these criticisms there lies a sense of jealousy and inferiority that Tunde feels personally. Tunde's stereotyping or discriminating the Okolos is related to his failure in attaining self-esteem in the host country as an immigrant when he notices Kehinde and her family seem to have a higher social status in their social group (Hinkel and Brown 1990: 113). Therefore, he harshly disgraces Kehinde as a woman and a wife that creates an identity crisis in Kehinde. In the face of these humiliations, Kehinde becomes more determined in her decision. She believes that she has to leave the country and their social circle which do not recognize her as a person anymore.

Just before she leaves, she decides to celebrate her birthday. What she wishes for is arranging a gathering just like Albert's farewell party, yet it becomes a frustration. She invites many friends and acquaintances including Moriammo and Tunde, but to her surprise neither they come nor do they bother themselves to call for apologies, then she feels that "without Albert she [is] a half-person" and "she plunge[s] into depression" (Emecheta, 1994: 58-59). This is, in fact, the first time she realizes that she is an outgroup to the members of her own African society in Britain. Her being rejected by her ethnic social circle evokes a sense of inferiority both in her personal and social identity.

Not only is Kehinde alienated by her ingroup members, but she is also discriminated by her English friends when she shares her decision to go back to Nigeria. They start to tease her to be an African woman who has missed her husband, so she wants to go back and have one more child like her other immigrant friends. The bank manager does not even bother himself to say a word to Kehinde who has been working there for ten years since he is indifferent to Kehinde's working or leaving (Emecheta, 1994: 62). Kehinde feels she neither belongs to her home nor to the host country. Although she reacts to her colleagues to defend her decision to "go back home", she is well aware that she is "suppressing the knowledge that, apart from her immediate family, she …[has] been away too long for her absence to matter to anyone" (Emecheta, 1994: 62). As a result, these degrading experiences challenge Kehinde's perception of

her Self. That is, the discrepancy between how she perceives herself and how others judge her creates confusion in Kehinde's identity development.

The best way she may re-emerge from this internal conflict is consulting her friend Moriammo in whom she trusts completely. For many expatriates, peer influence that is one of the most influential concepts during childhood and adolescence regains its importance in adulthood as well. As these dislocated people have left the familiar environment and the people they know and trust in their homeland, they attempt to rebuild friendship in the host country. The common practice in building friendship by immigrants is categorizing the people from a common culture with common behavioral attitudes (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93) as ingroups to have a closer and more trustworthy relation while outgrouping the people of the receiving society. Kehinde and Moriammo have known each other since they left Nigeria. After taking a long ship trip they come and join their future husbands in Britain. During this journey, they share their fears and worries, "they … [sleep] on the same bunk, clutching each other," and since Moriammo has not seen her husband before, Kehinde promises her to take care of her if Moriammo does not like Tunde (Emecheta, 1994: 93). For Kehinde, Moriammo is a sister and even from time to time she substitutes her for her Taiwo (Emecheta, 1994: 92-93). Later they start working in the same bank and earn more than their husbands. On many occasions, they come together and spend time like school girls giggling. All through their years in Britain they share all their secrets and develop a sense of trust that means a lot to both. The bond between Kehinde and Moriammo built in their late adolescence is very strong as they identify one another as an attachment figure, who would provide a sense of security and support (Bretherton, 1992: 760). Moreover, Kehinde's replacing Moriammo for her dead twin is also a distinctive factor in their relationship since as Greenberg and Greenberg assert, there is a preternatural bond between twins who overcome the separateness from their parents with intuitive, empathetic understanding (2012: 7). Therefore, for Kehinde, Moriammo is like her 'second half' who plays a 'complementary role' (Hendman, 1990: 1) in her identity development. Nevertheless, Moriammo, who is a suppressed Muslim woman, bows to her husband's instruction and cuts her relation with her friend without informing her of the reason that gives rise to another severe crisis in Kehinde's personal identity.

Upon Moriammo's withdrawal from Kehinde's life, Kehinde starts to feel guilt and shame which are the common feelings that are developed during childhood when an individual is about five (Erikson, 1968: 94-119). Erikson contends that the sense of guilt may reflect negative consequences in the later stages of individuals' lives. They might either blame themselves for the guilt, or develop a sense of hatred toward the ones who initiate the sense of guilt (Erikson, 1968: 119-120). Not knowing Tunde's pressure on Moriammo to stop her contact with her friend, Kehinde continuously blames herself for not being careful and alert enough to take her friend's baby's pram in to avoid its being stolen which she considers to be the real reason for Moriammo's anger. Partially she is ashamed of being involved too much with food and naughty films that they secretly see during Moriammo's visit so that she announces herself as the guilty person in losing her friend. Loss of her friend and the duality she lives in making a decision whether to go or to stay push Kehinde into a total state of despair.

Having been outgrouped by her husband, her close friend Moriammo and her colleagues at work, she comes to a point of self-criticism and feels the need to make a decision to re-emerge from the crisis. With her friend Moriammo's confession about the cause of her withdrawal, Kehinde realizes that she is "now a fallen woman, like the street walker she had condemned on their way to aborting their baby when she was covered in furs and purring like a spoilt cat in Albert's Jaguar" (Emecheta, 1994: 61). She is not sure whether to blame herself or Albert for this distasteful condition from which she is suffering. She wonders about the bigotry or prejudice of people who blame her for staying alone to taste her freedom. She cannot understand why she is outgrouped as the guilty party when she has not committed a crime (Emecheta, 1994: 61). Erikson (1968) asserts that in order to overcome the dark continent of doubt, an individual needs to attain his/her autonomy and liberate himself/herself from the bonds of uncertainty about the origin of the doubt (112-114). Kehinde releases herself from this internal-doubt through self-criticism. The awakening or self-realization comes to her when she thinks about her own prejudiced manner of discriminating or othering Mary Elikwu, who has chosen an English way of life. She is exactly in the same position as Mary, and in order to clean up her wrong action toward her, Kehinde decides to call her. This becomes Kehinde's first step in overcoming her prejudiced behavior that seems to be an obstacle in achieving her real personal and social identity. After she comes to terms

with her Self and distancing the sense of guilt and shame in her, she buys her ticket to go to Nigeria.

When Kehinde goes back to Nigeria, she experiences "a reverse culture shock" (Gaw, 2000 and Mitchel, 2006). At first sight, the country seems to be a modern and developed one compared to 20 years ago when she was leaving it, yet after a few hours on the way to go home from the airport, she is disgusted by the idea that she has to live with Albert's sisters in the same house, while dreaming of spending a few days alone with Albert (Emecheta, 1994: 68). She is also shocked by the changes in her hometown. On their way from the airport to their home,

> …they were plunged into a maelstrom of fumes, car horns, careering big yellow buses, minibuses packed to capacity and people: the heart of Lagos, Lagos Island Eko. Kehinde, unaccustomed to the noise and chaos, was startled, but Albert picked his way adroitly through narrow side roads, cluttered with abandoned cars. They turned at last into a small but freshly tarred road, lined with colourful bungalows. This street was cleaner, though the smell of rotting rubbish coming from the open gutters was suffocating. (Emecheta, 1994: 68)

Kehinde has lived abroad for so long that her home town seems too strange to her. Although she has spent her childhood and adolescence periods in Nigeria, she is bewildered with the traffic, noise, and the dirt she confronts there. Actually, the reason for her reverse culture shock is her being deeply used to the conditions and life standards in Britain so that it seems impossible to her to readjust to her home again (Gaw, 2000: 85). That is, she has unconsciously adopted a British identity, so that accepting her home country with its poor conditions is impossible.

Her reverse culture shock gets deepened when she arrives home. The first shocking issue is when she sees a pregnant young and beautiful woman who is holding a two-year old child in her lap waiting at the door of their house whom she learns later to be Albert's second wife (Emecheta, 1994: 68). After entering the house, she notices that they have arranged a separate room with a single bed, so she wonders about the

king size bed that she had bought from Harrods and shipped to Nigeria (Emecheta, 1994: 69). She is also warned by her sister Ifeyinwa not to call her husband by his name as a habit "in the land of white people" as if he is a house boy or she has "circumcised him" but as "our husband" or Joshua's father (Emecheta, 1994: 70). Soon she finds out that Albert has married Rike and they have a son and a baby on the way. She learns that her position as the first wife of the first son has granted her a position to take the best room in the house, though she has to keep in her mind that the hierarchy in the family is one of the most esteemed issues upon the violation of which she would be encountered with humiliation. "Kehinde had thought at one time that when they returned to Nigeria, they would be above all that, and people like Mama Kaduna [Albert's elder sister] and Aunt Mary [Albert's little sister] would be kept in their places" (Emecheta, 1994: 73). However, she realizes that she has been wrong, and that they are much stronger than she thought. All these start a new crisis in her that she has to overcome in order to complete the process of identity formation. Kehinde's crisis in this stage is related to her social identity that is formed according to British culture. She was familiar with the polygamous practices in Nigeria, and she was quite aware of the cultural practices regarding the gender-based discrimination of women and the highly acknowledged status of men in her home culture before she moved to Britain. Yet, having lived in Britain for more than twenty years, and having been partially acculturated there, she gets confused to notice that she is not accepted and recognized as an ingroup member in her homeland either.

One more shocking event that shakes Kehinde's identity and sense of recognition happens when they are on their way to visit their children at the boarding school. She faces the most embarrassing moment of her life.

> Kehinde made to sit in the front seat of the Jaguar, as she had done in London, daring Rike to challenge her right to sit next to Albert. Instead, Mama Kaduna's boisterous laughter halted her…
>
> My wife, I am coming with you. What is wrong with you? Do you think I came all the way from Kaduna just to welcome you? I came to see how the children are doing. So, who do you think are you? Don't you see your

> mate, Rike? Don't you see her sitting at the back with her maid and baby. When we, the relatives of the head of the family are here, we take the place of honour by our Albert… So, go to the back and let us move on.
>
> Kehinde almost died of shame. She saw that even the maid, Grace, was covering her mouth in an attempt not to laugh. Only young brides with poor training made such mistakes. Kehinde collected herself and forced herself to apologize. Yes, sorry, Aunty Selina. Been away too long. No offence. (Emecheta, 1994: 88)

The position of a husband's relative in a family is the indicator of class difference in Nigerian community. In other words, degradation of Mama Kaduna exhibits how she outgroups Kehinde and Rike who are not from the same blood with Albert, their husband. Having lived in Britain for a long period, Kehinde has somehow forgotten the African cultural practices and the cast system that she has to respect. Actually she has been so much accustomed to live in line with British culture which provides equal rights for its citizens that she makes a vital mistake toward her sister-in-law by ignoring her status. Kehinde's attitude is considered as an offense by Mama Kaduna, yet she is ashamed of her behavior which manifests her personal identity that is still under the influence of her residual culture.

By sitting in the front seat of the car, she tries to impose the idea that Rike cannot attain the primary position in Albert's life which is totally an attempt that shows her jealousy as a woman, and it is an indication of the influence of her British identity. What is unacceptable for her that makes her feel humiliated is the maid's and Rike's laughing at her, which triggers her sense of inferiority and shame for being ridiculed by the people who are in lower positions than her.

For the Nigerian women, who have spent their lives in Nigeria, respecting their cultural values and behaving as it is expected from them is a common rule, and they believe that one day Kehinde will get adapted to these customs and "take the things as she …[finds] them" (Emecheta, 1994: 75). However, for the second time in her life Kehinde feels she is lost; a feeling that she had experienced in her childhood when she

started living with her real family in Ibusa. She feels that she belongs neither to this family nor to the country. None of the traditions and customs that she faces during her stay is new to her, yet she finds it difficult to accept them. She feels she is cheated and undervalued (Emecheta, 1994: 89). When she compares herself with Albert's new wife, who is a doctorate student, a university instructor, 18 years younger than Albert, and much sophisticated, yet bowing down to tradition, she knows that she can rarely have a chance with her (Emecheta, 1994: 89). Kehinde's attitudes and beliefs manifest how she has been acculturated and adopted the British culture that she can hardly adapt herself with the culture in her homeland. In fact, her prejudices regarding the cultural constructs in Nigeria and her rejecting them display Kehinde's rejecting her ethnic background and lack of adaptation to her home culture.

Facing all these negative aspects, she does not give up her struggle. Although she goes for several job interviews, she is refused since in Nigeria not the experience but age and certificates matter (Emecheta, 1994: 94). Yet, the death blow comes from her children. When she sees that her children have also adjusted to the new environment with little trauma and have started to behave "like respectful Nigerian children" (Emecheta, 1994: 91), she realizes that there is no place for her in her family in Nigeria is.

One after another, cultural and social practices in Nigeria frustrate her. She finds out that she can hardly get adapted to her homeland where she was born. Therefore, the only way for her to overcome the reverse culture shock and identity crisis is to go back to Britain. Thus, Kehinde, who has lost her financial independence and has no money to afford the return tickets, decides to write a letter to her friend Moriammo whom she thinks might send her money to go back to Britain. Just as in her adolescence period, once more she relies on her friend and rejects the trust in her family.

After sending the letter to Moriammo, Kehinde remembers her life in Britain. She recalls it is autumn in London when "the wind would be blowing, leaves browning and falling… the cherry tree in her garden would be naked of leaves, its dark branches twisted like old bones" (Emecheta, 1994: 96). She also brings to her mind the autumns in which she used to go shopping and getting home tired stretching her feet in front of

the gas fire while watching her favorite serials on TV. The memories of Christmas shopping, visiting Marks andSpencer and Harrods, and even "the wet stinking body-smell of the underground" arouse nostalgia in her (Emecheta, 1994: 96). As Kate Douglas puts it, "the present is commonly perceived as less ideal and less desirable" (2010: 85). For Kehinde, the ideal place seems to be Britain. Thus, her nostalgic memories reflect her British persona or identity that is to become salient in Nigeria. She is confused that she is missing a country that usually unwelcomes immigrants, yet her "home" in Nigeria has "more relegated [her] to the margins" (Emecheta, 1994: 97). She is outgrouped in Nigeria nearly by everyone. Even though she longs to go back to London, her pride is an obstacle in front of her decision. That is, she cannot accept being forced to leave a country that she has for long called 'home.' Thus, she waits for an unknown thing to happen in order to let her make her decision, and that is her receiving Moriammo's air fare to go back to London together with a letter in which she states her apologies due to her behaviors which gratify Kehinde's feelings for her. She finds out that the strong bond that they have built with Moriammo has not diminished yet. The sense of trust and recognition by her friend refreshes her self-esteem, so she finds the power in her to share her decision with her children and sister, Ifeyinwa.

Bimpe's reaction to her mother's decision to go back to Britain is an understanding one since she knows Kehinde is disturbed by Rike's existence; but the other members of the family do not even see her off at the airport since they think it is an embarrassing act to leave her Taiwo as well as her family to go to a country that does not belong to her, but nothing can make her refrain from her decision (Emecheta, 1994: 105). The only person who supports her is her sister Ifeyinwa, the primary caregiver and supporter, who tells her to listen to the voice of her chi which, in fact, represents her British identity.

When she arrives at the Heathrow Airport in London, she feels herself at home. What she faces upon her arrival is the immigration officer's unusual welcoming, the cold but shinning weather, and trees budding and bursting into bloom (Emecheta, 1994: 108). Her inner voice which remained silent all through her stay in Nigeria starts to sing out "home sweet home" when she enters her home. This cheerful voice is the other half of her identity that has kept silent in Nigeria to let her experience both countries and

come into an unbiased resolution to find a place to call 'home'. Kehinde stops "protesting that all her thoughts …[are] hers alone, and start[s] accepting Taiwo's voice as a permanent part of her consciousness" (Emecheta, 1994: 135). Now Kehinde is sure that choosing a country to call home other than the country one is born in is nothing embarrassing. Her awakening starts with the reunion of her Nigerian identity or the inner voice of chi with her British identity.

After a life-long struggle for attaining an identity that she can define herself accordingly, finally, she releases herself from the boundaries and dominance of her ethnic culture and gets integrated into British culture. In the process of acculturation, as Berry states, during integration there is no complete rejection of the home culture (1997; 2005), but the degree of depending on the culture of home and host depends on the amount of acculturative stress the immigrants face and the capability of them in coping with this pressure (Berry, 2005: 707-708). In other words, expatriates' responses and attitudes toward unfamiliar or unexpected circumstances might either push them toward their residual culture or the culture in the receiving society. Thus, Kehinde adopts 'the positive side of the acculturative stress' (Berry, 2005: 708; Pedersen, 1995: 8), so making her British social identity salient, she minimizes Nigerian influence in her personal identity.

In order to survive in Britain, she studies sociology and takes a degree: a decision that is mostly inspired by Mary Elikwu whom once she had outgrouped. Kehinde is in her mid-adulthood period in this stage. Erikson claims that in this period, individuals practice their generativity. He defines generativity in two ways: firstly the joy of having children, and secondly productivity and creativity (Erikson, 1968: 138). Kehinde's taking a degree is a manifestation of her productivity since she has been frustrated by her children whom she could depend on. Therefore, not only does she develop her skills through educating herself, but she also becomes a beneficial person to guide the people around. Thus, she re-emerges from the generativity crisis in this stage.

However, she has difficulty in finding a job, and in all seventy two job vacancies that she applies for, she is found over-qualified, so she starts to work as a cleaning personnel in a hotel in order to save money to be able to bring Joshua and Bimpe back

to Britain (Emecheta, 1994: 125-128). In the hotel once she becomes subject to an Arab Sheikh's humiliating and arrogant attitude who instructs her to put her clothes off to let him gaze at a black body without having any intention to sleep with her. Feeling degraded, Kehinde takes her coat and leaves the hotel and her job (Emecheta, 1994: 132). This humiliating behavior of the Sheikh reminds Kehinde of her own prejudiced judgment against the woman whom she had seen in front of the clinic years ago whom she had evaluated as a whore just because she was walking on Harley street, even though that district was not a red light district" (Emecheta, 1994: 132). This occasion seems like an awakening from categorizing or condemning people. That is, according to her newly developed British social identity, she notices that she has to be more tolerant and free of prejudice when judging people. This sense of empathy and self-criticism is also the manifestation of her personal identity that encourages her to avoid evaluating others in line with the roles that are predesigned for them.

In conclusion, in adulthood period, as Erikson puts it, adults develop the senses of intimacy vs. isolation and generativity vs. despair. However, for immigrants this process appears twice: once in their homeland and once in the country they move to. The duality in the customs and cultural practices in two different places result in fluctuations in the identity formation of immigrants. In line with social identity theory and epigenesist life span theory of Erikson, many factors may influence a dislocated person's identity formation and development. However, a person's identity development is a matter of process, and it can show different forms in different conditions. Thus, once salient identity may lose its dominance in other stages or conditions of an individual's life.

In this novel, Albert and Kehinde are both born and grown up in Nigeria, so as individuals they have formed their identity in line with their residual cultures. Albert develops a feeling of intimacy with Kehinde, yet his gender-based identity is formed according to his African cultural norms, and he practices this power in his adulthood relation with Kehinde. However, he fails to get adapted to the norms of British culture which limits his power as a man. Thus, he gets isolated not only in his personal relationship, but also at work. As a result, he decides to go back home, where he would

retain his power as a man. Albert's displacement from his hometown is nothing but frustration.

The sense of generativity which is one of the issues in the process of identity development of adults is apparently seen in Albert's identity development. When he sees that his children who are the most important factors in his old age do not conform to his cultural background and have developed an identity in line with British culture, he gets exasperated. Nevertheless, he overcomes his despair through his son Joshua's identity when he returns to Nigeria. He becomes proud of Joshua who enjoys the privileges that are provided for the men in African culture, and thus develops a new identity in which African culture is salient. He also leads Joshua to use his gender identity over his mother to dominate her.

Throughout his life Albert's identity is not separated from his home culture. He rejects British culture and identity. Nevertheless, while in Britain, he manipulates his residual culture when he faces problems that he cannot resolve. This demonstrates his identity which has never become an achieved identity.

Kehinde, who has been displaced for several times in her life, undergoes identity crises in her adulthood as well. She has never enjoyed the sense of intimacy with Albert due to his dominant gender-based identity. Upon their immigration to Britain, Kehinde substitutes Albert as her attachment figure. Therefore, she tries to instil the sense of trust and security in him. However, she gets despaired when she finds out that Albert has cheated and degraded her by practicing polygamy in Nigeria. While in Britain, she is in a moratorium status which makes her develop a hybrid identity which is neither British nor African. Due to her being a twin, the two sides of her identity is shown through her Taiwo and herself. In order to finalize the state of her identity, she needs to go back to her hometown where she faces a reverse culture shock. It is in Nigeria that she comes to terms with her Self which is more British than African.

With her newly developed social identity which prioritizes British culture, she makes her decision to return to Britain where she can lead an easier life. This choice enables Kehinde to overcome the identity crises that she has lived throughout her life.

The only crisis that is left unsolved in her adulthood period is about the sense of generativity which is caused by her children's not accepting her as an attachment figure or following her in her decision to live in Britain. Kehinde compensates her failure in generativity by studying sociology in Britain that would be a chance for her to enhance a sense of creativity as a part of her personal identity development.

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CHAPTER 3

WHITE TEETH

White Teeth is the first novel written by Zadie Smith in 2000 that has brought many national and international awards to her. This novel illustrates a microcosm of multicultural British society in the postcolonial period. The title 'White Teeth' that Smith has given to this novel together with many subtitles that have subordinate connections with teeth are the metaphors that are deliberately used to refer to the dichotomy between native and foreign cultures and the importance of one's roots and history in the process of identity development when he/she is displaced. Predominantly, the novel deals with the natural consequence of displacement, the process of acculturation and identity building both in the first and second generation expatriates. The writer mainly emphasizes a need for adaptation while there is a fear for dissolution.

White Teeth is a multifaceted story that is woven around the Iqbal family. Samad Iqbal emigrates from Bangladesh to Britain at the age of 18 to join the British army to protect the motherland during the WWII. He becomes the wireless operator of a tank where he meets Archibald Jones, an English soldier with whom he starts a long-lasting friendship. After the War, he returns home and after thirty years he marries Alsana, the daughter of a reputable family in Bengal. Eventually, they decide to go to Britain and live a better life there.

Going through a process of acculturation that is experienced by expatriates in general, the family members undergo culture shock that shake their sense of belonging. Although they strive to keep their indigenous Islamic culture, from time to time they flounder between the two worlds of home and host and come to a position either to adopt or reject the British as well as the Bengali culture to re-emerge from their identity crises.

After several years, Alsana gives birth to their twin sons- Magid and Millat- whom they try to raise in line with their residual parental culture until they start to go to school. It is in the new social setting at school that there starts a change in the process of identity development of the twins. Being exposed to two diverse cultures, they experience many identity crises in different stages of their life cycles. These confusions that are primarily seen as the individual crises in each of the twins, later take a form of a mutual crisis in the entities of the twins as a unit.

Meanwhile, Archibald, who is divorced, marries Clara Bowden, a Jamaican woman who is from a strict religious background, and she gives birth to their daughter Irie, who is the same age as the twins. The strong bond between Archie and Samad results in their families' close relationship. Thus, there starts a potent tie between the children as well.

During the twins' adolescence period, after a long confusion, Samad decides to send Magid to Bangladesh in order to rescue at least one of the twins from the 'corrupted culture' of Britain. This decision gives rise to an inevitable crisis in the identity of the twins that makes them develop an identity in a totally opposite direction.

3.1. CHILDHOOD PERIOD

In the childhood part, identity formation of Millat and Magid- the twin sons of Iqbal family- is analyzed. Although they are born in Britain, their primarily identity is formed under the influence of their Muslim parents who value their cultural and religious norms extremely. However, entering the social circle at school, there starts identity crises in the process of their identity formation.

Twin identity is one of the vital issues in the process of identity development of twins. As it has been mentioned before, although twins might be perceived as separate entities, on many occasions, they define themselves- not necessarily apparently- as a unit because of the preternatural bond existing in them. It is due to this bond that they

usually complete the other one's lacking side (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). Thus, twins can be considered as the reflection of doubleness or dual identity. In the case of immigrant twins, this duality can be demarcated in terms of residual identity and host identity as well.

Magid and Millat, the twins, are born into a displaced family and are raised according to their parents' indigenous culture in the early years of their lives before starting school. Samad's view of his twin sons is a totally traditional one based on his Bengali culture. Magid is the older son of the family, and as Millat is born two minutes after Magid, he possesses a secondary position according to Bengali culture, and that is why Samad defines Millat as "a good- for- nothing" boy (Smith, 2000: 135). This cultural belief and discrimination of Samad that makes Millat a follower and Magid a leader influence the twins in many aspects of their identity development.

At a school meeting, the British music teacher- Poppy Burt-Jones tries to acknowledge the twins in a talk to their father as:

> You know, your boys are really adorable- they're very unusual… [they are] beautifully behaved but very, I don't know, *subdued*… And Magid and Millat are just so… loud.
>
> Magid is so impressive intellectually for a nine-year-old- everybody says so. I mean, he's really remarkable. You must be so proud. He's like a little adult. Even his clothes… I don't think I've ever known a nine-year-old to dress so- so *severely*… A strange child with a cold intellect… I think … [Millat's] probably a little intimidated by Magid in that way, but he's such a personality! He's just not so ...academic. But everybody just *loves* him- such a beautiful boy as well. (Smith, 2000: 134)

The only positive side in the information that she has given to Samad is the strength in Magid's academic skills and in Millat's manners. According to the teacher, Magid has a serious personality, and he tries to be seen like his father, while Millat has a relaxed personality. There is also a hidden rivalry between the twins which makes Millat a more

intimidated child at school when he is compared to his more successful brother. On the other hand, Magid's academic achievement brings him reputation and a sense of recognition both at home and at school. As stated before, if the twins are considered as a unit, through their diverse skills they complete each other's lacking sides. While Magid comprises the academic side of the twin identity and gains popularity among his peers, Millat covers the social side of the twin identity and enhances their self-esteem. Thus, as a unit not individually, the twin brothers complete their identity and get recognized and accepted by their peers.

However, the word choice of the teacher to define the personality traits of the twins is the sign of her unconscious alienation or outgrouping of them. Instead of attributing the adjectives like 'unusual, subdued, loud, severely dressed and strange' which are evocative of their cultural background, she tries to compare and differentiate them with their British peers whom she implies to have the ideal manners. In other words, her British identity is thoroughly salient when she tries to judge or evaluate the twins according to the British norms (Abrams and Hogg, 1990: 235). That is why the Bengali stereotypical features in twin's identity make them seem as the ones who are not to be considered as ingroups who are accepted by the commonly agreed constructs or norms of British society.

Magid, who has always valued his father's culture more than the host culture before starting school, lives one of the most serious identity crises in his life at the age of nine.

> On Magid's ninth birthday, a group of very nice looking white boys with meticulous manners had turned up on the doorstep and asked for Mark Smith.
>
> ALSANA. 'Mark? No Mark here,' Alsana had said, bending down to their level with a genial smile. Only the family Iqbal in here. You have the wrong house.

> But before she finished the sentence, Magid had dashed to the door, ushering his mother out of view.
>
> MAGID. 'Hi guys.'
>
> BOYS. 'Hi Mark.'
>
> MAGID. 'Off to the chess club Mum'
>
> 'Yes, M – M- Mark' said Alsana, close to tears at the final snub, the replacement of 'Mum' for 'Amma.' (Smith, 2000: 150-151)

Beneath Magid's quest for an English name there lies many different reasons. Erikson maintains that young people, who repudiate or somehow underestimate their ethnic or cultural identity that is considered as a highly valued issue in their family or community, are mainly warned or scorned in a hostile way by their ingroup members. This hostility becomes the main focus of these youngsters, and it takes the form of acute identity formation. To re-emerge from this confusion they tend to estrange themselves "from national and ethnic origins" (Erikson, 1968: 172-173). One of the common practices that reveal this estrangement is their attempt "to find refuge in a new name label" (Erikson, 1968: 174). There is also a tendency in some young people to reconstruct a new origin for themselves. That is why Magid chooses the practical English name - Mark Smith- to relieve himself from the boundaries of his origin.

Similarly, Magid's rejecting his long Bengali name- Magid Mahfooz Murshed Mubtasim- is completely related to his sense of self-doubt (Erikson, 1968: 112) that is connected to his being an immigrant. When he starts his first contact with the British society at school, he becomes aware of the difference between what he has been taught by his parents and what he perceives to be the culture in the host country. Thus, finding the host culture more appealing, he develops an identity in line with British culture and rejects his Bengali name that would generate confusion in his adaptation process.

Besides, peer influence is another reason for his adopting the name Mark Smith. Erikson (1968) asserts that it is during the social contact with the outside world that

individuals develop their social identity. Steinberg and Morris claim that instead of being rejected by their peers and losing their self-esteem, individuals prefer to identify themselves with their peers with whom they share common behavioral attitudes (2001: 93). To this end, Magid chooses an English name for himself to avoid being bullied and rejected by his school friends and becomes a member of the social group they belong to.

In addition, in this period of his life, Magid is in an attempt to mimic British people: to be like them, live like them and be accepted as one of the British persons he sees in his social circle at school.

> Magid really wanted to be in some other family. He wanted to own his cats and not cockroaches, he wanted his mother to make the music of the cello, not the sound of the sewing machine; he wanted to have trellis of flowers growing up one side of the house instead of the ever growing pile of other people's rubbish; he wanted a Kurshed's car; he wanted to go on biking holidays to France, not day-trips to Blackpool to visit aunties; he wanted the floor of his room to be shiny wood, not the orange and green swirled carpet left over from the restaurant; he wanted his father to be a doctor, not a one-handed waiter; and this month Magid had converted all these desires into a wish to join in with the Harvest Festival like Mark Smith would. Like everybody else would. (Smith, 2000: 151)

On the one hand, most of Magid's wishes seem to be related to economic comfort and the opportunities that the host people enjoy. His being fascinated by the facilities provided for the British people, as Pedersen defines, is directly associated with the "honeymoon stage" of culture shock (1995: 3). That is why he seeks to live a life just like everybody else and mimic the host people. On the other, he feels a sense of inferiority about his family members, who are so strict in perpetuating their home culture in Britain. Having identified himself with British people as a part of his social identity, he feels that the physical flaw of his father and the low social status of his mother are the important barriers on his way to attain a desired self-esteem. In Hogg and Reid's term, his challenge is to "depersonalize" himself from his ethnic and personal identity in order to rely on the prototypical British self-concept that is likely to bring

him self-esteem and recognition (2000: 122-123). In other words, Magid is in the middle of "a psychological acculturation" (Berry, 1997: 6) when he makes an effort to exchange his previously learned and adopted residual culture with the newly adopted British culture.

Samad loses his control when he learns that his favorite son wants to be called 'Mark Smith' and join the Harvest Festival. Magid's effort to justify his behavior by saying "BUT WE WANT TO DO IT OR WE'LL GET A DETENTION. MRS. OWENS SAID IT IS TRADITION" annoys Samad more (Smith, 2000:151). Magid's response exhibits his social identity which is not only in favor of British culture, but also has internalized its cultural constructs as his own. However, his adopting British traditions is not acceptable for Samad, so he scorns and threatens Magid by saying:

> Whose tradition?...Dammit, you are a Muslim, not a wood sprite! I told you, Magid, I told you the condition upon which you would be allowed to. You come with me on Haj. If I am to touch that black stone before I die I will do it with my eldest son by my side.
>
> Magid broke the pencil half way through his reply, scrawling the second half with blunt lead. IT'S NOT FAIR! I CAN'T GO ON HAJ. I'VE GOT TO GO TO SCHOOL. I DON'T HAVE TIME TO GO TO MECCA. IT'S NOT FAIR! (Smith, 2000: 152)

The paternal pressure on Magid is based on the cultural difference between the two countries that he is not thoroughly aware of. The burden that his father puts on his shoulders to go to Haj is much heavier than what he can carry as a nine-year-old boy. Thus, he lives a vital identity crisis when he can hardly perceive the role that the Bengali culture has assigned for him as the eldest son in the family. This duality brings him a sense of role confusion. In fact, Erikson highlights that role confusion mainly takes place in adolescence period. However, in multicultural families where children get confused between the culture of home and host when forming the primary features of their identities, this confusion might appear in the earlier ages. What Erikson defines as role confusion is the duality between what one perceives him/her to be, and how others

assess or judge him (1968: 128). Magid, who has internalized the British culture as his salient and dominant culture, identifies himself with his peers at school, while to Samad, he is a Muslim and the first son, who should behave according to the norms of Bengali culture. Erikson notes that in the face of role confusion, individuals usually take a moratorium in order to make a final decision (1963: 262-263). This incident changes Magid's identity formation process completely. He makes a decision to adopt his parental ethnic culture and develop an ethnic identity through which he would value his Bengali culture more.

It is after Magid's decision to behave according to his residual culture that he changes his appearance. In other words, he re-emerges from his identity crisis through adopting his parental culture and identifying himself with his father. As previously stated, Millat and Magid, as twins, comprise a unit in two different entities. Thus, while one of them clings to his home culture, the other one shows a tendency toward the host one. In this stage of their life cycle, Millat seems to be reflecting the British side of the twins' identity, and Magid is in favor of his parental indigenous culture. This variance in their identity is explicitly shown in their choice of clothing:

> Both twins had always been determined to choose their own clothes, but where Millat bullied Alsana into purchases of red-stripe Nike, Osh-Kosh Begosh and strange jumpers that had patterns on the inside and the out, Magid could be found, whatever the weather, in grey pullover, grey shirt and black tie with his shiny black shoes and NHS specs perched upon his nose, like some dwarf librarian. (Smith, 2000: 134)

Millat is under the influence of British culture, so his social identity is open to get adapted to the host culture by mimicking the dominant clothing style of his peers at school (Berry, 2005: 699-700). On the other hand, as Magid has taken his father and his Bengali culture as his ideal role modelling figure and hero, he rejects the popular clothing fashion and the colorful outfits that his mother begs him to try in order to be perceived positively by his father, who comprises his ingroup (Abrams and Hogg, 1990: 3). On many shopping occasions, Alsana would say,

> ‘Little man, how about the blue one for Amma, hmm?’ pushing him into the primary colors section of Mothercare. Just one blue one. Go so nice with your eyes. For Amma, Magid. How can you not care for blue? It is the color of sky!’
>
> No, Amma [Magid replies]. The sky isn’t blue. There’s just white light. White light has all the colors of the rainbow in it, and when it is scattered through the squillions of molecules in the sky, the short-wave colours-blue-violet- they are the ones you see. The sky isn’t blue. It just looks that way. It is called Rayleigh scattering. (Smith, 2000:134)

Erikson (1968) highlights the importance of academic, social and personal skills that make children develop a sense of industry. Through technological or personal achievements in this period children deem themselves as a productive unit in their social setting and get recognized by the people around (1968: 123). Magid’s rejecting the colorful British clothing style through high level intellectual and persuasive arguments is a personal skill he has developed in accordance with his sense of industry (Erikson, 1968: 123). He is sure that his mother would be persuaded by his arguments, and she would waive to force him to buy and wear ‘British style’ clothing. In this way, he would be recognized by his father and attain self- esteem.

The interesting issue in this regard is the continuous change and fluctuations in Magid’s identity. Magid, who has wished to live ‘an English life’ a few months earlier, all of a sudden makes a U-turn to behave and get dressed in line with the standards of his Bengali culture. Erikson (1968) connects these abrupt changes to the conformist manners of the individuals who wish ‘to do well’ according to the pre-designed rules and standards that would help them re-emerge from identity crises (92). Magid assumes that in order to be recognized by his father, he has to conform to his ethnic background, so that is why he mimics his father’s appearance and creates a new style that would be totally approved by his role-model. However, this change remains on the surface as re-emergence from identity conflicts needs to be internalized by the individual and be developed physically, mentally, and socially (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Thus, the salient

identity that Magid adopts is an ethnical one, and as it is with all identity forms, it would only continue for a certain period.

In order to reveal his newly formed identity to his father, Magid decides to protest the Harvest Festival that has annoyed his father and caused a chaos in the family before. In one of the school meetings that Samad and Alsana are present, Samad raises up the subject of necessity in removing some Christian feasts like Harvest Festival, which he identifies with pagan ideals (Smith, 2000: 130). As he is a successful man in rhetoric, he tries to show that in a multicultural society, and especially in schools, religion-based feasts might not be addressing the people of all religions. Thus, he asks the audience to vote for it, yet it is rejected by the majority. The only people who voted in favor are Samad, the music teacher and "the Chalfens, Marcus and Joyce, an aging hippy couple both dressed in pseudo-Indian garb" (Smith, 2000: 131). Samad's failure in imposing his idea on the other parents becomes a subject that provides a chance for Magid and Archie's daughter- Irie- to show their reaction to the feast and to be considered as an ingroup with Samad, who has become their role-model.

On the day of Harvest Festival, when Samad is waiting in the car to take the children to school, he gets surprised with Magid and Irie's appearance.

> Both children were dressed in black from head to toe. Both wore white armbands on their left arms upon which were painted crude renditions of baskets of vegetables. Both had pads of writing paper and a pen tied around their necks with string. (Smith, 2000: 149)

They have also taken "a vow of silence" and are to communicate by writing their answers on the pads. This protest makes Magid and Irie allies who as the children of immigrants want to support Samad as their hero. As Hogg and Terry emphasize, through social categorization, individuals define their social self (2000: 123). Therefore, in order to show their group membership, they create a specific clothing style for themselves that puts them in the same category. Although Magid's reason for this protest is to take an affirmative side with his father and develop a sense of recognition, he becomes the subject of Samad's scorn when he tells Magid to behave as himself

(Smith, 2000: 150). Samad's reaction is due to the frequent changes in Magid's identity and his maladjustment, yet it influences Magid negatively and makes him develop a sense of self-doubt and inferiority (Erikson, 1968: 112- 123) for his inadequacy to satisfy his paternal demands. He is no more sure who he has to be or which identity he has to develop since he is neither accepted as 'Mark Smith'- an English boy, nor is he recognized when he behaves as a Muslim Bengali boy.

One other crisis that influences the twins' identity development is generated by their peers at school and their music teacher. The twins' music teacher, who is highly influenced by Samad, invites him to join one of her classes after the school meeting. In order to show off her democratic attitude in her multicultural class, she suggests the students to play Indian music instead of *Swan Lake* that they have been so far practicing during the semester. This change in the program is not received well by the students, so they start protesting it with the instruments they are playing. "The class let out a blast of laughter as loud as the brass section and echoed the gag en mass: Eeee Eaaaoo OOOAaaah Eeee OOOOiiiiiiii…" (Smith, 2000: 154). This way of bullying the immigrants and their culture annoys the teacher, so she quiets the students by telling them:

> I don't think it is very nice to make fun of *somebody else's culture.* Sometimes we find other people's music strange because their culture is different from *ours*… But that doesn't mean it isn't equally good, now does it? (Smith, 2000: 155).

The students' laughter and their mocking the Indian music is a sign of their outgrouping the Indians or the immigrants for the diversity in the cultures. As they are not familiar with this type of music, and as they cannot understand the lyrics, it is not hard to perceive their hostility toward their immigrant peers. Berry claims that in some culturally plural societies, due to some unacceptable political and social assumptions, the primary expectation of the host people in the social environment is immigrants' adopting the dominant culture and its constructs (1997: 8). Therefore, as Indian music is not a part of dominant culture and it has never previously been practiced in this music class, the children are apt to reject it as it is not much related to what they have so long

accepted and internalized as a music style that reflects their culture. However, the teacher tries to guide and give an insight to these very young children to be much tolerant regarding different cultures. Wishing to do so, she implicitly outgroups the immigrants and their culture by differentiating them using the pronouns '*ours*' and '*somebody else's*.'

For immigrant individuals, becoming a subject for bullying and being outgrouped by their peers in many cases bring about a conflict in their identity development. Erikson (1968) assures that children or adolescents would prefer to become shameless in the eyes of their parents or teachers rather than losing popularity among their peers (128-129). However, Millat who has developed a salient British identity in this period tries to behave as his British peers so that he would be safe from their criticism. When the teacher is in an attempt to involve the immigrant students in the subject to discuss their choice of music she asks,

> TEACHER. For example, what music do you like, Millat?
>
> 'Millat thought for a moment, swung his saxophone to his side and began fingering it like a guitar. Bo-orn to ruuun! Da da da da daaa! Bruce Springsteen, Miss! Da da da daaa! Baby, we were bo-orn-'
>
> TEACHER. 'Umm, nothing – nothing else? Something you listen to *at home*, maybe?'
>
> Millat's face fell, troubled that his answer did not seem to be the right one. He looked over at his father, who was gesticulating wildly behind the teacher, trying to convey the jerky head and hand movements of bharata natyam, the form of dance Alsana had once enjoyed…
>
> 'Thriiii-ller! Sang Millat, full throated, believing he had caught his father's gist. 'Thriii-ller night! Michael Jackson, Miss! Michael Jackson!'

> Samad put his head in his hands. Miss Burt- Jones looked queerly at the small child standing on a chair…OK, thank you Millat. Thank you for sharing…that.
>
> Millat grinned. 'No problem, Miss.' (Smith, 2000: 130)

The idea of 'home music' to Millat is nothing more than the popular music that he listens to or the music videos of the famous singers that he watches on TV at home. Therefore, he feels confused when he finds out that his answer does not match the expectations of his teacher. What the teacher expects to hear from him is the local music of some famous Bengali musicians that he would share with his friends or his murmuring it partially. However, as Samad remembers, the last time they have listened to that kind of music was many years ago even before the birth of the children. Thus, both the teacher's and Samad's insistence on Millat's remembering or even knowing Bengali music is groundless and results in his confusion.

In addition, this over-expectation of the teacher, who is one of the most significant figures in the childhood period to emphasize the child's positive skills and enhance his/her self-esteem (Erikson, 1968: 125), results in Millat's developing a sense of self-doubt. He gets frustrated and looks at his father whom he thinks can be a guide for him to fulfil his teacher's question and regain his self-esteem in front of his peers who are always ready to ridicule others. However, the gestures of his father cause another misinformation, yet this time the teacher's support through hiding her displeasure, helps Millat not to lose face in class and get relieved. The process of identity development in Millat does not seem to be greatly problematic in this stage. Unlike his twin brother who lives so many fluctuations in his identity development, Millat is well-adapted to the requirements of his social circle and has developed a social identity that values the dominant British culture more. The twins' identity is like a see-saw; when one of the twins adopts a residual- culture- based identity, the other one adopts an identity in which British culture is more salient. This process of change in their identities continues in all stages of their lives.

The twins experience the most vital confusion in their lives due to their father's decision to separate them and to send one of them to his homeland. The root of this instantaneous decision is Samad's intimate and sexual feelings toward the music teacher Poppy Burt- Jones. What influences him is the attitude of the teacher, who makes him feel a sense of recognition, and who arouses the long-forgotten sense of intimacy in him. On the one hand, her interest in Samad's Bengali culture and her attempts to create a multicultural atmosphere in her music class where Samad's sons study, and on the other hand, her flirtatious appreciations like telling him he does not show his age, he looks like "Omar Sharif," and "dark skin wrinkles less" (Smith, 2000: 136) touch Samad's heart and enhance his self-esteem. Samad feels that he wants this woman "more than any woman he had met in the past ten years. Just like that. Desire didn't even bother casing the joint, checking whether the neighbors were in- desire just kicked down the door and made himself at home" (Smith, 2000: 133). Thus, there starts a sexual relation between them- though appealing- it puts Samad in a deep confusion and crisis.

Being a Muslim and 'pretending' to be highly dependent on his cultural values, a sense of self-blaming insidiously disturbs him. Through an internal struggle, he criticizes himself for drinking alcohol, cheating his wife with his sons' music teacher at school, eating bacon, and gambling at the O'Connell's restaurant all the things which are totally restricted in Islam. In his adulthood period, Samad is experiencing a role confusion which is one of the features that Erikson (1968) attributes to adolescence period (128). On the personal layer of his identity development process, Samad is neither behaving in line with what his religion demands him to do, nor does he free himself to reject his residual culture to get adapted to the British culture and customs accordingly. In addition, as a displaced person, Samad is still in the dis-integration of culture shock so that he can hardly re-emerge from the confusions of his social identity about the home and host cultural diversities (Pedersen, 1995:79). This state of confusion and inconstancy leads him to make the most critical decisions in his life to send his children back to his homeland. In a talk to Archie he confesses his frustration as:

> 'I looked at my boys, Archie… I looked at my beautiful boys and my heart cracked – no, more than this- it shattered. It shattered into so many

> pieces and each piece stabbed me like a mortal wound. I kept thinking: how can I teach my boys anything, how can I show them the straight road when I have lost my own bearings?'...
>
> So I must concentrate on saving my sons. I have a choice to make, a choice of *morality*. (Smith, 2000: 188-189)

Samad's frustration is based on his sense of self-blaming for not abiding by the rules and constructs of his Bengali culture. However, as a defence mechanism, he projects his immoral acts by attributing them to the British culture (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 45). He thinks that by sending his sons to his Islamic country, he might be able to cover his personal and moral flaws as well as to protect his children from the influences of malicious western culture. Samad's belief in the necessity to train his children in line with his cultural practices and his considering himself as the only source for this training displays his rejection of the host culture and his being in the second stage of dis-integration (Pedersen, 1995: 134), yet this view is a misleading one, since he disregards the fact that social factors are predominantly effective in the process of identity development of immigrants (Erikson, 1968: 24). The duality between his views and acts is apparently the indicator of his confused identity. With his non-yet-established identity, he comes to a position to make a critical decision for his children that is likely to leave an inevitable scar on the identity of them. Meanwhile, having decided to send his sons to Bangladesh, Samad faces another problem.

> He was in Poppy's poky little flat, going through his own house hold accounts, when it became obvious to him that he had more sons than money. If he was to send them back, he would need two dowries for the grandparents, two amounts of schooling, two amounts for the clothes. As it was, he could barely cover both air fares. (Smith, 2000: 193)

Although Samad has moved to Britain to lead a better life and earn more than he did in his homeland, as an immigrant, with the educational background that he boasts about, he can only find a position as a waiter at a far cousin's Indian food restaurant. As he is

not able to afford the expenses for both of his sons, he has to make a choice that initiates another crisis in his life.

> For the first week it was going to be Magid, definitely Magid. Magid had the brains, Magid would settle down quicker, learn the language quicker, and Archie had vested interest in keeping Millat in the country because he was the best striker Willesden Athletic FC (under fifteens) had seen in decades. So Samad began stealing Magid's clothes away for surreptitious packing, arranged a separate passport… and had a word in the ear of school…
>
> But then the next week there was a change of heart and it was Millat, because Magid was really Samad's favourite, and he wanted to watch him grow older, and Millat was the one more in need of moral direction anyway. So *his* clothes were pilfered, *his* passport arranged, *his* name whispered into the right ears.
>
> The following week it was Magid until Wednesday and then Millat. (Smith, 2000: 194-195)

Instability in the process of choosing a son to go, in fact, reveals Samad's confusion and uncertainty regarding his decision. In addition, Samad underestimates his children's twinship and considers each as a unique individual (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7), so he primarily bases his criteria to make a choice upon their personal skills and capability to adapt to the new culture that they will be exposed to in Bangladesh.

Magid is academically more successful, and he has shown instant adaptation from one culture to another before. Although Samad has previously criticized Magid for his fluidity to move between cultures, in this certain period, he considers his son's movability as a positive skill to get adapted to the new culture in Bangladesh. On the other hand, in Samad's view, Millat seems to be under the influence of British culture too much, so he does not seem to be the correct choice to fulfil Samad's purpose in this movement as he might face difficulty in internalizing the Bengali culture after having

identified himself with the British culture. One thing that Samad ignores about Millat's identity in this stage is that unlike his twin brother he has shown consistency in accepting just one culture and clinging to it without undergoing confusions until this phase of his life. Taking the twins as the second generation immigrants who have built their primary identities upon their parental culture, it can be contended that Magid's fluctuations in his process of identity development put him in the second stage of culture shock where he is in a state of moratorium (Pedersen, 1995: 79) to make a choice between home and host cultures. However, Millat's identity seems to be in the fourth stage of autonomy in the process of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 201-202) where he reflects an autonomous, adjusted, and in-control identity.

After the first criteria, Samad develops a second one which is based on his emotions and residual morality norms. According to his ethnic identity, he presumes that Millat is the one who is corrupted under the influence of British culture, so he needs to go back to be trained according to the Islamic constructs to be a 'good- Muslim' boy that Samad wishes to have. Samad's prejudiced categorization is based on his rejecting Millat as an ingroup due to his adopting British culture. Moreover, Magid's being his first son is a discriminative factor in his decision since culturally he is considered as a leader not a follower like Millat. Thus, he believes that not a leader but a follower is in need of guidance. However, the process of deciding between the twins does not get finalized for a long time.

One more important issue in this regard is that instead of making such a vital decision in his home atmosphere with his wife, Samad either discusses the issue with Poppy, or his friend Archie or the other people in the O'Connel's restaurant. Poppy who feels that she is losing her value in Samad's eyes, gets involved in the matter by telling her dream in which Magid is on his way to go back, Archie flips a coin, and Samad and Archie go about playing a lottery through which Magid is chosen to go (Smith, 2000: 196). Finally, a letter from Archie's old penpal Horst Ibelgaufts brings the final decision. Explaining the positive developments in his garden he writes to Archie that

> *I have finally gone for the chop and removed that old oak tree from the far corner and I cannot begin to describe to you the difference it has*

> *made! Now the weaker seeds are receiving so much more sun and are so healthy I am even able even to make cuttings from them.* (Smith, 2000: 195)

The interpretation of Samad and Archie from the letter is that the son whose identity needs a better care to be developed in line with Samad's indigenous culture has to go back and that is exactly Magid. Thus, the final decision is made. From this long process of decision making, it can be perceived that more than his concern about the children and their religious, moral and cultural background, Samad is struggling to achieve a sound identity for himself through his children in order to emerge from the crises generating from the self-doubt and role confusion (Erikson, 1968: 128) he is experiencing. Personally he has not achieved to develop a clear identity and preserve his culture, so the only way to relieve himself from this confusion is to save at least the life of one of his sons upon which he would construe his own identity.

Not informing Alsana about his decision, Samad and Archie make a hidden plan to actualize their purpose. According to their plan, Archie will be kidnapping Magid from their home, taking him to the restaurant where Samad works and driving them to the Heathrow Airport to send Magid to Bangladesh with Zinat, Samad's cousin. However, an unexpected event happens. When Archie goes to pick up Magid, all three children- Magid, Millat and Irie- are sleeping in the same room, so not taking the risk to awake Clara, Archie is obliged to take all three together (Smith, 2000: 208). When the children learn that Magid is going on a trip, the first reaction that Millat shows is "Will he come back?"… It would be *cool* if he didn't come back!" (Smith, 2000: 209). Burlingham notes that although twins have a close in-born bond, from time to time they can develop a rivalry and competition with their twins with whom they have to share their parents and all the other belongings. This competition, he believes, is the result of the quest of forming an individual independent identity (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). However, he assures that the fear of separation from their double or twin seems to them as an unbearable pain so that instead of leaving their birth-long competitors, they would choose to continue sharing their lives with their twins (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). As a result, Millat's primary comment is due to his desire for keeping his parents for himself and enjoying the independence of an

unbounded identity, yet the following years of his life proves his comment to be only a momentary wish. This separation from Magid shows its negative consequences on Millat's identity all along his adolescence period.

In this novel, the childhood period of Magid in Bangladesh is not explained in detail. However, he communicates with his family through the letters he sends to them occasionally. In the last letter Samad receives from him after one year, he notices "some change of tone, some suggestion of maturity, [and] of grown Eastern wisdom" (Smith, 2000: 215). In the letter he says,

> Yesterday, grandfather hit Tamim (he is a houseboy) with a belt until his bottom was redder than a tomato. He said Tamim had stolen some candles (it's true. I saw him do it!), and this was what he got for it. He says sometimes Allah punishes and sometimes men have to do it, and it is a wise man who knows if it is Allah's turn or his own. I hope one day I will be a wise man. (Smith, 2000: 215)

What Samad defines as a tone of maturity and Eastern wisdom in his son is the manipulation of religious norms. The grandfather's playing the god is a manipulative manner of profaning the religion and culture in their society. It also explains the reason for Samad's abusing religious norms all along his life as it seems to be a norm in Bengali culture. It can also be perceived that corporal punishment that Straus (2009) explains as a way to correct and control the wrong behaviors of children (4) is a culturally appreciated method of correcting wrong behaviors of mischiefs. That is why Samad is happy for his son's becoming familiar with this construct of his residual culture. However, Magid's perception of his grandfather's act is not much related to wisdom but his desire to attain power and autonomy which makes him a recognized person (Erikson, 1968: 110). In other words, for a ten/eleven-year-old child, becoming a wise man means having an absolute power and being recognized by the people around that would intensify his self-esteem and lead him to adopt a sound personal identity. Thus, there is no sign of change in Magid's identity as his father claims.

The other important issue that Magid explains in his letter is about the accident he has in Bangladesh. He says,

> It seems to me that a vase should not be in such a silly place [on a high shelf in a mosque] where it can fall and break a boy's nose. It should be somebody's fault and somebody should be punished (but not a bottom smack unless they were *small and not a grown-up*. If they were younger than twelve.) when I grow up I think I should like to make sure vases are not put in such silly places where they can be dangerous and I would complain about other dangerous things too (by the way, *my nose is fine now!*). (Smith, 2000: 215)

Although Samad is proud of his son's wisdom that he has developed in his motherland by going to mosque and learning the culture of home, he does not interpret his son's criticism of corporal punishment that has been applied on him correctly. Magid's emphasis on the importance of the age for corporal and physical punishment reveals his British identity. While in Britain, he has never been corporally punished either by his parents or school authorities, so he thinks this method of educating children is not true. In addition, Magid, who used to be a boy of logic while living in Britain, continues using his rational judgments in Bangladesh as well. What he implicitly criticizes about the accident is the lack of rationale in positioning dangerous items in the wrong places. Although Magid's suggestion might seem to be a defence mechanism of projection to put the blame on other people, he highlights a need for reform in his father's homeland where old beliefs or traditions are not a subject to change. Moreover, he tacitly criticizes his being sent back to a place where he finds it difficult to get fitted. That is, he warns his parents about the dangerous consequences that can emerge due to his incorrect displacement. All these explanations show that Magid is not adapted to the culture of his father's homeland, and the influence of British culture is still dominant in his identity.

When Samad boastfully shows the picture of Magid "dressed in his customary grey" (Smith, 2000: 216) to Clara, she says,

> ‘Oh! Look at his nose! Look at the break. He’s got a Roman nose, now. He looks like a little aristocrat, like a little Englishman. Look, Millat.’ Clara put the photo under Millat’s smaller, flatter nose. ‘You two don’t look so much like twins any more.’ (Smith, 2000: 216)

Each person has his/her own interpretation of the letter and the picture that Magid has sent. While Samad, who has forcefully sent his son to contribute to his learning his residual culture, assesses Magid as “a natural leader, a natural Muslim, a natural chief,” (Smith, 2000: 216) to Clara, he seems to be like an aristocrat English boy. Furthermore, Clara’s considering twinship only as a detail hidden in physical appearance, is a misconception since she underestimates the preternatural bond (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 6) between the twins.

However, Millat who is more able to see the veiled part of his twin’s identity, makes the truest comment about the picture by saying ‘He looks…like a *chief*.’ (Smith, 2000: 216). In fact, Millat is in an attempt to ridicule his twin who looks like a mismatch in the society he has forcefully been sent to. The word ‘chief’ he uses to describe his brother is a word to degrade the local American Indians who are considered as outgroups and the ones who are from lower status. Using the street language reveals Millat’s competence in English language and his being well-aware of the nuances of it which reflect his being closer to the host culture (Berry, 2005: 702). Nevertheless, Samad, who is not that competent in English language, perceives this comment as a positive one in line with his home culture. Patting his son’s hair he assures,

> It is good that you see the difference between you two boys, Millat, now rather than later…Others may scoff, but you and I know that your brother will lead others out of the wilderness. He will be a leader of tribes. He is a natural chief.
>
> Millat laughed so loud at this, so hard, so uncontrollably, that he lost his footing, slipped on a wash cloth and broke his nose against the sink. (Smith, 2000: 216)

With praising Magid, Samad, in fact, is outgrouping Millat, who has never internalized his father's Bengali culture. Millat's achievements in getting acculturated and his perfect use of English language that have been realized neither by Samad or Alsana are valueless to his parents. Samad, "who had long learned to worship what he could not see" (Smith, 2000: 217), elevates Magid, while he underestimates Millat. This discriminative attitude of Samad is a prejudiced and stereotypical manner (Tajfel, 1982: 3) and is likely to be one of the reasons for Millat's scornful behavior.

On the other hand, Millat's similar accident of breaking his nose is the indicator of the collective twin identity that the writer desires to manifest. As formerly explained, the preternatural twinship bond is a strong invisible bond that cannot be broken upon physical separation of the twins. That is, even not living in the same place and under the same circumstances, twin identity should be considered as a unit. While in some instances they may develop identities that demonstrate two opposite poles, in this stage of their lives, both Magid and Millat are in favor of British culture, yet the similar identity that they have developed in this phase might be due to either their separation, or the social settings that they are living in.

To conclude, in their childhood period, the twin characters -Millat and Magid- have developed their twin identity as a part of their personal identity even after their separation. That is to say, Magid's displacement and the physical distance between the twins have not affected their twin identity formation. As for their individual identity, it can be contended that while Magid manifests frequent fluctuations in the process of his identity development in Britain, Millat's identity seems to be more linear. Toward the end of their childhood period, both children seem to construe a social identity that is formed in line with British culture that they have adopted due to their birth in Britain.

3.2. ADOLESCENCE PERIOD

In this part, the process of identity development of the twins- Millat and Magid- in their adolescence period will be examined. This analysis will on the one hand

investigate their personal identity formation as an individual and twin, and on the other hand, their social identity development.

In the late childhood and early adolescence periods of the twins, after Samad separates his sons, he continues to discriminate Millat, who lives with him in Britain negatively, and Magid, who lives in Bangladesh, favorably. He states his prejudiced views as Millat is

> …the second son, late like a bus, late like cheap postage, the slowcoach, the catch-up-kid, losing the first race down the birth canal and now simply a follower by genetic predisposition, by the intricate design of Allah, the loser of two vital minutes that he would never make up, not in those all-seeing parabolic mirrors, not in those glassy globes of the godhead, not in *his father's eyes*.
>
> Now, a more melancholy child than Millat, a more deep thinking child, might have spent the rest of his life hunting these two minutes and making himself miserable, chasing the elusive quarry, laying it finally at his father's feet. (Smith, 2000: 217)

Under the dominance of his home culture, Samad has always considered Millat as the one who would never deserve to be esteemed or recognized upon his being the second one of the twins. It is due to his cultural beliefs that Samad condemns a child for something genetic that he would never have a chance to alter. He sees his son's natural birth position as a flaw in him that Millat should personally endeavor to change. More interestingly, although Samad is aware of the fact that Millat's place as the second born child is a natural god-given position, he expects him to create a miracle to fulfil his father's selfish desire.

One thing that Samad ignores in this stance is the negative influence that he leaves on Millat during the process of his identity development. Steinberg and Morris contend that the unequal treatment of parents toward their children not only creates conflict among siblings, but it also results in antisocial behavior and depressive mood in

their children (2001: 101). Samad's biased manners start a crisis in Millat, who is traumatized for being separated from his twin brother- the other half of his identity. The primary way he re-emerges from this identity crisis is through ignoring his father and his cultural values and developing an identity that is unique to himself. Millat

> …knew himself to be no follower, no chief, no wanker, no sell-out, no scrub, no fuckwit- no matter what his father said. In the language of the street Millat was a rudeboy, a badman, at the forefront, changing image as often as shoes; sweet—as, safe, wicked, leading kids up hills to play football, downhill to rifle fruit machines, out of schools, into video shops. In Rocky Video, Millat's favourite haunt, run by an unscrupulous coke-dealer, you got porn when you were fifteen, 18s when you were eleven, and snuff movies under the counter for five quid. Here was where Millat really learnt about fathers. Godfathers, bloodbrothers, pacinodeniros, men in black who looked good, who talked fast, who never waited a (mutherfuckin') table, who had two, fully functioning gun-toting hands. He learnt that you don't need to live under flood, under cyclone, to get a little danger, to be a wise man. (Smith, 2000: 217-218)

The internal-doubt that Millat lives regarding his status in his family creates a sense of role confusion in him. Erikson (1968) notes that teenagers, who are rejected by their family members or attachment figures, are likely either to become "clannish, intolerant and cruel" or estranged and isolated (132). As Millat has deprived of his twin and has become a subject of rejection and scorn by his father, who should execute the role of attachment figure in his life, he gets more attached to the outside world, especially the imaginary heroes in the films. The cruelty and delinquency in Millat's behavior in this stage demonstrates his strife to attain an identity, yet not being satisfied with the images he adopts, he is in a continuous process of change of appearance to form an identity that would bring status to him.

Being scorned by his father for not having a chance to become a leader, he tries to overcome his sense of inferiority in this regard through his interaction with his peers by leading them in their social activities. Erikson (1968) assures that during this period,

the parental authoritative images are replaced by ideal leader images, and for one thing the young adult who may neither be a follower or a leader may be withdrawn or isolated to which end he may then "respond to the guiding voices who speak to him (as if they knew him) over the centuries, through books, pictures and music" (186). He claims that the process of identification in childhood is mainly based on fantasy and it is generally replaced by a "comprehensible hierarchy of roles" in later stages (Erikson, 1963: 262). Erikson maintains that in face of identity crises in this period, juveniles even are in an attempt to overidentify themselves "with the heroes of cliques and crowds" to the point of an entire loss of identity (1963: 262). To this end, instead of his father who is both physically imperfect and who does not recognize him as an individual, Millat looks for an imaginative leading or misleading role model in the videos and films to find an attachment figure model in order to shape his identity. This, he believes, is the only way he could enhance his sense of recognition and self-esteem.

The destructive drives in Millat's identity get crueller when he gets older. Starting from his early adolescence until the mid-adolescence period, he experiences many crises and role confusions.

> Aged twelve, Millat went out looking for… [being a wise man]. He was arsey and mouthy, he had his fierce good looks squashed tightly inside him like a jack- in - a - box set to spring aged thirteen, at which point he graduated from leader of zit-faced boys to leader of women. The Pied Piper of Willesden Green, smitten girls trailing behind him, tongues out, breasts pert, falling into pools of heartbreak… all because he was the BIGGEST and the BADDEST, living his young life in CAPITALS: he smoked first, he drank first, he even lost it- IT!- aged thirteen and a half. OK, so he didn't FEEL much or TOUCH much, it was MOIST and CONFUSING, he lost IT because there was no doubt, NONE, that he was the best of the rest, on any scale of juvenile delinquency he was the shining light of the teenage community, the DON, the BUSINESS, the DOG'S GENITALIA, street boy, a leader of tribes. In fact, the only trouble with Millat was that he l*oved* trouble. And he was *good* at it. (Smith, 2000: 218)

Millat is defined as 'trouble' by the elderly people around, yet he plays the role of god in the eyes of his peers. Erikson assures that in teenage stage, youngsters would prefer to be a shining star among their peers rather than being confirmed by the adults around (1968: 129). In the case of Millat, it should be stated that he is in a position to prove himself and create a self-image that would be highly appreciated by his social circle. However, not having a true role model and attachment figure, he develops a 'precocious puberty' in which he experiences everything before its time. By referring to Williams and Dunlop, Steinberg and Morris (2001) state that "early-maturing boys are at greater risk for delinquency and are more likely than their peers to engage in antisocial behaviors, including drug and alcohol use, truancy, and precocious sexual activity" (90). Although all his troublesome practices are the indicator of his diffused identity, he attains a leading role among his peers and develops a sense of recognition which he values more than being outgrouped by his parents.

The most tragic and traumatic experience that he lives at the very age of thirteen and a half is his losing his virginity. Sexual relation and genitality are anticipated to be utilized in adulthood "as one of the developmental conditions for full maturity" (Erikson, 1968: 136-137). To Erikson it is a way to fuse identity with an opposite sex and build up a joint identity (1968: 136). However, Millat experiences genitality at a very young age of thirteen when he is not even aware of the importance of commitment to an opposite sex. Erikson assures that "before such genital maturity is reached, much of sexual life is of the self-seeking, identity hunger kind; each partner is really trying only to reach himself. Or it remains a kind of genital combat in which each tries to defeat the other" (1968: 137). Thus, Millat's experiencing genitality in this early age is only an attempt to prove himself in a combat which would bring him reputation and sense of recognition.

As previously stated, separation of a child from his/her attachment figure might give rise to disruption that would influence an individual in the process of identity development (Bretherton, 1992: 759). Since twins from time to time identify themselves with their twins instead of their parents as an object of attachment, separation from their twins can be a traumatic experience for each of them (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 7). This is due to the fact that twin identity has a dual nature that is constituted by the

souls of both halves. On that account, when Magid is sent to Bangladesh, Millat feels that he has lost his perfect soul mate and the attachment figure in whom he could develop a sense of trust. As he can substitute neither of his parents for Magid, he starts to overidentify himself with external imaginative figures, yet these identifications cannot heal the scar in Millat's soul. He is lost between the two worlds:

> …he didn't need to go back home: he stood schizophrenic, one foot in Bengal and one in Willesden. In his mind he was as much there as he was here. He did not require a passport to live in two places at once, he needed no visa to live his brother's life and his own (he was twin after all). (Smith, 2000: 219)

Millat is living the dual life of both his brother's and his own. In line with the definition of Hendman (1990), twins can be considered to consist of the first self and the second self. Keppler (1972) defines the first self as:

> the one who tends to be in the foreground; the one whose viewpoint the reader shares; the relatively naïve self; naïve at least in tending to believe that he is the whole self; seldom has any conscious knowledge, until it is faced upon him, of any other self, involved in his make-up. (3)

Magid is the first self in this twinship. He is both recognized as the dominant one due to his birth position and capability to overcome the challenges in the new setting when is left all alone. On the other hand, to Keppler, the second self is "the intruder from the background of shadows; however prominent he becomes he always tends to remain half-shadowed; is much more likely to have knowledge of his foreground counterpart than the latter of him" (1972: 3). Thus, Millat is the second self in their twinship, who is not much recognized by his parents. He is "surrounded by the aura of the uncanny, has been left behind, overlooked, unrealized, or excluded from the first self's self-conception; he is the self he must come to terms with" (Keppler, 1972: 11). Since he is not accepted by his father, he tries to identify himself with his brother, who is both favored by his father and constitutes the other half of his incomplete identity in order to overcome this rejection. Thus, he develops a double-sided identification both as his twin

and himself to overcome the suppressed or unrealized aspects of the first self (Keppler, 1972: 9) and complete the lacking parts in him. In short, the absence of his twin is the most significant factor in Millat's failure in developing his personal identity.

Until this stage, neither Samad nor Alsana consider the substantiality of the "preternatural bond" (Greenberg and Greenberg, 2012: 6) between the twins. It is Alsana who notices the duality in the identity of her twins first. She confides to Clara:

> *By God, they're tied together like a cat's cradle, connected like a see-saw, push one end, other goes up, whatever Millat sees, Magid saw and vice versa!* And Alsana only knew the incidentals: similar illnesses, simultaneous accidents, pets dying continents apart. She did not know that while Magid watched the 1985 cyclone shake things from high places, Millat was pushing his luck along the towering walls of the cemetery in Fortune Green; that on 10 February 1988, as Magid worked his way through the violent crowds of Dhaka, ducking the random blows of those busy settling an election with knives and fists, Millat held his own against three sotted, furious, quick-footed Irishmen outside Biddy Mulligan's notorious Kilburn public house. (Smith, 2000: 220)

The similarity between the events that the twins live in two different continents, apparently demonstrate the strong tie between them. Not sharing the same setting and environmental incidents, the unseen bond between them continues to exist and paves the way for them to complete their identity development as a unit which is split by their father. Thus, through the "intimate insight into each other's mind and soul" (Keppler, 1972: 11), they experience affinity between the two halves of their identity to make it a whole.

Later, at the age of fifteen- in the mid-adolescence period, Millat distances himself from his parents while he gets closer to his peers who are the children of immigrants in Britain. Basing their ideas on diverse researches in the area of adolescent behaviors, Steinberg and Morris claim that the reason for adolescents' prioritizing their peers rather than their parents is diverse. They argue that authoritarian, less cohesive,

less adaptive, and non-supportive parents are the main factors for this preference in the youth (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93). Millat, who has harshly been categorized by his parents, for most of the reasons mentioned above, seeks to attain a position and status among his peers to form his personal identity. However, together with the other immigrant children in their school, he becomes the subject of bullying by the host people.

> People had fucked with Rajik back in the days when he was into chess and wore V-necks. People had fucked with Randil, when he sat at the back of the class and carefully copied all teacher's comments into his book. People had fucked with Dipesh and Hifan when they wore traditional dress in the playground. People had even fucked with Millat, with his tight jeans and his white rock. (Smith, 2000: 232)

Although these dislocated youngsters have made their best to get acculturated and adapted to the host country by taking part in the popular social activities, achieving in the academic skills and mimicking the appearance of the people in the dominant culture (Berry, 2005: 699-700), they are still neither recognized by their British peers, nor are they accepted as ingroups with the host people due to their status as immigrants. Having been scorned and excluded by their social circle and parents, they realize that in order to obtain a social status, they have to get united and create a group. That is why Millat and his peers, who are from similar ethnic background, form a gang calling themselves Raggastani. This group

> …was a new breed, just recently joining the ranks of the other street crews: Becks, B-boys, Indie kids, wide-boys, ravers, rude-boys, Acidheads, Sharons, Tracies, Kevs, Nation brothers, Raggers and Pakis; manifesting itself as a kind of cultural mongrel of the last three categories. Raggastanis spoke a strange mix of Jamaican patios, Bengali, Gujarati and English. Their ethos, their manifesto, if it could be called that, was equally a hybrid thing: Allah *featured*, but more as a collective big brother than a supreme being, a hard-as-fuck *geezer* who would fight in their corner if necessary; Kung Fu and the works of Bruce Lee were

> also central to the philosophy; added to this was a smattering of Black Power (as embodied by the album Fear of a Black Planet Enemy); but mainly their mission was to put the Invincible back in Indian, the Bad-aaaass back in Bengali, the P-Funk back in Pakistani. (Smith, 2000: 231-232)

Millat's gang is formed in line with self-categorization theory in which individuals associate themselves in group terms and differentiate themselves from other groups. Burke and Stet (2000) assure that through the self-categorization process, self is not defined according to the biased views of outgroups, rather it is emerged when an individual defines and appraises himself/herself in relation to the outgroups (225). The importance of self-categorization is that the immigrants, who are stereotyped by dominant people in the host country, no more assess their Self in the way they are expected to do, rather they develop a collective identity and include only the ones who have identical stimuli as their ingroup. Thus, Millat's gang is a unique group made out of immigrant children, with their unique hybrid language, and specific made-up manifesto. Through the membership to this group not only they elevate themselves and construe a secure personal identity, but also obtain a collective self by which they get recognized by the outgroup members.

The structure and function of peer groups are also essential in the early adolescence period. In Steinberg and Morris's terms, Millat's gang can be categorized as 'crowd.' They claim

> crowds …are large collections of peers defined by reputations and stereotypes (e.g. Jocks, nerds, brains, populars, druggies). Crowds place adolescents in a social network and contribute to identity development by influencing the ways in which adolescents view themselves and others. (Steinberg and Morris, 2001: 93)

In addition, youngsters attain self-esteem and social status by abiding by the rules which are established for them. In the case of Millat's gang, it can be inferred that the members of Raggastani group, who have been degraded, outgrouped, and rejected by

the host people, gain self-esteem and a higher status as a group with their collective identity. In order to impress others and achieve reputation, the Raggastanis create a self-image for themselves, too.

> They looked like trouble in stereo. Naturally there was a uniform. They each dripped gold and wore bandanas, either wrapped around their foreheads or tied at the joint of an arm or leg. The trousers were enormous, swamping things, the left leg always inexplicably rolled up to the knee; the trainers were equally spectacular, with tongues so tall they obscured the entire ankle; baseball caps were compulsory, low slung and irremovable, and everything, everything was Nike; wherever the five of them went the impression they left behind was of one gigantic swoosh, one huge mark of corporate approval. And they walked in a very particular way, the left side of their bodies assuming a kind of loose paralysis that needed carrying along by the right side; a kind of glorified, funky limp like the slow, padding movement that Yeats imagined for his rough millennial beast. (Smith, 2000: 232)

The Raggastani is a notorious group of immigrants who have been rejected by their outgroup peer groups for their lower social status and lack of adaptation to the cultural demands in the host country. Thus, they seek to prove their existence and somehow protect their self-esteem against aggressive rejection of the host peers. The purpose of their made-up self-image is not gaining popularity since popularity portrays "a shared recognition among peers through which an adolescent achieves prestige, visibility or high social status (Schwartz, Hopmeyer Gorman, Nakamoto, and Mc Kay, 2006: 1116). However, they create this specific image that would generate reputation- positive or negative- as well as power and status for them to affirm their collective identity. Erikson assures that the negative identity development is a defensive mechanism through which the young adult can protect himself/herself from the morbidly ambitious parents or superior people (1968: 175). It is also a way to gain recognition no matter it is negative (Erikson, 1968: 176). That is, instead of gaining an unattainable recognition among their British peers, Millat's gang come to a position to boast with their notorious but accepted collective identity.

As for their appearance, it can be noted that neither the objects that this group has been using for clothing, nor the styles that they have adopted are connected to their ethnic backgrounds. Although these displaced adolescents are seeking for a unique status, through their fashionable clothing style and strange attitudes neither they show any interest in their residual culture, nor do they display a desire to be unified with the host culture. Their style of walking can also be defined as a way to take the attention of the people around and increase the group's reputation. Thus, the members of the Raggastani group abandon their personal identity and perceive and define themselves in group terms. Hogg and Reid (2006) maintain that when an individual depersonalizes or estranges himself/herself from his/her self-concept, there appears a need to develop a reliance on the prototypical group constructs. As a result, in the process of prototype-based depersonalization, "self- categorization cognitively assimilates self to the ingroup prototype and, thus, depersonalizes [individualistic] self-conception" (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 123). The self-image that the Raggastanis have adopted in this stage is a sign of their conformity to their group norms and the symbol of their collective social identity.

One thing to be extracted from the emergence of Raggastani group is that they are more interested in attaining power and status by their new image rather than forming a personal identity. Therefore, they manifest a prototypical behavior that is defined by Hogg and Reid as creating norms or constructs for individuals as for how to feel, think, behave and perceive (2006: 10). In other words, prototypical individuals attempt to be seen as homogeneous and coherent groups who share common values by maximizing intergroup differences. It does not bother the group that they have obtained a notorious fame by forming this group and are categorized as delinquent teenagers. The favorable side of this group-conscious behavior for Millat and his gang is their being recognized by the youngsters of their own age- group either due to the horror the group creates or for the strangeness of the group's attitude and appearance.

In time, the self-esteem of this rejected clique is enhanced so that the group members start to display more aggressive and delinquent behaviors. They swear, insult at the ones who create problem for them and voluntarily take part in any violent protest that is taking place. On an occasion, Millat and his crowd gather to go to Bradford and protest a book that is claimed to be written against God and religious norms. None of

the group members are informed about the details. “Millat hadn’t read it. Millat knew nothing about the writer, nothing about the book; could not identify the book if it lay in a pile of other books; could not pick out the writer in a line-up of other writers” (Smith, 2000: 233). The Raggastanis reason for this group protest is not much related to the content of the book, but a desire to be recognized in a country that would never value them as ingroup members. As for Millat,

> …he knew that he, …[he] was a Paki no matter where he came from; that he smelt of curry; had no sexual identity; took other people’s jobs; or had no job and bummed off the state; or gave all the jobs to his relatives; that he could be a dentist or a shop-owner or a curry-shifter, but not a footballer or a film-maker; that he should go back to his own country; or stay here and earn his bloody keep; that he worshipped elephants and wore turbans; that no one who looked like Millat, or spoke like Millat, or felt like Millat, was ever on the news unless they had recently been murdered. In short, he knew he had no face in this country, no voice in this country, until the week before last when suddenly people like Millat were on every channel and every radio and every newspaper and they were angry, and Millat recognized the anger, thought it recognized him, grabbed it with both hands. (Smith, 2000: 234)

This instance is another influential identity crisis that Millat lives in his youth. His confusion has its roots predominantly in his social identity both as an individual and immigrant. On the one hand, he experiences a sense of inferiority for being discriminated as a Paki who smells of curry and brings burden to the host country both socially and economically. On the other hand, lack of recognition in Britain and awareness of the fact that as a descendant of immigrants he would never be able to attain a primary status in this land trigger the destructive drives in his personality. To make his voice heard and get recognized in the host country, he practices violent attitudes like taking part in brutal protests. Erikson believes that delinquency in youth is an indication of the adolescents’ failure in committing to the demands of society (1968: 157). As Millat and his gang are discriminated infavorably by the mainstream people, they can hardly get adjusted to the norms in Britain, so to gain self-respect and status

they become more aggressive. However, Millat's fierce act and delinquent behaviors as a leading figure in the street protest shock his parents who see him on the TV channel. Alsana, who is ashamed by her fifteen-year-old son's unacceptable behavior thinks that she needs to regulate and control his attitude; therefore, she adopts an authoritarian parenting style to preserve the highly valued order and traditional structure of their family and restrict his autonomy (Baumrind, 1966: 890). The way she uses to keep Millat under control is so harsh.

> When Millat came home that evening, a great bonfire was raging in the back garden. All his secular stuff- four years' worth of cool, pre- and post-Raggastani, every album, every poster, special-edition t-shirts, club fliers collected and preserved over two-years, beautiful Air Max trainers, copies 20-75 of 200 A.D. Magazine, signed photo of Chuck D., impossibly rare copy of Slick's Hey Young World, Catcher in the Rye, his guitar, Godfather I and II, Mean Streets, Rubmlefish, Dog Day Afternoon and Shaft in Africa – all had been placed on the funeral pyre, now a smouldering mound of ashes that was giving off fumes of plastic and paper, stinging the boy's eyes that were already filled with tears. (Smith, 2000: 237)

This is an unpredictable parental punishment for Millat since he can find no logic behind it. The method of punishment that Alsana uses is more psychological than physical. Donoghue (2005) asserts that illogical or unexpected parental punishments might result in either children's maintaining "an unruly and often provocative manner," or "a watchful, wary stance" (85). Although Alsana is not aware of the fact of how valuable belongings those items are to Millat that she has put on fire, this punishment shakes Millat's identity severely. The tears in Millat's eyes are the signs of his frustration and despair. He entirely loses trust in his mother, who has to be the generator of security and trust in him, and develops a sense of mistrust (Erikson, 1963: 247-251). What Alsana burns is Millat's history, his attachment figures/role models and his lost twin. Millat, who has for long suffered from being refused by his father and separated from his twin brother, has identified himself with the heroes in those books and videos as the attachment figures/role models in his life. He has also established an identity with

his peers through the Raggastani documents, the clothing items, and the guitar that belongs to him. Therefore, his mother's punishment comes to mean a loss of so hardly built identity that he has formed through his personal effort. Consequently, detaching himself from his family, he gets closer to his peers and clan to the point of total confusion.

At about the age of sixteen, Millat comes to expand his Raggastani crowd into tribes throughout the school and North London. Millat

> … was simply too big to remain merely the object of Irie's affection, leader of the Raggastanis, or the son of Samad and Alsana Iqbal. He had to please all of the people all of the time. To the cockney wide-boys in the white jeans and the coloured shirts, he was the joker, the risk-taker, respected lady-killer. To the black kids he was fellow weed-smoker and valued customer. To the Asian kids, hero and spokesman. Social chameleon. And underneath it all, there remained an ever present anger and hurt, the feeling of belonging nowhere that comes to people who belong everywhere. (Smith, 2000: 269)

Apparently, Millat does neither feel that he belongs to his parental residual culture with his Muslim background, nor is he accepted as an ingroup member with his British peers. Thus, the only way to prove himself and gain self-esteem to re-build his identity is through attaining power and being recognized, though notoriously. As is seen, Millat's identity crisis in his adolescent period does not end, yet it changes its dimension in a more aggressive way. However, the dominant feature that remains in him in this period is role confusion which he tries to re-emerge from through a process of frequent re-identification for an achieved identity.

Another crisis that Millat lives during this stage of his life is his confusion regarding the concept of intimacy. Although he has experienced his first sexual affair at the age of thirteen and a half, at the age of sixteen, he starts to have affairs with "all women, of every shade, from midnight-black to albino… They slipped him phone numbers, they gave him blow jobs in public places, they crossed crowded bars to buy

him a drink, they pulled him into taxis, they followed him home" (Smith, 2000: 368). "Millat Iqbal's main squeezes were almost all exclusively size 10 white Protestant women aged fifteen to twenty-eight, living in and around the immediate vicinity of West Hampstead" (Smith, 2000: 369). Thus, neither the race nor the personality traits matter to him. Erikson affirms that a young individual develops a tendency towards intimacy, romantic feelings or sexual affairs in order to develop his/her identity (1963: 264). To him, the primary sexual relations are wish fulfilments of individuals to reach themselves (Erikson, 1968: 137). Through these sexual affairs, individuals gain self-esteem, and it cannot be perceived as a step in fusing identity with someone whom would contribute to the process of identity development of an individual.

Nevertheless, Millat's relation with Karina Cain can be assessed as the first instance in his developing intimacy with an opposite sex that influences his identity to some extent. Millat develops a different feeling to his new sweetheart.

> Karina Cain was different. It wasn't just sex with Karina Cain. He liked her and she liked him, and she had a great sense of humor, which felt like a miracle, and she looked after him when he was down and he looked after her too, in his own way, bringing her flowers and stuff. It was both the law of averages, and lucky random thing that had made him happier than he usually was. (Smith, 2000: 369)

Unlike his previous affairs, for the first time in his life, Millat experiences a romantic relationship. Romantic relationship implies an attraction to an opposite sex that "may be based on various characteristics such as physical appearance or personality traits as well as compatibility of intellect, interests and abilities (Miller and Benson, 1999: 100). However, romantic relationship can be formed either as romance or sexual relationship. While romance or romantic love is mainly the manifestation of an individual's thoughts and feelings, sexual relation prioritizes the biological and inner drives of an individual (Miller and Benson, 1999: 100). Karina fulfils both the biological as well as sexual feelings. Millat's confusions get decreased after his new relationship with Karina. Miller and Benson claim that security, fulfilment and validation can be viewed as critical developmental needs that adolescence relationships promise to address (1999:

100). With Karina Cain, Millat feels happier, and it reflects how content he is with her. This happiness in Millat is highly related to his sense of security and trust that is mostly developed through the relationship with an attachment figure. Since for long he has been deprived of motherly care, he substitutes Karina, who cares for him and loves him, for his attachment figure. Bretherton states that "a warm, intimate, continuous relationship with an attachment figure results in a mutual satisfaction and enjoyment" (1992: 761). In this way, Millat's frustrations regarding attachment figure get blurred, and his self-trust is enhanced. This feeling leads him to form a new and positive identity through which he shows his affection to Karina by buying flowers for her. Thus, he gets ready to "build up a joint identity" (Erikson, 1968: 137) with Karina. However, his previously experienced incomplete search for recognition forces him to give an end to this relationship.

Millat, who is so far into the western culture with all the opportunities it has offered, lives another crisis in his personal as well as social identity. Having been deprived of parental support and not being recognized as an individual, his self-esteem is boosted by the compliments of Hifan- one of his old peers- who defines him as a person with "natural leadership skills, who possess[es] within …[him] the ability to take people by the hand and lift them up" (Smith, 2000: 294). Hifan proposes him the position of leadership of Cricklewood branch of a fundamentalist religious group called KEVIN (Keepers of the Eternal Victorious Islamic Nations) at school (Smith, 2000: 295). The main aim of this group is to save the Muslims from the corrupted western culture. In line with the constructs of this Fundamentalist group, Hifan advises Millat to quit using drugs like marijuana that "weakens one's abilities, one's power, and takes …[their] best men away from …[them] in this country" (Smith, 2000: 294). He also emphasizes the need for avoiding "the erotic fantasies of Western sexuality" (Smith, 2000: 296). This proposal seems to be an unreachable offer for Millat who has all along his life been scorned by his father not to have leadership qualities due to his birth position as the second one of the twins. Furthermore, "Millat's religious conversion was more likely born out of a need for sameness within a group than out of any intellectually formulated belief in the existence of an all-power creator" (Smith, 2000: 442). Millat's cooperation with KEVIN is based on "group cohesion" (Rom and Mikulincer, 2003: 1121) which assures the depersonalization of individualistic self-concept by conforming

to the group prototype (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 123). Thus, KEVIN and its constructs, though not much internalized by Millat, turns out to be a holy institution that influence his social identity extremely.

That is why when the brothers in KEVIN show their disapproval in his intimate relation with the British girl- Karina Cain- and give him some Islamic leaflets about the consequences of having relation with the westerners, as a member and leader of the group, who cares for his status more than anything in his life, Millat feels himself obliged to please the brothers by giving a second thought to his relationship.

> In three short days Karina Cain, a darling of a girl, a real good sort who never really irritated him (on the contrary, who made him feel happy! Chuffed!), had irritated him more than she had managed in the whole year they'd been shagging. And no ordinary irritation. A deep unsettleable unsolvable irritation, like an itch on a phantom limb. And it was not clear to him why. (Smith, 2000: 370)

Erikson states that when a young adult feels that the intimacy with someone seems dangerous to one's own identity, then he/she readily, repudiates, rejects, ignores, or even destroys those forces or people (1968: 168). However, he affirms that this rejection is an obvious sign of an incomplete identity (Erikson, 1968: 168). KEVIN's irritation regarding Karina is her belonging to the western culture not the idea of having sex at a very early age of sixteen. Having identified himself with KEVIN, Millat considers Karina as a threat to his social identity, and that is why he replaces the desire for reputation and power that the leadership of this religious group would bring to him with the so-far-longed-for sense of security that he has found in Karina. When the brothers notice that Millat has obeyed the regulations of the group and has become an ingroup with them, as a reward they introduce "Sister Aeyisha… a tiny, beautiful black girl, with almond eyes and high cheekbones" who is "an African goddess" (Smith, 2000: 371) to him to boost his self-esteem.

Due to KEVIN's blaming Millat for being "half a man" (Smith, 2000: 371) for his weakness toward his relation with Karina Cain, Millat feels a sense of inferiority

that influences his personal identity. Therefore, he starts to criticize Karina both for her clothing and behavior that he has been quite satisfied with since the beginning of their relationship. He thinks that "she positively wanted men to look at her, that she was- as *The Right to Bare* [the leaflets from KEVIN] suggested prostituting herself to the male gaze. Prostituting white males" (Smith, 2000: 372). He even goes further to blame her for her singing loud the sex-provoking lyrics of a song in a public bar and making noise while having sex with Millat (Smith, 2000: 372-373). Not understanding the change in Millat, Karina slaps him in the face and breaks up with him while crying loud (Smith, 2000: 373). The change in Millat's attitude is entirely dependent on KEVIN's influence on his ideology and the social identity that he has developed based on KEVIN's rules. Millat's gender-based identity becomes salient while categorizing Karina.

> He didn't mind about the other girls he was shagging… because they were straight up, posh-totty slags. But he minded about Karina Cain, because she was his *love,* and his love should be his love and nobody else's. Protected like Liotta's wife in *GoodFellas* or Pacino's sister in *Scarface*. Treated like princess. Behaving like princess. In a tower. Covered up. (Smith, 2000: 374)

KEVIN's role configuration for women is shaped according to the fundamentalist norms of Muslim countries. To them, women are the individuals who should not be at an easy reach of men, and they should be pious and pure. They also categorize Westerner women as the ones who are in no way able to come to this phase since they are not Muslims. Their discriminative manner based on gender role is obvious in their guiding attitude toward Millat to deflect his ideology about his beloved Karina. Although it seems that Millat has adopted their beliefs to criticize Karina, his evaluation of purity is much related to the imaginary heroes that he has identified himself with in his favorite film characters. More than the piety that KEVIN is looking for, the sacredness of the female figures in the life of his imaginary heroes leads him to display a protective attitude toward the female figures in his own life. Since to Millat the feelings toward Karina is something more than sexual relation, the sense of protecting her and keeping her for himself overweighs. As a result, Karina's disobedient manner and her disrespecting his request shake his gender-based identity. That is, he perceives

Karina's rejection as an attack to his self-esteem. On this account, Millat's social identity which is developed under the influence of his peers in KEVIN becomes salient in his late adolescence period.

In short, Millat sacrifices his self-integrity and identity that had started to flourish through Karina Cain- a positive attachment figure- for his incomplete sense of recognition and power. In fact, the basic reasons for his crises about status and his strife for attaining a position as a leader among his peers are his father's cultural beliefs that have put him in life-long identity confusion, and a sense of inferiority that he endeavors to overcome.

The other one of the twins, Magid, who is sent to Bangladesh by his father in order to master in Islamic rules and regulations, develops an identity just in a diverse direction with his father's wish. As mentioned before, the process of identity development of Magid in this novel can only be followed through the letter and pictures that he sends to his family. In a picture that Magid sends, he is seen as

> …a tall, distinguished-looking young man. His hair was the deep black of his brother's but it was not brushed forward on his face. It was parted on the left side, slicked down and drawn behind the right ear. He was dressed in a tweed suit and what looked – though one couldn't be sure, the photo was not good – like a cravat. He held a large sun hat in one hand. In the other he clasped the hand of the eminent Indian writer Sir R. V. Saraswati. Saraswati was dressed all in white, with his broad-rimmed hat on his head and an ostentatious cane in his free hand. The two of them were posed in a somewhat self-congratulatory manner, smiling broadly and looking for all the world as if they were about to pat each other roundly on the back or had just done so, the midday sun was out and bouncing off Dhaka University's front steps, where whole scene had been captured. (Smith, 2000: 287)

The image that Magid has adopted in this certain age is a modern western image that he has mimicked from the Indian writer- Saraswati- whom Samad blames to be colonial-

throwback …[and] English licker-of-behinds" (Smith, 2000: 287). Magid, who used to take his father as his role model in his childhood period, appears to have changed his role model. Instead of Samad, Magid is seen to be under the influence of Saraswati both physically and intellectually.

The other important factor that can be interpreted from the picture is the way Magid and his mentor/role model seem to be in a position to pat each other in a congratulatory manner. This attitude between them implies the sense of trust that has been developed between Magid and his mentor. "Mentors deliberately support, guide, and shape individuals younger or less experienced than themselves as they weather difficult periods, enter new arenas, or undertake challenging tasks" (Yancey, Grant, Kurosky, Kravitz-Wirtz and Mistry, 2011: 37). Having been separated from the familiar environment of home and family, and having experienced strange and harsh cultural and religious constructs in Bangladesh, when Magid finds a figure in whom he can trust and share his intellectual ideas without being criticized or scorned, he does not hesitate to build up his social identity under his leading guidance. That is, in the absence of his father, replacing Saraswati as his attachment figure or mentor in his adolescence period, Magid not only mimics his way of clothing which is under the influence of British culture, but also internalizes his views that prioritize British culture rather than the Bengali one. In his letter to his parents Magid writes,

> *As you can see, I was lucky enough to meet India's very finest writer one bright day in March. After winning an essay competition (my title: 'Bangladesh- To Whom May She Turn?'), I travelled to Dhaka to collect my prize (a certificate and a small cash reward) from the great man himself in a ceremony at the university. I am honored to say he took a liking to me and we spent a most pleasant afternoon together; a long, intimate tea followed by a stroll through Dhaka's more appealing prospects. During our lengthy conversations Sir Saraswati commended my mind, and even went so far to say (and I quote) that I was 'a first-rate young man' – a comment I shall treasure! He suggested my future might lie in the law, the university, or even his own profession of the creative pen! I told him the first-mentioned vocation was closest to my heart and*

> *that it had long been my intention to make the Asian countries sensible places, where order prevailed, disaster was prepared for, and a young boy was in no danger from a falling vase (!) New laws, new stipulations, are required (I told him) to deal with our unlucky fate, the natural disaster. But then he corrected me: 'No fate,' he said 'Too often we Indians, we Bengalis, we Pakistanis, throw up out hands and cry "Fate!" in the face of history. But many of us are uneducated, many of us do not understand the world. We must be more like the English. The English fight fate to death. They do not listen to history unless it is telling them what they wish to hear. We say "It had to be!" It does not have to be. Nothing does.'* (Smith, 2000: 287-288)

Magid's tone in his letter shows how he is highly inspired by the academic side of Saraswati. Magid, who has experienced several identity crises in his childhood while living in Britain partially due to his parents' lack of acculturation to the host culture and partially to his British peers, who played a crucial role in his developing a social identity according to the British cultural norms, seems to have re-emerged from these crises by adopting Saraswati as his hero and role model and identifying himself with him. Apparently, this adoption of British identity is a sign of rejecting and outgrouping his home culture.

In addition, Magid's considering Saraswati as an inspiring figure both academically and personally is an indicator of his identifying himself with a person who enhances his self-esteem and instils a sense of trust in him. Bretherton assures that the attached figure's awareness of the attachment figure's being available and responsive whenever needed, increases the strength and feeling of security to continue the relationship (1985: 6). As Magid has been displaced from his home in Britain and his family especially his twin, he is prone to cling to Saraswati who not only has shown a caring attitude toward him but also has valued his ideas and beliefs. Erikson (1968) maintains that youngsters have a tendency to reject all limitations to their self-image by developing trust in their peers, teachers, and peers' parents, either leading or misleading. They also become indebted to the ones who would give imaginative scope to their aspirations (128). Therefore, Saraswati terminates Magid's confusions by praising his

intellectual mind and responsible attitude. Although Samad blames Saraswati for his views that are against Bengali culture and religious practices, to Magid, he is a leading guide, who is both available and responsive. Additionally, Yancey and his colleagues claim that role models can be perceived as people who are "exemplary or worthy of identification or imitation, and their selection can reflect critical elements of psychosocial functioning and self-perception in adolescents (2011: 36). This perspective and attitude of Saraswati motivate Magid to develop a sense of trust toward him and to form a social identity through which he categorizes and considers himself as an ingroup with Saraswati.

Furthermore, the title of Magid's essay apparently reveals his views regarding his home culture. He comes to believe that his homeland needs to undergo a complete change. He believes that accepting what happens as fate is a religious manipulation of ideas that would hinder any development in the country. Therefore, the country and its people have to adopt an approach in line with the western culture, in order to make progress. Through these ideas, Magid is manifesting an identity which appreciates British cultural norms rather than the Bengali ones. Although the reason behind his being sent to Bangladesh was his adopting his home culture and becoming a chief as it was designated for him upon his birth as the first son in the family, he develops a social identity which is more in favor of British culture.

The other prominent figure in Magid's life is Marcus Chalfen with whom Magid becomes a penpal while living in Bangladesh (Smith, 2000: 365). The pace of their correspondence is so fast that "within two months they had filled a volume at least as thick as Keat's and by four were fast approaching the length and quantity of the true epistophiles [love letters], St. Paul, Clarissa" (Smith, 2000: 365). The bond between Magid and Marcus is very strange since they have never met each other, yet they feel they have known each other for long. Magid confesses this close relation in his letter to Marcus as "*It is as if I had always known you; if I were a Hindu I would suspect we met in some former life…You put it so well and speak my thoughts better than I ever could. In my desire to study law, in my longing to improve the lot of my country…"* (Smith, 2000: 366). Being born into a Bengali family and having been sent to Bangladesh to practice the constructs of his culture, in his correspondence with Marcus, he apparently

identifies himself with Marcus and rejects his roots and reveals his personal and social identity which is no more connected to his parental residual culture.

The exchange of complimentary comments between the two is also mutual. While Magid acknowledges Marcus's scientific work on cloning as a revolutionary and remarkable study on "*mysteries of inherited characteristics*" (Smith, 2000: 366), Marcus appreciates Magid as a complementary part of his twin brother Millat by stating,

> *…never in my life I have come across a couple of twins who prove more decidedly the argument against genetic determinism than Millat and yourself. In every area in which he lacks, you excel- I wish I could turn that sentence around for a vice versa effect, but the hard truth is he excels in nothing apart from charming the elastic waistband off my wife's knickers*. (Smith, 2000: 367)

Magid's admiring Marcus is based on two factors. Firstly, working on scientific research is so appealing to Magid who has always been interested in science since his childhood. Besides, Marcus boosts Magid's self-esteem through assessing him as a superior individual compared to his twin brother. As Erikson contends children- especially twins- might see their siblings as their rivals (1968: 118) so that Marcus's praising Magid's academic mind while degrading Millat's sexual-based focus is an effective factor in Magid's developing a much positive social identity and self-esteem.

Marcus is also perceived as a role model or mentor by Magid. With Marcus's support, Magid gains a trust and overcomes the sense of doubt that was so far instilled in him by his father. Moreover, Marcus's suggestions about Magid's occupational development are of great importance to him. In one of his letters, Marcus writes,

> *You must get to England as soon as possible, early '93 at the very latest. I'll stump up some of the cash myself if I have to. Then we can enrol you in the local school, get the exams over and done with and send you off post-haste to whichever of the dreaming spires tickles your fancy (though obviously there's only one real choice) and while you're at it you can*

> *hurry up and get older, get to the bar and provide me with the kind of lawyer I need to fight in my corner. My FutureMouse© needs a staunch defender.* (Smith, 2000: 367)

Rhodes, Grossman, and Resch argue that "by conveying messages regarding the value of school and serving as tangible models of success, mentors may stimulate adolescents' improved attitudes toward school achievement, perceived academic competence, and school performance" (2000: 1663). With his academic background and his works on a controversial issue of cloning, Marcus becomes an inspiring and dignitary figure in Magid's life. In addition, Marcus's encouraging manner about Magid's academic achievement and his financial support for Magid's further occupational development positions him in a higher status in Magid's eyes. Thus, Marcus becomes the highly-desired attachment figure or mentor that Magid has wished to have.

Identifying himself with Marcus as his mentor, Magid overcomes the dilemma and role confusion about the career he needs to choose, so he notices the value he has attained in the eyes of others. Therefore, Magid develops a personal identity through which he puts behind the sense of inferiority as an immigrant, who is not well accepted by the host people, as well as a social identity by which he categorizes himself with Marcus, who is an ingroup member of British society. In this stage, he is no more under the influence of his parents' ethnic identity.

As advised by Marcus, Magid returns to Britain to continue his education. Not his parents but Marcus goes to meet Magid at the Heathrow Airport. When Marcus lifts his head he sees a tall young man.

> It was Millat's face, certainly, but it was cleaner cut, and somewhat younger in appearance. The eyes were not so violent, or at least not so violently violent. The hair was floppy in the English public school style and brushed forward. The form was ever so thickly set and healthy. Marcus was no good on clothes, but he could say at least that they were entirely white and that the overall impression was of good materials, well made and soft. And he was handsome, even Marcus could see that. What

> he lacked in the Byronic charisma of his brother, he seemed to gain in nobility, with a sturdier chin and a dignified jaw. (Smith, 2000: 423)

Having identified himself with Saraswati and Marcus, Magid has developed a self-image that displays his salient British identity. His hair and clothing style is a manifestation of how he has mimicked his mentors to be recognized and achieve a status among them. In fact, Magid's mimicking the appearance of his role models or mentors are directly related to the concept of "fittedness to the society" that Erikson relates to the desire for developing a sense of recognition (1968: 159). Marcus's comparing Magid with his twin brother is the reflection of the twin identity in them. To Marcus, while Magid is categorized as an ingroup, who has developed a more noble and dignified appearance, Millat is the darker side of the twin as a unit, who seems to be more violent that makes him an outgroup.

One of the important issues regarding Saraswati and Marcus who mentor Magid during his adolescence period is the similarity between them. On the one hand, Saraswati, who is from India, is quite well-educated and his views are in favour of British culture and the need for adopting western modernity in the East. Similarly, Marcus, who is from Britain, is a well-educated scientist, who cares for a betterment of the world with his genetic research projects. His 'FutureMouse' cloning project is manifestation of the need for integrating immigrants into the mainstream culture. Thus, obviously, Magid's role models/mentors have both led Magid in the same direction to develop an integrated identity.

Upon Magid's return, his father's view on his new identity is entirely diverse from Marcus. Samad thinks his newly arrived son "is some clone, this is not an Iqbal. One hardly likes to touch him. His teeth, he brushes them six times a day. His underwear, he irons them. It is like sitting down to breakfast with David Niven [the British Air Marshal]" (Smith, 2000: 424). In fact, Magid has frustrated his father as he has failed to follow the destiny that was assigned for him. Magid's adopting British culture brings shame to his father who has sent his son to master in the cultural and religious norms of his homeland and become a chief. Thus, Magid fails to fulfil his father's wish. Additionally, Millat is also

> determined not to see his twin on political, religious and personal grounds. 'If Magid stays,' said Millat (De Niro, this time), 'I go.' And because Millat looked thin and tired and wild-eyed, Samad said Millat could stay, which left no other option but for Magid to stay with the Chalfens… until the situation could be resolved" (Smith, 2000: 425).

As a result, Magid is rejected by his father and twin, and he is categorized as an outgroup member who disrespects his residual culture. However, unlike his family, Marcus appreciates this strange boy extremely. To him, Magid is

> … a confident, an apprentice and disciple, accompanying Marcus on trips, observing him in the laboratory. The golden child. The chosen one. Not only was he brilliant, but he was charming. Not only was he charming, but he was generous. For Marcus, he was an answer to prayers. Here was a boy who could weave the most beautiful moral defences with a professionalism that belied his years, who helped Marcus formulate arguments he would not have had the patience to do alone. It was Magid who encouraged him out of the laboratory, taking him by the hand squinting into the sunlit world where people were calling for him… Magid would write while Marcus spoke, translating his words into elegant, turning the bald statements of a scientist disinterested in moral debates into the polished arguments of a philosopher. If *Channel 4 News* wanted an interview, Magid explained how to move one's hands, how to incline one's head. All this from a boy who had spent the greater proportion of his life in the Chittagong Hills, without television or newspaper. (Smith, 2000: 426)

In his late adolescence period, Magid portrays an identity that seems to be an achieved and integrated one. He is quite sure of himself and conscious of his identity. Marcus's appreciating Magid is due to his extraordinary capability to have developed a thorough competence in English language to the point that he comes to edit Marcus's scientific studies and mentors him in his manners to appear in front of public. Although Magid belongs to an immigrant family, he is granted a high status by Marcus, who has resided

a complete trust in him to follow his advices and share his very precious controversial academic works with him. However, Erikson contains that this kind of identity consciousness, especially in the adolescence period, is a part of identity confusion. He maintains that this confusion is mainly related to the self-consciousness of an individual that dwells both on his self-esteem and how he images himself as an autonomous person, and on others' view about him, that is how he appears in the eyes of others (Erikson, 1968: 183). While self-consciousness in childhood is mainly related to the concern of trustworthiness of parents and the child himself, in adolescence period, this doubt about self-consciousness encompasses the whole social universe (Erikson, 1968: 183). Thus, Magid's mature attitude and his consciousness in his identity can be considered as a role confusion that is a typical feature in adolescence period.

In order to overcome the role confusion stemming from his family's attitude toward him, Magid adopts a strange attitude of forgiveness. Nobody could "upset Magid with words. He turned the other cheek. Sometimes hundred times a day, like a lollipop lady on ecstasy. He had this way of smiling at you, neither wounded nor angry, and then inclining his head … in a gesture of total forgiveness. He had absolute empathy for everybody" (Smith, 2000: 429). Pargament argues,

> In forgiveness, the individual pursues the dream of a newfound peace, both personal and social. Forgiveness offers the possibility of peace of mind, that is, the hope that painful memories can be healed, that the individual will no longer be held emotionally hostage to acts of the past. Forgiveness also offers the possibility of peace with others. Coming to terms with the hurt and injury inflicted by another person opens the door to a future of more fulfilling relationships. (1997: 262)

Magid has suffered from displacement once when he was sent to Bangladesh upon his father's personal desire to raise him in line with his religious and cultural background. He has overcome that unbearable pain of displacement and separation from his family, especially twin, with the help of Saraswati who trains him to keep the British side of his identity. After eight years of suffering, once more he is displaced from his 'home' again by the decision of his father who does not accept him as an Iqbal due to his British

identity. With the sense of forgiveness that he has developed, he endeavors to conceal the pain that his family has caused in order to come to terms with himself and create a chance to develop his personal as well as social identity in his late adolescence. In this way, he thinks, he can also complete the lacking side of his twin brother. As a consequence, in his late adolescence period, Magid develops a personal and social identity that appreciates British culture and displays an integrated identity (Berry, 1997: 9).

All in all, neither Millat nor Magid has developed a personal or social identity that is appreciated by their father. "They've been split by their religions [and] by their cultures" (Smith, 2000: 434) he believes. While Magid turns out to be an integrated British citizen who as an immigrant internalizes the culture of the new settlement quite smoothly (Berry, 2005: 705), Millat's identity manifests a marginalized status upon which he rejects both his parental culture as well the dominant practices in the British society (Berry, 2005: 707). In this stage of their lives, the common feature that both Millat and Magid assume as the basis for their personal identity development is a sense of recognition that their father has failed to instil in them. While Magid accomplishes this sense through scientific and supportive mentoring of Saraswati and Marcus, Millat takes imaginary heroes and fundamentalist brothers as his role models to attain a leadership position to become recognized.

As for the twin identity of Millat and Magid as a unit, it can be contended that they are on two opposite poles in order to develop a balanced and complementary twin identity (Hendman, 1990: 1). After Magid returns, although Millat rejects him and forces him to leave their parents' house to live at the Chalfens, internally his expectation from his twin brother is to join him in his religious group and complete the lacking side of his identity. However, for Magid intellectual development and academic matters mean more than the religious issues. Therefore, the way he attains a status is through Marcus and his future project of cloning. As a result, the twin identity of them cannot be formed completely due to the discrepancies between their views.

Irie, who has always played a crucial role in the twins' lives, becomes the only person to unite them in their late adolescence. Starting from her childhood period, she

has been in love with both of the twins. During her childhood period, it was Magid, with whom she shared her ideas and behaved as an ingroup, yet after he is sent to Bangladesh, she diverts her affection toward Millat who is lost without his twin. Although she loves Millat dearly, he rejects her intimate feelings by saying, "Irie Jones, you are *different*. We go way back. We've got a history. You're a *real* friend" (Smith, 2000: 270). In line with his recently developed social identity in his late adolescence, Millat categorizes Irie among the untouchable people whom he cares for and who should not be corrupted like the western women. Millat's attitude is so influential in Irie's identity formation, as she feels herself as a trustworthy person (Erikson, 1963: 247-248) in his eyes which boosts her self-esteem.

Noticing the hidden desire in both twins to come together in order to complete their identity, upon Samad's request she tries to find a neutral place to arrange a meeting for Millat and Magid. Thus, firstly she goes to the Iqbals' house where she finds Millat in his room practicing the leaflets that KEVIN has given to him. When she got close to him,

> …almost without meaning to, she touched his chest. Just at the point between two belts where his heart, constricted by the leather, beat so hard she felt it in her ear. Lacking experience in this field, it was natural that Irie should mistake the palpitations that come with blood restriction for smouldering passion. As for Millat, it had been a very long time since anybody touched him or he touched anybody. Add to that the touch of memory, the touch of ten years of love unreturned, the touch of a long, long history- the result was inevitable.
>
> Before long their arms were involved, their legs were involved, their lips were involved, and they were tumbling on to the floor, involved at the groin (hard to get more involved than that), making love on a prayer mat. Bu then as suddenly and feverishly as it had begun it was over; they released each other in horror for different reasons, Irie springing back into a naked huddle by the door, embarrassed and ashamed because she could see how much he regretted it; and Millat grabbling his prayer mat

> and pointing it towards the Kaba, ensuring the mat was no higher than floor level, resting on no books or shoes. (Smith, 2000: 461)

Millat's role confusion that is one of the dominant aspects of the adolescence period (Erikson, 1968: 128) is obviously seen in his attitude. Although on many different occasions Irie has revealed her feelings to him, it is the first time that Millat realizes that he has repressed his feelings toward Irie. Millat has long been in a moratorium status of identity (Marcia, 1966: 552) through which he cannot make a choice between the demands of his group and his personal desires. In other words, he has attached himself to the prototypical norms (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 124) of his religious group, in order to re-emerge from the identity crisis, yet Irie's touch collapses his long-built identity.

Erikson (1968) claims that in face of compelling internal drives and emotions, some youngsters fail to fulfil their commitments that might result in displaying delinquent attitudes or estranging themselves from the social circle (157). Millat's regret after making love to Irie and his dealing with his prayer mat and trying to put it in a correct direction are the signs of his role confusion, doubt, and seek for isolation which show his failure in developing his personal and social identity. He has difficulty in maintaining continuity and sameness in himself as a part of his personal identity, and he also fails to establish a connection with the demands of his society (Erikson, 1963: 261-262; Marcia, 1966: 551; Korostelina, 2007: 37) that are reflection of his diffuse identity. To put it in another way, neither the constructs of his religious identity nor his personal ego identity are successfully completed since he could be loyal to neither of them. Consequently, it can be concluded that he has developed a diffused personal and social identity in the late adolescence period by which he has not clear goals, values, and intentions.

Realizing the bewilderment in Millat's attitudes, Irie's sense of shame is evoked, but she does not develop a sense of inferiority that is likely to be developed in girls when they feel they are "fucked off and left" (Smith, 2000: 462). She thinks Millat's failure in loving her is due to the damage in his soul. Thus, she heads to Chalfen's house with revenge on her mind trying to find Magid whom she blames to be "the root cause of Millat's feelings of inadequacy" by being born two minutes earlier than him which

makes Millat "a lesser son" (Smith, 2000: 462). To take Millat's revenge, she goes to Magid's room, and she is

> determined to make Magid the second-son for once, this time by twenty-five minutes. She grabbed him, kissed him and made love to him angrily and furiously, without conversation or affection. She rolled him around, tugged at his hair, dug what fingernails she had into his back and when he came she was gratified to note it was with a little sigh as if something had been taken from him. (Smith, 2000: 462-463)

Irie has no emotional intension in making love to Magid, and her reaction seems to be a way to torture Magid, for his existence and negative influence on Millat's life. However, she becomes able to unite the twin brothers in a strange way by becoming pregnant. When she finds out that she is pregnant for eight weeks, the only confusion that she lives is that she does not and cannot not know who the father is:

> No test on the earth would tell her. Same thick black hair. Same twinkling eyes. Same habit of chewing the tops of pens. Same shoe size. Same deoxyribonucleic acid. She could not know her body's decision, what choice it had made, in the race to gamete, between the saved and unsaved. She could not know if the choice would make any difference. Because whichever brother it was, it was the other too. She would never know. (Smith, 2000: 515)

Not being able to develop their identities as a twin, Millat and Magid's twin identity is built in their baby to be born. This baby is a sign of totally integrated identity that the twins need to form. In fact, the merging of the individual identities of Millat and Magid in Irie's body and becoming a unit is a manifestation of achieved identity of the twins. Thus, it can be contended that neither Millat who represents the eastern and cultural part of his father's homeland, nor Magid who represents the western society in the new settling can separately continue their existence unless they integrate their diverse sides to develop an achieved identity.

3.3. ADULTHOOD PERIOD

In this part, the identity development of Samad, the father of the Iqbal family will be elaborated. As he has been displaced for two times in his life, firstly his emergent adulthood during the Second World War (WWII) when he comes to defend the 'motherland' will be dealt with. Afterwards, his process of identity development in his middle adulthood and late adulthood periods when he moves to live in Britain with his young wife Alsana will be discussed.

Samad Iqbal is a Bangladeshi immigrant, who has moved to Britain during WWII. He has fought for the 'motherland' during the war. He graduated from Delhi University before moving to Britain, and from his childhood onward he has identified himself with his great grandfather Mangal Pande whom he perpetually states to be "the great hero of the Indian Mutiny" (Smith, 2000: 87). Samad is a Muslim man: he believes in God, in Prophet Muhammad, in the Day of Resurrection, and in holy war-Jihad (Smith, 2000: 179). His motto is "I'm a Muslim and a Man and a Son and a Believer. I will survive the last days" (Smith, 2000: 121).

During his emerging adulthood which Arnett defines as a period between adolescence and adulthood (2000: 469), Samad moves to Britain to join the army to protect 'the motherland'. He starts working as a wireless operator of a tank with five other British soldiers, and their duty is to provide equipment and maintain the broken war means not active fight. As he has lost his left hand in an accident in his home country, he tries to compensate this physical flaw by an excessive effort to concentrate on his work. He fears to be seen neglecting his duties, so he executes all the assigned works speedily and efficiently (Smith, 2000: 84). As a young adult and an immigrant, he is in a perpetuate search for recognition among British soldiers to attain a position and status. In this period, young adults look for a chance to achieve in something that would make them proud of themselves and gain self-esteem (Erikson, 1968: 47). For Samad "this war was to have been his opportunity. He was expected to come home covered in glory, and then to return to Delhi triumphant. When would he ever have another chance? There were going to be no more wars like this one, everybody knew that" (Smith, 2000: 105). The confusion that he experiences in this period is related to

his social identity both as a part of an individual's struggle to be recognized among his peers, and an immigrant's strife to overcome the sense of inferiority among the members of outgroup.

In the army, Samad becomes the subject of scorn and bullying by the other English members of the tank. In order to degrade and discriminate him for his being an outgroup immigrant, they call him Ick-Ball, the Sultan, and the Indian Sultan bastard (Smith, 2000: 84-85). The negative responses of the soldiers in the receiving society are due to their collective perception of their social group and the identity that they have developed accordingly (Turner, 1982: 15). Their stereotypical behavior to reject Samad as their ingroup (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 121) has its root in the idea that as a member of ethnic group, Samad can hardly satisfy the need and goals of the British society. Therefore, he is positioned in a lower status compared to the native British members of the group. The British soldiers' contemptuous attitude evokes a sense of inferiority in Samad and provokes his personal as well as social identity negatively.

In order to re-emerge from the crisis of being rejected by his outgroups, he also categorizes his comrades as outgroups. He accuses all British army members to be losers. To him, "Dickinson- Smith was no soldier. And certainly no commander" (Smith, 2000: 89). Samad claims that Dickinson- Smith has been given the chance to fight in the war only due his father's force in the military, and he blames the commander for his having homosexual tendency (Smith, 2000: 89). The arguments that Samad puts forth are predominantly related to his attachment anxiety which is a relationship attachment style. Rom and Mikulincer assert that "individuals who are high in attachment anxiety in close relationships have intense needs to be accepted, supported, and admired by their partner [or peers], which is likely to create relationship tensions and conflicts" (2003: 1121). Samad's anxiety and hesitation in building up a relationship with the British soldiers, and his avoiding identifying himself with them is because of his fear of being rejected by the British outgroups as well as becoming a subject of humiliation by them. Therefore, to regain his status and to get recognized, Samad tries to influence and denigrate them by his educational background and high skills in rhetoric explaining how inaccurate the labels they use are:

> Do you know, I wouldn't mind the epithet, Mr. Mackintosh, if it were at least *accurate*. It's not historically *accurate*, you know. It is not even *geographically* speaking, accurate. I am sure I have explained to you that I am from *Bengal*. The word 'Sultan' refers to certain men of *Arab* lands – many hundreds miles west of Bengal. To call me Sultan is about as accurate, in terms of the mileage, you understand, as if I referred to you as a Jerry- Hun fat bastard. (Smith, 2000: 85-86)

Samad's explanation displays his attempt to terminate the biased outgrouping of his British colleagues as well as to prove them that he is a successful man both in his education and military career. In a short talk with Archie he declares,

> I am educated. I am trained. I should be soaring with the Royal Airborne Force, shelling from on high! I am an officer! Not some mullah, some sepoy [untrained millita man], wearing out my chappals [handcrafted leather slippers] in hard service. My great-grandfather Mangal Pande' – he looked around for the recognition the name deserved but, being met only with blank pancake English faces, he continued - was the great hero of the Indian Mutiny!
>
> Of 1857! It was he who shot the first hateful pigfat-smeared bullet and sent it spinning off into oblivion!...
>
> If it wasn't for this buggery hand- Samad inwardly cursing the English goldfish memory for history, lifted five dead, tightly curled fingers from their usual resting place on his chest- this shitty hand that the useless Indian army gave me for my troubles, I would have matched his achievements. (Smith, 2000: 87)

Samad feels a sense of inferiority due to the fact that he is not entitled to a position he deserves. Erikson (1963, 1968) contends that one of the ways to achieve self-respect is getting recognized by peers. Thus, he believes he needs to attach himself to a patriotic hero who would make him be recognized; thus, he identifies himself with his great-

grandfather, whom he has assumed as a hero for a long period, though not much known in Britain. Erikson affirms that during the process of identity development, adults play an important role in their children's lives by their own experiences, examples or the stories they tell about life and their past. In this way they offer "an eagerly absorbed *ethos* of *action* in the form of ideal types and techniques fascinating enough to replace the heroes of picture book and fairy tale" (1968: 120-121). These heroic figures become role models and contribute to the self-esteem of the ones who take them as their attachment figures. Although Samad is in his adulthood period, and he might not be in need of role models as much as children and adolescents, due to his status as an immigrant and his physical flaw that he projects (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 45) to be caused by the Indian army that resulted in inhibiting his achievements, he feels the need of some supernatural and extraordinary figure to gain recognition and develop his personal identity. That is, being aware of the fact that he can hardly achieve in attaining a name or popularity in this new setting, he tightly adheres himself to his great-grandfather Mangal Pande who would, to some extent, increase his self-esteem.

Among all the other soldiers, who do not show any interest in Samad's hero, Samad builds up a friendship only with Archie, whom he finds less biased than the other ones. Samad's self-esteem is enhanced when Archie praises his great- grandfather to be a hero and Samad's having carried his heroic blood (Smith, 2000: 99). To Samad, "not the secret of a sexual affair was a means of enhancing friendship, but Samad's story about his great-grandfather- Mangal Pande- was a means which was acknowledged by Archie. This friendship is based on the concept of 'group cohesion' that Rom and Mikulincer define as:

> team spirit [which] indicates the level of coordination, cooperation, support, and consensus that exist among group members… this construct reflects the extent to which a group serves as a safe haven for its members (the higher the group cohesion, the higher the support and reassurance a group offers); it then may affect the formation of group-specific attachment orientations and their psychological manifestations during group interactions". (2003: 1121)

Although Archie and Samad are not from the same background, they develop a collective or group identity; and they regulate specific norms for their group to be applied (Korostelina, 2007: 74). Rom and Mikulincer claim that in their adulthood period, individuals develop "specific attachment orientations toward social groups and that these orientations contribute… to group identification and emotional reactions to group membership" (2003: 1120). This group identity does not include their ethnic or cultural background, yet it is formed upon mutual values and interests. Archie and Samad shared their secrets and

> long, comfortable silences passed between them like those between women who have known each other for years. It was precisely the kind of friendship an Englishman makes on holiday, … a friendship that crosses class and color, a friendship that takes as its basis physical proximity and survives because the Englishman assumes the physical proximity will not continue. (Smith, 2000: 96)

Archie, who has "no aims, no hopes, [and] no ambitions" (Smith, 2000: 48), thinks this friendship will not last long and will be terminated when they turn back home. Thus, the beginning of their reliance on each other as peers is an involuntary cooperation (Smith, 2000: 92-93). Nevertheless, contrary to Archie's expectations, after all the soldiers on the tank are killed by enemies, and they are left alone to repair the wireless to get help to get out of the battle (Smith, 2000: 92), they come to the position to get attached to each other more fiercely. Samad's physical inability forces him to take help from Archie, and Archie's lack of technical information about the maintenance leads him to trust Samad. Archie's revealing an unbiased attitude toward Samad, and his not alienating him as a member of the outgroup who belongs to a lower status can also be considered as a vital factor in Samad's developing a sense of trust toward Archie. As a result, they develop a sense of trust and attachment to each other that continues to the end of their lives.

After the war, Samad goes back to India and lives there for thirty years. He returns to Britain as a middle-aged man having married Alsana Begum, who is twenty five years younger than him, through an arranged marriage (Smith, 2000: 12). Upon

their arrival, the first thing that Samad does is finding his old friend Archie and moving to a house near the place he lives in Willesden. As they are not in a good economic condition, Alsana has to work as well, so she starts "sewing together pieces of black plastic for a shop called Domination in Soho (Smith, 2000: 55). Meanwhile, Samad also starts working in a far cousin's curry restaurant as a waiter "from six in the evening until three in the morning" while practicing his English (Smith, 2000: 55). In his mid-adulthood, he continue to have a strong tie with his residual culture and traditions, and he assures,

> If religion is the opium of the people, tradition is an even more sinister analgesic, simply because it rarely appears sinister. If religion is a tight band, a throbbing vein and a needle, tradition is a far homelier concoction: poppy seeds ground into tea; a sweet cocoa drink laced with cocaine…To Samad, … tradition was culture, and culture led to roots, and these were good, these were untainted principles. That didn't mean he could live by them, abide by them or grow in the manner they demanded, but roots were roots and roots were good… Roots were what saved the ropes one throws out to rescue drowning men, to Save Their Souls. (Smith, 2000: 193)

In this stage of his lifespan, as he is in the second stage of acculturative stress or culture shock called dis-integration (Berry, 2005: 707), he is in an attempt to reject the host culture that causes tension in him (Petersen, 1995: 79). The salience of home-culture-based cultural identity in Samad is quite obvious in this phase of his identity development. Jensen maintains that in order to form their cultural identity, individuals often base their understanding of cultural identity on their "religious beliefs and behaviors as well as moral beliefs and behaviors" (2003: 190). The elements that Samad considers to shape his values are mostly based on his indigenous Islamic beliefs. That is why to him, anybody who does not go to mosque, does not pray, dress strangely, speak strangely, eat all kinds of rubbish (bacon), drinks alcohol, and have intercourse out of marriage is trouble (Smith, 2000: 190). He also believes them to be out of tradition and morality, corrupted, and assimilated (Smith, 2000: 190). The difference between his beliefs and attitudes manifests his bond to his traditional culture that Jensen emphasizes

to be formed in line with "community cohesion and religious devotion (2003: 190). The difference between the western culture that he is exposed to and his communal traditional culture results in a cultural conflict in him.

Samad, who is thoroughly tied to his religion and traditions, lives one of the most critical crises in his life regarding his temptations of sex in his mid-adulthood. Not being satisfied with his sexual life with Alsana, whom he defines as a "small-palmed, weak- wristed and disinterested" (Smith, 2000: 137) woman, he goes to an Alim (religious man) to ask for his opinions about the act of masturbation to see if it is "halal or haram" according to Islam (Smith, 2000: 137-138). In line with the Islamic rules and hadiths, the religious man states that "*It has been forbidden that one should have intercourse with oneself,"* he also emphasizes that "when the male organ of a man stands erect, two thirds of his intellect go away…and one third of his religion," (Smith, 2000: 138). However, Samad, who could hardly control his instincts and sexual urges, refrains himself from the obligatory rules of God and employs masturbation every morning after work for five years in the little bedroom at the top of the house (Smith, 2000: 139). In order to save himself from God's wrath, he repeats the phrases: *"To the pure all things are pure*" (Smith, 2000: 137) to himself. Samad's manipulative manner is due to the fact that he believes he cannot be so impure to be judged for his attempt to satisfy himself.

Hornsey (2008) argues that in line with self-categorization theory, individuals may activate a different level of self-concept for themselves (206). Through this self-conception they are likely to define themselves "as idiosyncratic individuals, distinct from other individuals" (Hornsey, 2008: 206) so that they may display attitudes, behaviors, and emotions that are unique to them. Encountering severe temptations, Samad derives himself out of the social category he belong to, categorizes himself as an individual and forms his self-conception accordingly. Thus, he does not comply with his social group's norm on the issue of masturbation as he has categorized himself interpersonally or individualistically.

Furthermore, Erikson (1968) connects the act of masturbation to the failure in merging with a leader who is able and willing to guide, by the help of whom the young

adults can be saved from failure in identity development (168). He contends that when the young adults fail to build attachment with a hero, they turn to themselves and try to have fantasy with themselves which might create "an occasional release of excess pressure, only serve to aggravate tension" (Erikson, 1968: 169). Thus, Narcissism can appear in a form of masturbation which is a vicious cycle for giving a way to the sense of physical and mental castration and emptiness (Erikson, 1968: 168-169). In this way individuals prove their existence in the psychosocial world and strive to re/form their identity. For sure, Samad's narcissistic act of masturbation that Erikson defines as a tension experienced in youth shows that Samad is in an extreme instance of delayed and prolonged adolescence (Erikson, 1968: 169) since he is experiencing this feeling in his mid-adulthood period. In the Samad's case, neither his great-grandfather nor the Alim could help him re-emerge from this identity crisis, so in spite of the small signs and warnings such as "a urethra infection, 1976, castration dream, 1978, dirty, encrusted sheet discovered but misunderstood by Alsana's great-aunt, 1979" (Smith, 2000: 139) that he believes are sent by his God, he continues his act of satisfying himself.

Not being able to terminate the act of masturbation that is a violation of his religion and tradition, he deals "a business proposition" with his God through which he could substitute one of the religiously banned acts with another as to say leaving masturbation for drinking alcohol (Smith, 2000: 139). Talking to his God he says, "I'm basically a good man. I don't slap the salami. Give me a break. *Can't say fairer than that*...(Smith, 2000: 139-140). However, "he was in the wrong religion for compromises, deals, pacts, weaknesses and *can't say fairer than that's*... His God was not *like* that charming white-bearded bungler of the Anglican, Methodist or Catholic churches. His God was not in the business of *giving people breaks*" (Smith, 2000: 140). He positions himself over the regulations that Islam orders him to follow, and he makes a choice between the two prohibited acts that in line with his new self-conception he has entitled himself to have the chance to change. In the process of personal identity development, Samad disguises his personal identity with the one belonging to his ingroup British Archie. That is, unconsciously, he has adopted British culture which provides him an opportunity to make a deal with God for his wrong acts that he may request for forgiveness later on. In effect, Samad has become a caricature "of the reflection of the images …[he] had more or less experimentally [and theoretically]

projected" (Erikson, 1968: 30). As a result, Samad seems to be internally acculturated by perceiving the opportunities that the host culture offers positively (Pedersen, 1995: 27). The social and cultural identity that he has developed in this stage is much closer to the British culture and the traditions that he starts to manipulate his Islamic beliefs.

Samad sticks to this deal until he falls in love with his children's music teacher, Poppy Burt-Jones, who generates "abdominal heat in his trousers" (Smith, 2000: 137), so his attempt to masturbate is recommenced. Meanwhile he makes "a New Deal: he was going to beat but he wasn't going to *eat*" (Smith, 2000: 140). In order to overcome the temptation, he starts working for long hours but fasting although it is not fasting season (Smith, 2000: 140). The identity crisis that Samad lives in respect to his sexual arousal toward Poppy Jones leads him to criticize himself to be a victim of western corruption as he maintains,

> I want another woman... I swear. I eat bacon. I regularly slap the salami. I drink Guinness. My best friend is a kaffir non-believer. I tell myself if I rub up and down without using hands it does not count. But oh it does count. It all counts on the great counting board of He who counts. What will happen come Mahshar? How will I absolve myself when the Last Judgment comes? (Smith, 2000: 149)

Samad's self-criticism is the manifestation of his entering the dis-integration period of culture shock when he looks at the cultural practices of the new land with doubt (Pedersen, 1995: 79). Therefore, he strives to gain his self-esteem by criticizing himself for the acts that he culturally believes to be wrong. The imposed religious beliefs of home that he is under influence of together with the dominant traditions of British culture make him flounder in-between the two cultures. While in practice he can be noticed as an integrated immigrant among the mainstream members, theoretically, he cannot relieve himself from the boundaries of his indigenous culture. In a talk to Shiva, the other young immigrant waiter in the restaurant, Samad puts forth the reasons for his temptation that Shiva calls mid-life crisis:

> It's not guilt. It's fear. I am fifty-seven Shiva. When you get to my age, you become... concerned about your faith, you don't want to leave things too late. I have been corrupted by England, I see that now – my children, my wife, they too have been corrupted. I think maybe I have made the wrong friends. Maybe I have been frivolous. Maybe I have thought intellect more important than faith. And now it seems this final temptation has been put in front of me. To punish me, you understand. (Smith, 2000: 144)

His ascribing his unacceptable attitudes to the culture in the new setting is due to the Freudian self- defence mechanism called projection (Hall and Lindzey, 1985: 45). Instead of judging his failure in losing his cultural beliefs and accepting his partial adaptation to the new culture that he has lived and raised his children in, he blames the culture of his outgroups and even his ingroup God for his sexual impulses. However, he can overcome this identity crisis only when he starts his affair with Poppy.

Samad's sexual affair with Poppy Burt-Jones, though against the morality constructs of his culture, enhances his self-esteem and lets him fulfil his sexual desires that cannot be satisfied by his wife. In addition, as stated in the childhood part of this chapter, Poppy's boosting his self-esteem by praising his intellectual skills as well as physical appearance is an invaluable factor in his social identity development since as an immigrant he is recognized by a British woman who would hardly accept members of outgroups to establish intimate relations with.

However, Samad's relationship with his sons' music teacher, Poppy, does not last for long. It ends in an abrupt moment when they are caught by his sons on a bench on the street, though the children do not perceive what actually has been going on between their father and the teacher (Smith, 2000: 182). Samad, who experiences a strong sense of guilt for his sexual affair, experiences another crisis. When sharing his feelings and frustration with Archie, he comes to a self-realization through which he criticizes himself for not being a good role model for his children (Smith, 2000: 188-189). Thus, he decides to save the life of one of his twins by sending him to Bangladesh since he cannot afford to send both. Although Samad's decision is made upon his

personal flaws and confusion, he projects it to the British society as he has done in many other cases in his lifespan. His continuous rejection of the host country, his fluctuations between the two cultures and his separating his twins are all the signs to show he has neither formed a sound personal nor a social identity.

In the mid-adulthood period, when generativity becomes one of the most important features in adults, they are in an attempt to guide the next generation (Erikson, 1968: 138). However, when they fail to achieve generativity, or face disappointment regarding their children, they fall into despair or stagnation. Samad's stagnation is for his sense of failure in raising his children according to the constructs of his culture. During a breakdown he confesses to Irie that:

> Allah knows how I pinned all my hopes on Magid. And now he says he is coming back to study English law – paid for by these Chalfen people. He wants to enforce the laws of man rather than the laws of God. He has learnt none of the lessons of Muhammad- peace be upon Him! Of course, his mother is delighted. But he is nothing but a disappointment to me. More English than the English. Believe me, Magid will do Millat no good and Millat will do Magid no good. They have both lost their way. Strayed so far from the life I had intended for them. No doubt they will both marry white women called Sheila and put me in an early grave. All I wanted was two good Muslim boys… I just don't understand where I have gone wrong…
>
> There are no words. The one I send home comes out a pukka Englishman, white suited, silly wig lawyer. The one I keep here is fully paid-up green bow-tie-wearing fundamentalist terrorist. (Smith, 2000: 406-407)

Samad's dissatisfaction regarding his twin sons is directly related to his own disintegrated ethnic identity that values his indigenous culture more than the host culture. Not being adapted to the society that he has been living in for more than twenty years, ignoring the influence of social factors in the process of identity development of

his children, and with his dogmatic guidance and forceful culture-based attitudes, he has caused an irreparable damage in the identity of his sons. Nevertheless, he still blames them for their extremist attitudes and rejection of their parental culture and ethnic identity. Although Erikson believes that during this stage of their lives, the adults should be both learning and teaching individuals (1963: 266-267), Samad does not let anyone criticize him for his wrong guidance and unachieved identity that generate negative consequences in the life cycle of his children. In line with his personal identity, he lives a sense of shame (Erikson, 1968: 111) that has been dominant since his childhood. This sense is an outcome of his fear to be criticized by his ethnic ingroup members who would scorn his children's straying out from their ethnic and cultural norms. Thus, Samad is upset as for how to respond to his relatives in this regard.

> He shuffled through the restaurant with his eyes to the ground. If aunts and uncles phoned, he deflected questions or simply lied. Millat? He is in Birmingham, working in the mosque, yes, renewing his faith. Magid? Yes, he is marrying soon, yes, a very good young man, wants a lovely Bengali girl, yes, upholder of traditions, yes. (Smith, 2000: 425)

His salient ethnic identity leads Samad to display his solidarity to his ethnic group. Hinkle and Brown suggest that some displaced people might become fearful to be rejected by their ingroups due to their showing a tendency toward the outgroup members (1990: 60). Samad's lying to his relatives about his children is due to the fact that he might be categorized as a 'black sheep' (Marques, 1990: 131) among his Bengali relatives who would scorn or reject him when they find out Samad's children have not preserved their heritage culture. Thus, he struggles not to lose face and preserve his status among his ingroup Bengali relatives and friends.

In the late mid-adulthood and early old-adulthood periods in his lifespan, Samad is looking for integrity and fulfilment which are the two dominant feelings in this stage (Erikson, 1963: 268). Erikson indicates that in this stage of epigenetic life cycle, adults review their life and endeavor to develop a sense of integrity through fighting all hardships and threats (Erikson, 1963: 268). However, when they notice that they are

coming toward the end of their lives, they fall in a complete despair and waive to struggle. Samad declares his renunciation as:

> These days, it feels to me like you make a devil's pact when you walk into this country. You hand over your passport at the check-in, you get stamped, you want to make a little money, get yourself started… but you mean to go back! Who would want to stay? Cold, wet, miserable; terrible food, dreadful newspapers- Who would want to stay? In a place where you are never welcomed, only tolerated. Just tolerated. Like you are an animal finally house-trained. Who would want to stay? But you have made devil's pact… it drags you in and suddenly you are unsuitable to return, your children are unrecognizable, you belong nowhere…
>
> And then you begin to give up the very idea of belonging. Suddenly this thing, this *belonging*, it seems like some long, dirty lie… and I begin to believe that birthplaces are accidents, that everything is an *accident*. But if you believe that, where do you go? What do you do? What does anything matter? (Smith, 2000: 407)

Samad's despair and lack of integrity is because he believes neither he nor his sons could achieve to develop a desired identity in their life cycle. The frustration that he experiences manifests the diffused identity that he has developed (Marcia, 1966: 551). He does not feel the sense of belonging to his heritage culture, nor could he get acculturated and integrated in the new settlement. Thus, his state of identity in Britain, to whom he could not develop a sense of commitment, remains in dis-integration period (Pedersen, 1995: 79). That is why he feels confused, disintegrated, lost and inadequate in his early old-adulthood period.

In conclusion, in many stages of his adulthood, Samad as a Bengali immigrant in Britain experiences identity crisis either due to his heritage culture or the dominant culture in the new settlement. His desire to preserve his home culture has its roots in his ethnic and culture identity that he has formed in Bangladesh. However, having been influenced by the constructs of the western culture in Britain, from time to time he

shows the signs of acculturation and integration to the new culture. This duality between the two cultures and his yet unformed identity leads him to manipulate both cultures. As a result, in his adulthood period, he can hardly attain an achieved identity, and instead, the identity that he develops is a totally diffused one.

GCRIS

CHAPTER 4

THE SAFFRON KITCHEN

The Saffron Kitchen is the first and only novel written by Yasmin Crowther in 2006. Although the title of the book creates a misconception in the mind of the readers who would think it to be a novel about food culture in one of the eastern countries, in fact, food remains one of the minor themes in this novel, which touches upon the identity crisis of the protagonist who is banished by her father to live in Britain in a compulsory exile. The cultural diversity between her homeland Iran and Britain puts her in a perpetual confusion in the process of identity development.

The story is based on the life of the main character Maryam, who is forced to leave her hometown in Iran by her father for going against the rules of her father's patriarchal culture as well as his decisions. She is blamed for being a dissident who degrades her father and her family by having a secret relation with her father's servant, Ali.

With her father's decision, who is a General in Shah's period in Iran, the family doctor Dr. Ahlavi takes her to the military doctors for a virginity test. It is during this test that she loses her virginity because she is raped by the soldiers on the military base. Having brought shame to her father, she is not accepted to live in her father's house, so Dr. Ahlavi convinces Maryam's father to send her to Tehran to continue her education to become a nurse she so desires.

After her graduation, her father does not let her go back to her hometown, Mashhad, and he forces her to leave the country to go to London. During her involuntary exile in London, she meets Edward and marries him, and she gives birth to their daughter, Sara. All along her life in Britain, she is in deep depression because she

feels displaced and fails to adapt to the conditions in the new country. Her condition gets worse when her nephew Saeed is sent to London to live with her. This incident triggers all the long-buried feelings and frustrations in her. Thus, she decides to go back to Iran in order to find her real self.

4.1. CHILDHOOD PERIOD

In *The saffron Kitchen*, the childhood periods of three characters are examined. The childhood period of the two characters are touched upon through their memories. One of these characters is the protagonist, Maryam, who is raised according to cultural norms in Iran and has spent her childhood there, and the other one is Sara, her daughter, who was born in Britain to an Iranian mother and a British father; thus, she develops her identity under the influence of both cultures. The third character is Maryam's nephew Saeed, who moves to Britain at the age of twelve after the death of his mother and his father's marriage with a second wife. Upon Saeed's arrival, Maryam's repressed feelings of nostalgia and her past sufferings come to the surface.

Not many details about Maryam's childhood are given in the novel, yet in order to analyze the process of identity formation at this stage of her life, her family background and the cultural structure of her country and family should be considered.

Maryam, the protagonist, is born into an upper class rich family in Mashhad, a city in the north east of Iran. Her father is "a man of position, prestige, [and] a soldier in the Shah's [Persian King] army" (Crowther, 2006: 198). He is a proud man in whose life compassion has no place. To him, betraying his trust and name and bringing shame to him is nothing to be forgiven (Crowther, 2006: 101). He is extremely class conscious and highly dependent on the cultural norms in his society. Due to his first wife's not giving birth to a son which is a significant issue for a man in Persian culture, he practices polygamy and marries a second wife- Leila. Although she is very young and is the same age as his eldest daughter, she attains a higher position in the eyes of Maryam's father for giving birth to a baby boy.

Maryam is the youngest of the three daughters of the family. Mairy is three years older than Maryam, and according to the cultural norms "at her birth, …[she] was put on Reza's [her thirteen-year-older cousin] knee as his future wife" (Crowther, 2006: 37). She is obedient, and she never rejects the pre-determined destiny decided for her. Maryam's younger sister called Mara with her freckles and curly hair is the most favorite one at home (Crowther, 2006: 37). She "was full of cheekiness and teasing. She swam the middle stream" (Crowther, 2006: 140). Dr. Ahlavi also describes the sisters as:

> …Mairy was old Iran. She was traditional and obedient, full of quiet care. Maybe she had the easiest life, accepting tradition. She was your grandfather's balm. Then there was Maryam. She was born before her time, as they say; trapped by it. She had her father's spirit, you know – good for a warrior, but not for a girl born into a world of kitchens and children…Maryam would have none of it. She wanted her own destiny and no one could stop her… she slipped straight through her father's fingers. He could not clip her wings. (Crowther, 2006: 139)

Dr. Ahlavi's explanations apparently clarify the culture and traditions in Iran. It depicts that not obeying the traditions of patriarchal society in Iran, would generate painful results for women. The ones who would conform to the cultural norms would lead an easier life compared to the ones like Maryam, who would not bow to the destiny that was determined for them. Thus, Maryam, who does not comply with the prototypical constructs of her society (Hogg and Reid, 2006: 10) to marry the suitor her father suggests, and instead falls in love with her father's servant is seen out of the norms of the group and is categorized as an outsider and is rejected by her father as an outgroup. Thus, while living in Iran, Maryam's personal identity does not comply with the norms.

In her early childhood period, Maryam has developed a deep love and attachment toward her father. She remembers her father

> … liked to walk in the garden late at night. In the summer, it would have been watered and swept at the end of each day. The air would smell

> moist, of the earth, jasmine flowers and honeysuckle. He would sit on a bench by the pool in our courtyard. It would be very dark, just a silver moon reflected in the water. I'd only know he was there by the red glow of his cigar. I'd sit there and wait for it sometimes, in the blackness, the smell of tobacco. (Crowther, 2006: 265)

Even after fifty years, all the details of their house and her father's attitude are brightly alive in Maryam's memory. As a girl child, she adores her father and she secretly watches him in the dark. The presence of her father evokes a sense of security (Bretherton, 1992: 760) in Maryam as a girl child. He is Maryam's role model and one of the attachment figures (Bretherton, 1985, 1992) in this stage of her life.

All Maryam's childhood memories about her father depict her joyful life in that stage. In one instance, after her father's returning from Mecca, his religious pilgrimage, there is a feast in their house and many relatives and friends are invited to dinner to celebrate his return. Looking at the photo taken in that special night, Maryam recalls the joy,

> The women and children ate after the men, and even though I had been small, I remembered my father carrying platters of steaming basmati [rice], gold with saffron, to serve me and my sisters. Then he had picked each of us up in front of everyone. I had been so excited I'd cried, and Fatima [the baby sitter] had to carry me outside to calm down. (Crowther, 2006: 63)

For Maryam this memory is a precious one since she feels, even as a girl child in a patriarchal society, she is cared for by her father. Erikson (1963) assures that the affection of a caregiver evokes a sensation of being a trustworthy person in the child (247). Thus, Maryam's father's attempt to feed her daughters in spite of their being girls, who are not much valued culturally due to their gender, boosts a sense of trust in them. In addition, his displaying his proud for his 'generativity' (Erikson, 1968: 138) and parading his children to the public is an encouraging attitude for Maryam in her early childhood. Even though she is too young (about five years old) and frightened for

this act of her father at that time, when she recalls the day, she feels the trust that was implanted in her by his father's manner, so she develops a stronger bond with her father who manifests a caring attitude.

The other time she remembers her father's caring manner is when they are on a journey to the Caspian Sea. She remembers as a little girl she had once sat on her father's shoulders

> …by the shores of the Caspian. They had walked on white sand, every now and again turning to see his footprints wash away in the surf. On their way home in the afternoon, they had stood beneath a peach tree and from his shoulders she had reached to pick one, soft and warm in her hand. They had sat in the short grass and shared it then, looking back at the sea in the sinking sun. (Crowther, 2006: 120)

As a child, Maryam has developed a sense of trust in her attachment figure by sitting on his shoulder and sharing a peach with him. Furthermore, the time that her father spends with Maryam and the fatherly love that he shows to her are invaluable to her. In another picture belonging to her childhood, Maryam describes her father in his "casual clothes, sleeves rolled up in the heat. He was laughing among the villagers" (Crowther, 2006: 63). In fact, this period of Maryam's life is just before the political upheaval in Iran when her father is quite happy and content both in his work and in his domestic life. During this period, he finds enough time to spend with his children who are the examples of his generativity as Erikson (1968:138) defines it. Apparently, the father's satisfaction in his life is reflected in his relation with his children that automatically influences the children's sense of security, stability, and certainty (Bretherton, 1992: 760) through which they form their identities. Therefore, in her childhood period, Maryam's relationship with her father and her identifying herself with him as a role model and attachment figure influences Maryam's identity formation positively as she achieves to develop a sense of trust.

The other important attachment figure in Maryam's childhood period is her mother. Maryam's mother born in Russia into a peasant family is a displaced person in

Iran (Crowther, 2006: 37). Although displaced people might suffer from a lack of adaptation in their new environment, she primarily develops an achieved identity since her moving up the social ladder into an upper class and getting married to a General in Shah's army enhances her self-esteem. According to the cultural norms in Iran, upon marriage to an upper class member, women gain a higher status and become ingroups in their new families. As Erikson puts it, people tend not to look down and discriminate the outgroup members when they come to believe that these outgroup members have adopted the norms of ingroups and would behave accordingly (1968: 22-23). That is why Maryam's mother no more feels herself as an outgroup in this new setting in her husband's family as she is valued by her husband and is accepted by the family members. This sense of worth enables her to build up a sound identity and self-esteem which leads her to develop a strong bond with her children and manifest a caring motherly attitude toward them.

During Maryam's childhood, her mother is a happy and attentive mother. Maryam recalls her mother's affectionate and gentle attention toward her at the feast prepared for her father after his return from Mecca. When Maryam gets excited and starts crying in the feast, Fatima takes her out of the crowd to soothe her. Even though culturally it is the baby sitter's duty to look after the child in Persia, Maryam's mother gets worried about her child and runs after them to let Maryam feel the sense of security in her mother instead of the nanny. The strong motherhood instincts overweigh the constructs of the culture that leaves the child care to the baby sitters. This shows how affectionate a mother she once was. Concerning her childhood period, Maryam remembers her mother's "soft smile and the scent of lily of valley" (Crowther, 2006: 63). She also recalls "her singing to…[her]… a soft voice barely more than a whisper" and rocking her to sleep, (Crowther, 2006: 50) yet this softness is replaced by anger and depression after the polygamous marriage of her husband.

After Maryam's father's second marriage, her mother lives an identity crisis since her husband rarely visits their section of the house as he has started visiting his new wife. Thus, Maryam's mother falls into despair and suffers from the loss of her husband and an intimate relation with him. As intimacy is a way to fuse identity (Erikson, 1963: 263), by her husband's second marriage, her personal and social

identity is shaken. She not only loses her husband but also her status in the family. She is exposed into the denigration of her husband's sister, Soraya, who accuses her of having "grown to look like the Russian peasant she was born, and no wonder she is unwanted" (Crowther, 2006: 37). The impact of losing her position in the family and being outgrouped lowers her self-esteem. As a result, she feels herself as a mismatched person in the house where she once used to be proud of her status.

Thereafter, she neither cares for her children nor gets interested in them. Maryam notices this change in her mother when she "just sits on the wall smoking her American cigarettes and swearing in Russian when she thinks no one is listening. She is tired" (Crowther, 2006: 45). Maryam interprets her mother's state in that period in a childish manner by attributing her carelessness to her fatigue, yet in reality, she realizes the fact that she can hardly rely on her mother as a caring attachment figure. The lack of consistency and stability in providing care that Erikson claims to be a vital factor in building a sense of trust in a child (1968: 24) results in the child's developing a sense of mistrust and doubt in the process of identity development in this stage. Consequently, Maryam seeks for a more available attachment figure to substitute for her mother. The person whom she identifies with as her mother figure is her nanny Fatima.

Fatima is hired to nurse Maryam since Maryam's father does not wish to sacrifice his joy of sexual relation with his wife by letting her feed and nurse their children (Crowther, 2006: 47). This manly selfishness, which is mainly based on his culture, is seen in her second marriage as well. When his son Shahriar is born he asks "when will the wet-nurse come and give me back my wife?" (Crowther, 2006: 52). Although culturally it seems that the mothers have no right to look after their children for whom feeding is the start of building a trust bond with their attachment figures (Erikson, 1963: 247), for the children who are in need of protection by their mothers as the main caregivers, these traditional paradigms create serious confusions in the process of identity formation. The confusion arising from separation from an attachment figure can only be overcome when a child substitutes a reliable mother figure who would provide a gentle care and steady atmosphere for the identity development of a child (Bretherton, 1992: 759; Cassell, 2001: 4). As a result, Maryam identifies herself with

Fatima as her attachment figure upon facing her mother's ignoring her in order to build her personal identity.

Fatima plays a significant role in Maryam's identity development process in her childhood as well as other stages of her life. Having identified herself with Fatima, when a few years later Maryam finds out that to breast feed her, Fatima has lost her own son, she experiences an identity crisis and feels guilty as she does not believe in her father who explains that it was not Maryam's fault but Fatima's "son had been born weak" and had no chance to survive (Crowther, 2006: 47-48). Despite her father's explanation regarding Fatima's son's physical weakness, Maryam blames herself by saying "I killed him before I could walk. It was the first thing I did in my life" (Crowther, 2006: 48). The sense of guilt, Erikson (1968) assures is double-sided as the child might on the one hand blame himself/herself for committing a non-reversible crime and on the other hand, he/she might develop a sense of hatred toward his/her role models/parents (119-120). In the case of Maryam, she gets confused and feels guilty as a child since she thinks Fatima might hate her for the loss of her son (Crowther, 2006: 48). It is hard for her to perceive how a woman can ignore her biological child's death due to her feeding another woman's child. However, Maryam gets over this crisis by developing a sense of security in Fatima who has replaced Maryam for her son. On the other hand, Maryam develops a sense of mistrust and hatred toward her father who normalizes the other baby's death by basing it on his bodily weakness. Thus, Maryam's personal identity in her childhood period revolves around a sense of security and attachment figures.

In this novel, another displaced person who is in his childhood period is Maryam's nephew, Saeed. He is sent to London to live with his aunt after the death of his mother, Mara. He is raised according to the traditions of Persian culture all through his life. However, in his childhood period in Iran, after the Revolution, though unconsciously, he experiences acculturative stress or culture shock. Although Berry (2005) defines this stress as a confusion that is experienced by expatriates when they move into a new social setting (698), in the case of Saeed, this stress does not appear upon his displacement but the changes in the political regime in Iran that create diversity in the cultural configuration of the country. After the Islamic Revolution in

1979, the reign of Pahlavi dynasty in Iran was overthrown and abolished, and a new regime of Islamic rule was started. Edward explains those hard times as:

> …[Maryam's] family could not come and go so freely. We stopped visiting Iran ourselves; it just didn't feel safe after all those hostage crises. It was as if she stopped getting the right mix of oxygen.
>
> I remembered her tears in front of the nine o'clock news: lopsided bodies hanged, dangling and dead, from towering cranes in Mashhad. Her half-brother, Shariar, had been one of them, dragged from his home. She would shudder in the quiet after we turned off the television… that's not my Iran, she would say, remembering the images of men beating themselves with chains, bloodied shirts on their backs. (Crowther, 2006: 114-115)

After overthrowing the Persian King in 1979, the new Islamic government in Iran generated a duality in the identity development of the people who supported him. While Shah had enhanced the relations with the western world, the new government was in an attempt of rebuilding an Islamic country that is deeply based on Islamic rules and regulations. In this period, the ones belonging to Shah's army or the ones who supported him were seriously punished or executed.

Unlike in the Shah's period, all the media organs were under the surveillance of the government and the international media was restricted since it was against the Islamic Rule dominant in the country. In this chaotic environment, the people like Saeed's family, who were in favor of Shah, sought to continue their connection with the West and lead a modern life style as they were used to. Nevertheless, it was not possible to do so publicly, so they were to create a parallel life in their home environment. Thus, what they used to do at home was entirely different from the outside world which resulted in culture shock in individuals. During a talk with Sara, on their way to visit Dr. Ahlavi's house, Saeed explains this confusion as:

> SAEED. In Iran, boys sit at the front of the class and the girls at the

> back. When we go home, we watch MTV on satellite. Britney Spears.
>
> SARA. What's that like?...
>
> SAEED. Like going to the zoo. He grinned as the thought occurred to him. (Crowther, 2006: 126)

Saeed's criticism of the current situation in Iran and the contrast between home and the outside world, and his describing it as a zoo reveal his identity crisis. In this stage of his life, gender based categorization in the classes and the discrepancy between the practices inside and outside homes seem to be bewildering for him. Saeed experiences role confusion, which Erikson (1968) defines as one of the characteristics of adolescence period. As he has grown up with his parental views who appreciate the European life style that provides modernity for them, he finds it difficult to get adapted to the new norms in the 'revolutionized' Persian society. Saeed needs to overcome the dichotomy between the personal and public faces that he should use as a mask in his late childhood period. Being under the influence of his family and their views, he adopts the culture of home instead of the Islamic culture. Thus, his personal identity in Iran is shaped in line with a modernist and westernized culture of his family.

However, when he is displaced and is sent to live in the heart of that western culture in London, which seems to be a stimulating culture when living in Iran, he experiences another culture shock that in a sense triggers his identity formation as a child in that period.

Until the age of twelve, he has been brought up with Iranian culture in which courtesy toward adults is of utmost importance. According to the culture in his homeland, children have to be totally obedient and conform to their parents' desires and decisions. When Saeed first meets Sara, his courtesy as an Iranian boy surprises her. She says, "his courtesy was a contrast to the mischievous twelve-year-olds I taught back at school" (Crowther, 2006: 5). Sara is also surprised with his bowing to her and shaking hands with her as it is not culturally an act that is familiar to the people who are

raised in British culture (Crowther, 2006: 5). Thus, Saeed behaves in line with his Persian culture upon his arrival in London, and Sara, who is brought up with British culture, categorizes him as a person who does not belong to British society. Nonetheless, Sara's categorization does not seem to be a negative one which might result in discriminating him as an outgroup member, because she is raised in a hybrid culture, and she is aware of the difference between the two cultures.

As a boy who is in his late childhood and early adolescence period, Saeed is deeply depressed for his displacement. His depression stems from various reasons. As the first cause, apparently, the loss of his mother seems to be an influential factor. Furthermore, his father's getting remarried intensifies Saeed's frustration, who is only twelve years old. He feels himself ignored as his father would not be much interested in him anymore. When he is sent to London, he suddenly finds himself "squeezing his stuff into the gaps" among his cousin, Sara's stuff in her old room that she had left fifteen years ago (Crowther, 2006: 3). His sense of doubt is also evoked in this stage since his displacement is not an autonomous choice (Erikson, 1968: 112). Not only he is displaced and has lost his attachment figure, but also he is put in a position to find a space for himself among the long unused stuff of his cousin whom he has never seen. Consequently, he lives an internal crisis and doubt that he tries to overcome by practicing painting.

As Erikson states, to overcome doubt, children and adolescents are likely to estrange themselves and find a niche to internalize the societal demands (1963: 262). Like his mother Mara, Saeed is good at painting and drawing pictures (Crowther, 2006: 6), so he tries to console himself in this totally new world by drawing pictures using Sara's acrylic paints (Crowther, 2006: 5). Not verbally but through his pictures he reflects his despair, frustration, and nostalgia in this phase of his life. As Douglas (2010) notes, in the process of identity formation in displaced people, nostalgic remembering could be used as a means of resisting the distressful images and hardship of the present (86). That might be the reason why Saeed uses nostalgic images that depict his culture and history in his pictures.

Once Sara notices a picture of a "gazelle in full flight, amber and gold, with its front and back legs stretched out like a rocking horse" (Crowther, 2006: 5) in his room, and she asks him to tell her about the picture that he has painted. He explains to Sara that what he painted is the picture of an Old Persian carpet that had hung by his bed in Tehran. He says, "The gazelle used to be in the corner close to my pillow. When my mother was ill and I couldn't sleep, I'd trace it with my finger" (Crowther, 2006: 5).

The picture Saeed has drawn might be interpreted in different ways. Saeed's gazelle, conceptually, is the representative of the Iranian culture of hand-made carpets in which old kings' achievements were used to be woven. The colors that he has used are also very orientalist which reminds the flashy and exaggerated colors that are popular for showing the richness of the country. As for the role of the picture that Saeed has drawn, it can be stated that, the loss of a mother figure is depicted in this picture. The flying gazelle can be interpreted as the image of his mother who is leaving him, and his tracing the gazelle with his finger is his hidden desire to follow his mother. In addition, physical touch between the child and the attachment figure is a non-verbal communication method of parenting that is proved to be significant in enhancing a sense of security in children. Whiddon and Montgomery (2011) put forth the idea that "touch is vital to healthy [and positive] adjustment" during life span of individuals, and by referring to Kassow and Dunst they assert that "attachment research emphasizes the importance of touch in the sensitive responsiveness and availability characteristic of the secure attachment style (1). On this account, Saeed's tracing his mother's image with his finger could be the sign of his wish to touch his mother in order to ensure that he is safe at least in the memory of his mother, and he would be developing a sense of trust as a part of his personal identity.

As previously mentioned, the loss of an attachment figure might leave unbearable scars in the psychology of children (Bretherton, 1992: 759). Thus, Saeed internally develops a yearning for uniting with his attachment figure or mother. That might be one of the reasons for his attempt to jump off the bridge in London and commit suicide.

One of the factors that initiates an identity crisis or acculturative stress in Saeed in this stage of his life is his lack of adaptation to the school environment. Saeed is new to the English school he is enrolled in and has "been bullied from the start…among the strangers" (2006: 7). Erikson highlights the importance of achievement in industry in this stage of life by stating that, failing in academic and social skills in a new social environment such as school impedes a child's sense of recognition and results in his/her disappointment (1968: 123-124). The biggest barrier in front of Saeed in this period is his language skills. Not being able to communicate with his peers at school, he feels inferior and becomes an object of harassment by his British school mates. Thus, to overcome this crisis and to keep his sense of self-respect he avoids going to school. The sense of inferiority that Saeed develops is both personal and social. In other words, his not being accepted by his peers is a crisis that any individual may confront; however, scornful and prejudiced behavior of his peers for his being an outgroup immigrant is a discriminative attitude that influences his social identity negatively.

In the early days of his arrival in London, Saeed suffers from insomnia, and he wakes up crying in the middle of the night (Crowther, 2006: 12). Once, due to his lack of sleep at night, on the way to school, he falls asleep in the bus and he misses the bus stop he has to get off at to go to school. Therefore, he gets lost and asks a police officer in a shopping mall to help him find his way. When his aunt is informed about the event and goes to the police station to pick him up, she gets so angry that she slaps him on the face (Crowther, 2006: 12). It is not the first time that she has applied corporal punishment on her nephew, so the reaction that Saeed shows in this regard is running down the railing of the bridge and leaning forward to swing and jump down when his cousin Sara rescues him at the price of losing her own baby (Crowther, 2006: 13).

Maryam's punishment intensifies a sense of inferiority and results in a traumatic reaction in him since in this stage of life caregivers' use of corporal punishment might be interpreted by children as a humiliating act that negatively influences their sense of self and dignity and gives rise to anger, alienation and depression (Straus, 2009: 37-38). The way children perceive corporal punishment is from time to time different from the reason their caregivers attempt to use it (Donoghue, 2005: 83). Maryam, who has been personally subjected to her father's physical punishment in her adolescence period,

applies corporal punishment to empower Saeed in this new environment and help him become a strong person as their Persian culture expects them to be (Crowther, 2006: 13). However, Saeed's perception is so different from his aunt's. His aunt's physical abuse creates a sense of inferiority in him rather than the expected strength. He also develops a sense of shame for his inability to adjust himself to the new environment that generates anger in his aunt. Erikson (1968) defines the sense of shame in children as a tendency to isolate themselves when they notice they cannot meet the expectations of their caregivers (111-112). As a result, in order to put an end to his sufferings, he attempts to commit suicide.

Upon this incident, Maryam decides to go back to Iran and leave Saeed with her English husband and daughter. The absence of his aunt provides a new space in Saeed's life since for the first time he comes into contact with the British culture without the external interference of his home culture. Edward's positive role in Saeed's process of adaptation starts when he tells Saeed that he no longer needs to go to school and that he can start the new semester somewhere else (Crowther, 2006: 113). Edward's suggestion creates a sense of relief in Saeed because it provides a chance for him to internalize the host culture more before dealing with peer pressure at school. Therefore, Edward becomes an alternative role model or mentor for Saeed in this phase.

As stated previously in the theoretical part of this dissertation, when displaced people move into a new social setting, they live a honey moon period in which they get excited with the facilities in the host culture. As a result, they strive to get adapted and become acculturated in the new environment (Berry, 2005: 699; Pedersen, 1995: 3). One of the mostly used adaptation methods in this stage is using media organs to mimic cultural diversities in the new setting. Jensen (2003) assures that through media, especially television, the culture of the dominant society is exposed to the expatriates, so they develop their identities under this influence (193). After getting identified with Edward, Saeed starts watching the videos of Laurel and Hardy the funny British movie characters in that period. When Sara visits her father and Saeed after her mother's return to Iran, she is quite surprised with Saeed's prompt imitation of Laurel and Hardy as he "rubbed the top of his head like Stan Laurel, raising his eyebrows and pulling a confused face" (Crowther, 2006: 113). Berry (2005) defines mimicking as the first step

in the process of acculturation (699). Therefore, after the rigorous and authoritarian attachment style (Baumrind, 1966: 890) of his aunt, Saeed becomes less prejudiced about the British culture and shows a mild acceptance toward the new culture to form his social identity.

Later in Sara's house Sara and her husband Julian notice a great change in Saeed's language skills, too. In an intimate talk to Julian, when he asks Saeed what has been going on, he replies "It's all been a bit topsy-turvy… practicing Edward's expression, new in his mouth" (Crowther, 2006: 187). Upon this dialogue that amazes Sara and Julian, Saeed starts grinning to show his satisfaction in this regard. As Erikson (1968) puts it, development in academic or social skills enhances self-respect and dignity since the individuals who have been able to produce something new in this stage, believe themselves to be a productive unit in their social environment (122-123). Consequently, mimicking the language of the host culture seems to be an achievement in Saeed's life that brings a sense of recognition to him. In this way, he builds up a healthier and more content personal identity as well as adjusted social identity by re-emerging from the crises that his aunt and the new culture have caused.

Sara is the last character in this section whose childhood is explained briefly. When she loses her baby while saving Saeed's life on the bridge who was running away from his aunt and her corporal punishment, she remembers the same punishment that her mother had applied on her when she was only eight. On an occasion when her husband asks her if her mother has ever hit her, she replies,

> No, … not as far as I remember. She would get cross sometimes, out of nowhere. Once, I must have been about eight, I was playing in front of her dressing table on my own, and put on one of her scarves, knotted beneath my chin. I had her bright-red lipstick smudged all over my face… She was so furious when she saw me. She said the scarf was her mother's and I should know better. She scrubbed my face until it was sore, but the worst thing was that she got out the kitchen scissors and just lopped off my ponytail, so my hair was really short. She said I wouldn't

> play with make-up if I looked like a boy. You should have heard me cry. (Crowther, 2006: 22)

In her childhood, Sara defines the reaction of her mother as just getting cross rather than applying corporal punishment, yet in her adulthood, after noticing her mother's slapping Saeed in the face, she gets certain about the authoritarian and unacceptable attitude of her mother both toward her and her cousin Saeed. Maryam's way of punishing is much severer psychologically than physically. There are serious impacts of corporal punishment on the psychology of children as a result of which either they may become aggressive and show a similar reaction to others, or they might lose their self-esteem and withdraw themselves from contact with others (Donoghue, 2005; Straus, 2009). The impact of Maryam's punishment on Sara is much related to the latter consequence, as she feels a sense of shame and hesitates to tell her husband about the severity of the punishment.

Maryam's cutting Sara's pony tail is also an influential factor on Sara's personal identity formation at the age of eight. As stated previously, the first type of identity that any individual forms in the early years of his/her life cycle is personal identity. As Turner (1982) puts it, physical attributes of a person which are shaped by external factors such as social, cultural, and gender-based paradigms are essential in forming a personal identity (15). Harter (1999) asserts that in line with cultural and gender constraints, individuals construct self-representations or false ideal perceptions of physical appearance that conforming to it might enhance their self-esteem. Thus, they feel themselves apt to follow these idealized models in order to gain recognition in their social circle (142). For girls one of the ideal forms of physical appearance is having long hair that would both manifest their gender identity as a girl compared to the short-haired boys, and become a feature to gain self-esteem. Maryam, who has grown up under these false beliefs and cultural norms, cuts her daughter Sara's hair to punish her wrong behavior for using her mother's make up materials, yet in this way she not only applies corporal punishment, but also humiliates Sara and makes her lose her self-esteem. Thus, even after many years, when she witnesses her mother's wrong reaction toward Saeed, she remembers her own painful history and crisis and develops a sense of empathy with her cousin.

Another childhood crisis that Sara experiences in her late childhood and early adolescence period at the age of twelve is regarding her attachment figure. One of the most influential characters in her childhood period is Fatima who used to be her mother's nanny in Iran. As it was in Maryam's life, Fatima plays the role of a caregiver or attachment figure (Bretherton, 1992: 760; Cassell, 2001: 4) in Sara's life, too. Sara remembers Fatima who used to treat her as a child and pamper her. Although Fatima is not a good role model for Sara at that age due to her growing opium poppy seeds and smoking them in their garden in Britain, she instils trust in Sara with her caring behavior and loving attitude. On one occasion, Sara remembers, she "ran up and down the garden in … [her] school pinafore and white socks" toward Fatima who "smiled and pinched her check" (Crowther, 2006: 8). Sara, who has hardly experienced her own mother's caring attitude in her childhood period, develops feelings of attachment to Fatima so that instead of running toward her mother after she comes back from school, she prefers to go to Fatima whom she thinks is much more responsive and available than her own mother. As Bretherton (1992) assures, children in this stage of their lives seek for a warm, intimate and secure relation that will satisfy them and contribute to their sense of enjoyment in this relation (761). Thus, Maryam who has suffered from an uncaring attitude of her mother displays the same style of parenting and attachment toward her daughter and denies her daughter from the sense of trust and security that an attachment figure should provide.

In Sara's childhood period, Fatima becomes the major attachment figure who satisfies her needs and makes her enjoy her life. Sara recalls,

> Fatima always wore a headscarf in those days, which would slip back over her badly dyed purple-black hair as the day passed, and… [she] took wearing one too, knotted like a gypsy's at the back of …[her] head. She would pull …[Sara] on to her lap and tell …[her she] looked just like …[her] mother when she was small, and how she had always been [her] grandfather's favorite and that was why he had chosen her to come to England. (Crowther, 2006: 8)

What makes Fatima the source of enjoyment for Sara is not only her intimate and trustworthy behavior toward her, but also the difference in their culture. That is, Fatima's habit of wearing headscarf is something new and unusual for Sara who has been raised in Britain. Therefore, Sara starts mimicking Fatima. Behind this mimicry there lie several factors. For one thing, Sara might consider this as a game by which she can both enjoy herself and also keep the attention of her attachment figure on herself. In addition, imitating adults is a method that children use to gain recognition and increase their value in the eyes of the ones who are important to them (Erikson, 1968: 123-124). Although imitating adults is a habit in the early ages of children, this imitation of Sara can also be considered as an acculturating process through which she gets familiar with the Persian culture and develops a social identity in that way. Her wearing a scarf contributes to her recognition as an ingroup with her caregiver whom she trusts. Thus, she forms a social identity that is closer to the culture of Iran in this phase of her life.

In conclusion, during their childhood periods all the three characters experience crises regarding their attachment figures and identify themselves with several attachment figures or role models. The caregivers or attachment figures can hardly implement their roles as the security providers that result in their children's confusion in the process of identity development.

Another factor that has dominantly played an essential role in the childhood stages of all characters is corporal or physical punishment that has its roots in Persian culture. That is, Maryam who is the source of this harsh punishment has personally suffered from it, yet as to her culture punishing a child is considered as a way to enhance the strength in identity development of him/her, being unaware of its negative consequences she uses this method to grow up strong children who would be able to cope with the difficulties in their lives in a smoother way.

The only character who experiences acculturation in this period is Saeed, who is displaced and separated from his home and mother. Living a painful period of adaptation upon his arrival in Britain, after he comes into a direct contact with Edward, his aunt's husband, who avoids forceful manipulations to direct him, Saeed easily

passes through the first stage of acculturative stress or culture shock and starts to mimic the western culture that he used to be enjoying in Iran.

4.2. ADOLESCENCE PERIOD

In this section, the adolescence periods of two characters are touched upon. The first one is Maryam who has lived in Iran during her adolescence period and the second one is Sara who has been grown up in Britain in a multicultural family.

The ambiguity in the concept of attachment figure for Maryam continues in her adolescence period as well. In her adolescence, Maryam still does not trust her mother as the main attachment figure. Instead, Fatima keeps her dominant role as the attachment figure in Maryam's life, for her mother has never initiated the sense of security in her. As a young girl, Maryam's dependency on Fatima is very strong as she states,

> In many ways, she has helped me hide my growing up: binding my breasts so they do not show and washing the rags when I bleed, keeping it secret so that everyone thinks I am still a child. She has helped me safe for myself, as if I am her own daughter, in some ways, I am. (Crowther, 2006: 36)

Fatima's treating Maryam as her daughter and hiding her bleeding is a supportive manner of a caregiver. The conception of menstruation is one of the turning points in the lives of women, and it is also one of the fundamental means for transition from girlhood to womanhood period (Golub and Catalano, 1983: 52). The importance of menarche is diverse in different cultures. In some cultures, women's bleeding is considered as an accomplishment. Delaney, Lupton, and Toth (1988) note that in some cultures it is believed that menarche enhances the sense of sharing and solidarity between women as they can understand each other better, so it is greeted by the sisters and mothers (168). However, in some other cultures, bleeding of women is associated

with fear, shame, feeling of humiliation and embarrassment as a result of misinformation regarding this concept (Daniluk, 1998: 57). There are some myths and taboos attributed to menarche. In some primitive cultures, it was believed that menstruated women have a supernatural power that might be harmful for society, thus, they should be avoided, while in other cultures, this period in women's lives is feared due to blood phobia which, to Freud, is associated with "aesthetics and hygiene" (Delaney, Lupton, and Toth, 1988: 7). Persian culture takes side by the negative aspects of menarche.

In Iranian culture, it is believed that bleeding women are polluted and unclear, so they have to be excluded and isolated from the others, and they cannot pray with others (Crowther, 2006: 131). This categorization of women results in developing a negative gender and social identity. As for gender identity, women are categorized as the ones belonging to the undervalued groups of people who feel humiliated and degraded for their menstruation, so this cultural belief enhances a sense of inferiority in young girls. That is why Fatima's hiding Maryam's menstruation is perceived as protection by Maryam. In addition, since menarche in women starts in adolescence period, when girls are in the most critical ages of their life cycle, they blame themselves for this biological event that leads them to get isolated and outgrouped. Upon this social categorization, they lose their self-esteem and gradually develop a social identity that alienates them based on their biological and gender differences.

Although Maryam has personally suffered from this categorization and Fatima has helped her not to be treated as an outcast and a dirty person in her teens, while in Britain, neither Fatima nor Maryam can release themselves from the boundaries of their tradition and they continue behaving in line with those cultural taboos in Iran. When Sara starts bleeding at the age of twelve, she suffers from the same Old Persian traditions. She recalls,

> One morning I woke up and there was a warm dampness on my nightie. I sat up in bed, put my hand down there and brought it back sticky and dark, not like the bright-red blood when I cut my knee, but smelling strong: of inside me, I guessed. After that, once Fatima had found out,

> everything changed. I would run in the garden with my skinny legs in shorts, jumping through the water sprinkles, and she would bite the side of her hand and tut-tut, looking away.
>
> 'She's used to girls covering their bodies,' my mother explained. 'I used to bind my breasts down with a bandage and look at you, wet through.'
>
> She had seemed angry somehow, impatient with me. Almost overnight, I became painfully self-conscious of myself, my body, its protuberances, shape, flow and juices: all bad, all spoiling, all beyond my control. That had been me at twelve. (Crowther, 2006: 9)

British society in which she lives does not weigh up myths and taboos about menarche, so having grown up in British culture, she does not feel ashamed of being menstruated, and she sees no need for covering herself, getting isolated or hiding her menstruation. Nevertheless, Sara's ambivalence in facing her first menstruation starts when she notices the way she should behave and dress during her menstruation in Persian culture. Her mother's explanation regarding the cultural difference in treating menstruation in Iran, and her nanny's criticizing her clothing buoys her sense of shame and guilt (Erikson, 1963, 1968). Sara starts blaming herself for being polluted, and she feels desperate for not being able to control her bodily reactions. Her self-consciousness in this period, as Erikson (1968) assures, is a destructive one since she blames herself for something natural that she might never have a control over (118-119). In this way, in the process of identity formation, Sara loses her self-esteem and develops a sense of inferiority.

In the early stages of her adolescence period until the age of sixteen when her father asks her to marry one of her suitors, Maryam still continues her positive relationship with her father. However, under the effect of Persian culture, the childhood attachment with her father seems to be vanishing due to the cultural norms that position women as the ones who have to attain the roles of wives or mothers thereafter and the

ones who do have no autonomy or freedom to make their own decisions as to what they seek to achieve in Persian culture.

In a summer morning after Maryam's return from Mazareh- the village-, a suitor "in a cream suit and shiny brown shoes" visits Maryam's father in his study (Crowther, 2006: 44). He is "the son of a nearby merchant and landowner" and he asks for Maryam's hand (Crowther, 2006: 44). In the afternoon, her father sends for Maryam to talk to her both about her summer holiday and the suitor. Maryam describes their talk as:

> I made him laugh and pinch my cheek with stories from the summer, as well as telling him about serious matters, like the village's need for a new water pump and that I hoped to stay at the head of my class when the term starts. I can see this makes him proud, even though maybe he wishes I were a boy.
>
> He asked if I had talked to the young man from that morning and I protested I had not… He told me…that …[the suitor] would like me for a wife. (Crowther, 2006: 44)

In the beginning of the talk, Maryam's father reveals his interest in his daughter, listens to and appreciates her comments about serious matters and the demands of the villagers, and with his manners confirms how important a role she plays in her father's eyes even as a girl child. Her father's parenting style in this case is an authoritative style which is supportive and acknowledging, and he shows that he recognizes her daughter's interest (Baumrind, 1966: 891). With her father's warm attitude, Maryam's self-esteem is boosted, and her trust in her father is strengthened. However, the breaking point in Maryam's life starts with her reaction to the suitor's marriage proposal, and her complaining about his rudeness for not looking into her eyes annoy her father. He says,

> …it had been a sign of respect to avert his eyes and that I knew it. I shook my head, a frown like a clamp on my brow as the room twisted around us. … I felt trapped. He put his hand on my arm. 'Hush' he

> whispered, which steadied me for a moment. 'You are young and full of nervous excitement. Think of it for a while.' As I get up to leave, he took my hand [and said,] 'Maryam, maybe it's time to put these childish ways behind you.'
>
> He made me feel ashamed and angry. I wanted to run but could not. I sat quietly with Fatima until it was time for bed. (Crowther, 2006: 45)

Getting angry with Maryam's objection and demagogy, he moves from an authoritative parenting style toward an authoritarian one. Although Maryam's father's parenting style in this specific case seems to be democratic and authoritative that inspires a sense of autonomy and freedom in her and encourages her to make her own decision and share it with her father freely (Baumrind, 1966: 891), noticing Maryam's disrespectful attitude toward tradition and order, he tries to restrict his daughter's autonomy in an authoritarian manner (Baumrind, 1966: 890). Maryam is quite aware of the cultural practices in Iran, so she knows that as a woman she has to conform to the rules and regulations, otherwise she would be outgrouped. That is why she feels herself trapped, and she falls into despair.

One other issue that shakes Maryam's self-esteem in the process of identity formation and results in her identity crisis is her father's accusing her for displaying a childish behavior. Erikson (1968) believes that in the adolescence period, the idea of how one is judged by others is one of the most essential issues for youngsters (128). Since in this phase of their life cycle, teenagers seek to form their social identity as a person to be recognized by the social circle, any comment that would obstruct their recognition might create role confusion (Erikson, 1968, 128). Maryam feels degraded when she finds out her father does not recognize her as 'someone,' so she develops a sense of inferiority and hopelessness that might create dangerous consequences in this period. Erikson notes that youngsters who feel themselves worthless, might either drop out of school, fall in love, or run away from their homes (Erikson, 1968: 132). Maryam experiences these consequences in the following years of her life.

Adolescent Maryam's relation with her mother is not any different from when she was a child. Maryam, who has identified Fatima as her attachment figure, does not show any interest in visiting her isolated and uncaring mother, yet Fatima, from time to time, pushes her to keep her ties with her mother. When after the marriage proposal, for the first time Maryam involuntarily visits her mother in her room she feels disturbed as:

> The room smelled musty. It was her smell, like a cupboard of clothes that has not been opened for a long time…I was glad when Fatima bustled through the door with a tray of plates and cups rattling as she puts it on the floor. My mother shook her head and looked up blankly as if she did not know who I was. I tried to smile into her blank eyes. (Crowther, 2006: 49)

Erikson (1968) highlights the importance of intimacy in young adulthood period. He states that failure in achieving intimacy in young adults would lead them to withdraw themselves from outside world and get isolated (136). Maryam's mother's isolation and depression are mainly due to her husband's polygamous marriage. Neither she enjoys her life nor does she show interest in her children. Her indifferent attitude toward Maryam and the events happening around makes Maryam more critical about her and leads her toward Fatima with whom she has identified and shared many secrets of her life. Bretherton (1992) emphasizes how responsiveness and availability of a caregiver strengthens the attachment bond between the attachment figures and the children. Maryam's reliance on Fatima, who is more available and caring in one of the most critical periods of her life, manifests her rejecting her own mother as an attachment figure.

Another occasion on which Maryam's anger and sorrow toward her mother increases is when surprisingly she finds out that her father has informed her mother about the proposal, and she expects Maryam to leave school and accept the proposal (Crowther, 2006: 50). In fact, Maryam's mother's opinion about marriage is a traditional view though she has personally suffered from the negative consequences of traditional marriage and polygamy severely. She even goes further to criticize Maryam who states "I don't want to get married and be like you or Mairy" by degrading Fatima

as “you don’t want to be like her… working to have a roof on your head” (Crowther, 2006: 50). This criticism of her mother reflects her identity which is shaped entirely in line with Persian culture. However, it is not acceptable for Maryam who does not identify her mother as her role model whom she would follow and imitate as an attachment figure. Rather, “deep inside… [Maryam feels] a barbed knot of sorrow for her, that she isn’t happy; and for…[herself], that …[her mother] is so far away from…[her]” (Crowther, 2006: 50-51). Briefly, Maryam’s identity in this respect is not close to the traditions and customs in Iran, and she is in a perpetuate state of confusion and frustration both about her bond with her mother and the traditions that push her toward marriage not work.

Meantime, there is an upheaval in the political state of Iran, and Maryam is wondering about what is going on. In Iranian culture, there is distinct gender discrimination about the involvement of females in political issues. Traditionally it is believed that the issues about the country are nothing to be shared with women. As Fatima defines, political issues are “all men’s business, a viper’s nest, and that …[Maryam] should be glad to be out of (Crowther, 2006: 65). When Maryam asks her father to inform her in this regard, he advises Maryam to “think less about the outside world, and more about …[her] own future and marriage” (Crowther, 2006: 53). This rejection of her father, which is based on his cultural identity, shakes her self-esteem, and she feels herself as a trivial person in the family who is “trapped, excluded and ignorant, with questions no one would hear” (Crowther, 2006: 66). Not only she is not recognized socially but also she is positioned in a more inferior position based on her gender. Thus, she gets too reactive to her father for his rejection and recalls,

> Looking into his face, I wanted to grab both his arms and shake him, and insist that he look and see me. But he just pinched my check and said he hoped I would not disappoint him. I let him go. My eyes were weary, so I closed them and sank for a moment into comfortable blackness. (Crowther, 2006: 53).

Maryam notices a caring attitude from her father for the last time in this period. Being totally attached to his cultural beliefs, Maryam’s father does not find it possible

to share the political issues with his daughter who should only be thinking about marriage and the prosperity of her family. However, her father's underestimating Maryam and not recognizing her as an individual influences Maryam's gender identity and results in her role confusion. She believes that as a woman she cannot gain value in the eyes of her father which enhances a sense of inferiority in her identity formation (Erikson, 1968: 128). The only way that she can be recognized by her father is through accepting the marriage proposal and bowing to her father's patriarchal will. Thus, this confusion leads Maryam into the opposite direction since as Erikson puts it, these kinds of forceful parental wishes might be realized as external attacks that might result in the identity loss which is one of the most fearful aspects in this period (1968: 132). Thus, she makes her decision not to accept the proposal.

After several days Maryam's father sends for her to hear her response:

> FATHER. 'I hope you know I want to do what's right for you and the family, but I think I should also do what's right for myself.' His hands bunched into fists on the desk. [MARYAM.] 'I have thought hard and would very much like to be a nurse, to train in Tehran. Then I promise, I will come back and marry.'
>
> He leaned on the desk and stood up. 'But you are the daughter of a general. Do you think you can go and clean up shit in a hospital ward?'
>
> MARYAM. … 'And help people who are ill,' I replied as he moved towards me.
>
> FATHER. 'Maryam you don't understand. The future isn't safe. You must marry.'
>
> … He took my shoulders tightly in his hands. 'You would deny my will?
>
> MARYAM. 'I will not marry that man.'

> FATHER. ‘Why not, Maryam?’
>
> MARYAM. ‘Because I don’t know him and because I have yet to live myself.’
>
> He could not contest what I had said, and we both knew it for an instant, but it didn’t last. ‘I will not listen to this nonsense any more, Maryam.’ I felt his spit on my face before he raised his hand and slapped me, my head jerking to the side. ‘Get out.’ His ring had cut my lip.
>
> I stared at him, lifting the edge of my sleeve to my mouth. A spot of blood spread on the white cotton. (Crowther, 2006: 64)

For the first time in her life, Maryam is exposed to her father’s corporal punishment. Her father’s reaction to her is based on his cultural identity and status in society. As Erikson contends, identity is formed upon “reflection and observation” (1968: 22). That is, not only personal judgments of individuals, but also ingroup social criteria matter in order to augment one’s status and self-esteem. He thinks his daughter’s working as a nurse and cleaning the patients would not be an acceptable attitude performed by a girl belonging to an upper class group. Besides, he thinks if he bows to his daughter’s desire, he will be the subject of scorn in his social circle and feel inferior among the members of his ingroup. In fact, more than his personal views, the reaction of his ingroups matters for him. Thus, in line with his socially and culturally formed identity, he reacts and punishes her daughter in an authoritarian way.

Maryam’s refusing marriage and her putting forth a stipulation for marriage shake her father’s sense of authority. Therefore, he adopts an authoritarian parenting style by which he “attempts to shape, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitudes of … [her daughter] in accordance with a set standard of conduct, usually an absolute standard, theologically motivated and formulated by a higher authority” (Baumrind, 1966: 890). Assuming Maryam’s rejection as a threat toward their traditional and cultural constructs, he uses a vigorous and harsh method of punishment to make Maryam submit to his will and conform to her paternal wish.

On the other side of the coin is Maryam's psychological state. When she encounters her father's spit on her face, psychologically she is influenced on various levels. Firstly, her sense of trust toward her beloved father is shattered. Maryam feels shame for the spit since spitting in many cultures is the sign of dishonoring (Clifford, 1988: 133). Thus, she loses her self-esteem and feels herself as an inferior individual who is not recognized by her father. The impact of the paternal slap on her is also obvious in the process of her social identity development. With the slap of her father on her face, Maryam realizes that she is no more ingroup with her father as she has not respected his values. Therefore, it affects her social identity negatively.

Another essential issue in this instance is that Maryam's father's punishment is not only a corporal but a physical abuse which Straus defines as a violent act that might need medical treatment (2009: 4-5). Alizadeh, Abu Talib, Abdullah, and Mansor assert that "specific parenting behaviors, such as physical punishments, may affect children's development and consequently cause behavioral disorders in them" (2011: 196). Straus proposes that the act of abuse could convey a wrong message to the adolescents, who are in the most critical years of their life circle, so they might come to the idea that they can possibly use the same method when their wish is not fulfilled (2009: 9). This wrong message that Maryam receives from her father in her adolescence period, is transmitted to her adulthood period so that she tries to apply physical and corporal punishments both on her daughter and nephew.

After this incident, Maryam's father stops talking to her and "an uneasy quiet settle[s] over the house and the town" (Crowther, 2006: 65). The silence of the father is also a method of punishment to break Maryam's resistance against his will. For the treatment of the cut on her lips, Maryam visits Dr. Ahlavi, the family practitioner, for several times. Dr. Ahlavi is one of the important figures in Maryam's life whom she identifies as a male attachment figure instead of her father. Although at the beginning of their talk due to her sense of shame she lies to the doctor for the reason of the injury, later on in tears, she expresses why she is exposed to the punishment as "I was tired of being spoken to as a child or treated as a chattel to marry, when all I wanted was to go to Tehran and train to be a nurse" (Crowther, 2006: 71). The solution that the doctor finds to resolve the crisis is to offer Maryam to go and help him in his surgery for a

couple of days after school. This suggestion injects a new life into Maryam's veins. She explains it as:

> I was filled with purpose. I wore a white uniform and felt neat and proud. I registered people's names and took care of their notes and the inventory of supplies. Dr. Ahlavi let me help him tend some of the younger children when they needed a cut or bite to be dressed or stitched. I watched his hands carefully, the delicate movements of his fingers on their flesh like a musician. I wiped their eyes if they cried, and learned to dress and clean a wound, or prepare for an injection. Sometimes, when I was concentrating, he would turn his head and remind me not hold my breath, as it would not help me for his assistant to faint. He was very kind. (Crowther, 2006: 72)

It is the first time in Maryam's life that she experiences a sense of purpose. Damon, Menon, and Bronk highlight that "it is likely that purpose during youth leads to a number of desired outcomes, such as prosocial behavior, moral commitment, achievement, and high self-esteem" (2003: 120). By working at Dr. Ahlavi's clinic Maryam becomes proud of herself to have accomplished something that would augment her self-respect. She feels she is recognized by one of the important figures- Dr. Ahlavi- in her life whom she identifies as her role model in this stage. In this way, she develops a strong social identity because through practicing her autonomy she becomes enabled to overcome the self-doubt that her father had generated in her before.

However, the reason for her father's consent in letting her work at Dr. Ahlavi's surgery is different. Maryam defines her father's purpose as:

> My father had granted me these moments, this freedom, for which I was grateful, but I knew there would be a price to pay. He hoped I would tire of my nurse's uniform and soon come to his point of view. He should have known me better than that. I expected him to eventually bring it all to an end with another confrontation, but that was not so. (Crowther, 2006: 72-73)

Enjoying her duty, Maryam is aware of her father's view and the game he is playing with her. Maryam's desire to work, which would add to a sense of commitment (Erikson, 1968: 155) in her, is not so understandable to her father. He perceives her as a little child, whose childish whims would pass after a while, so he provides a space for her to try her 'nursing game' and get bored with it. However, assisting Dr. Ahlavi in his clinic, more than a game, is a purpose and achievement for Maryam. When a few days later, Dr. Ahlavi tells her that she needs no more to come, Maryam lives another identity crisis. She feels "fragile walls crumbling around" her (Crowther, 2006: 73). She feels frustrated for losing the only purpose she had enjoyed all through her life. Nevertheless, Dr. Ahlavi's reason for giving an end to Maryam's job is the turmoil in the political state of Iran and the protests all around the country. He thinks the streets are not safe for Maryam to move freely. This explanation relieves Maryam a little.

Upon the start of the upheaval, Maryam's father decides to move his family out of Mashhad to safer places, so everyone at home is busy wrapping up. Meanwhile, Maryam suffers from a serious fever and faints in the kitchen. As they are in hurry, Fatima asks Ali to carry Maryam to her room to rest for a while and later go to her sister's house. When she wakes up the next day, she finds herself locked in the house alone, so she gets dressed with some old clothes not to be recognized and jumps over the wall to the street (Crowther, 2006: 74-75).

In the chaotic atmosphere outside, Maryam notices a screaming little boy who has lost his family in the bazaar, so she lifts him in her arms and tries to calm him down. She is so frightened with the crowd around when she sees Ali beside her. He takes both Maryam and the little boy to his place in order to keep them away from the crowd in the streets (Crowther, 2006: 76-77). Traditionally, it is not acceptable for a young girl to go to a bachelor's home alone, and when the boy is from a lower class in society, it seems to be an unforgivable act in the Persian culture. Both Ali and Maryam are aware of the cultural practices in terms of the class difference between low and high class families. While talking about the consequences of Maryam's staying at Ali's home, Maryam is afraid of the "thought of the people who would enjoy rumors that [would] dishonor… [her] father's name" (Crowther, 2006: 79), and Ali lives a dilemma between his act of giving Maryam a shelter and disobeying the cultural norms: He says,

> Your father has given me a world I never dreamed of. He has given me books and language and his trust. He even allows me to teach his daughter poetry, to sit next to you day after day. And now here you are, like a spoiled, lost child, and I protect you, and the price, Maryam, what could be the price I pay for giving you this protection? Everything. (Crowther, 2006: 82)

Ali's identity in this stage is "a moratorium identity" (Marcia, 1966: 552) as he is positioned in the middle of a crisis whether to listen to his own sense of conscience or the societal norms that expect him to take the daughter of his boss home no matter how dangerous it would be. The decision that he makes seems to be both a sensitive and a sensible one. It is sensitive since he feels strong emotions toward Maryam and spending a night free of fear and external pressure would mean a lot to him. It is also a sensible decision since under the prevalent condition and the turmoil outside, taking Maryam home would create unwanted consequences and endanger her life. Therefore, he decides to wait until the next morning.

In Ali's home, the little boy sleeps in Maryam's arms and after she lays him down on the coach, she takes a short nap, too. It is raining outside when she wakes up, and Ali prepares something for them to eat:

> Ali unfolded a cotton sheet on the floor for bread, cold meat and cheese. He took a jug from the window ledge, and filled his cup with red liquid. '*Salamatee*,' he said, raising it in truce.
>
> 'What is it?' I asked, kneeling opposite him.
>
> 'A little bad wine.' He smiled and offered me the cup. I hesitated before lifting it to my lips, smelling the yeast and grapes and tasting its rough sediment on my tongue. I wanted to spit it out, but swallowed and felt its gentle warmth in my throat. '*Salamatee*.' I raised the glass as well, and handed it back to him. (Crowther, 2006: 80)

Maryam, who is only sixteen, seems to try the wine for the first time in her life. Although she does not enjoy the taste, she continues drinking since it would let her be recognized as an adult (Erikson, 1968: 160) in the eyes of Ali, whom she loves thoroughly. Maryam' mimicking Ali's manner in saying cheers- salamatee- is also an indicator of how she strives to be considered as an adult.

After they eat, they start practicing the verses of the poem Ali used to teach her, and a physical contact starts between them. Maryam recalls the day as:

> I knelt and held out my hand to touch his face. He pushed it away.
>
> 'Ali.' I spoke softly and reached across the dirty plates. I laid my palm against his check and this time he pressed his hand on top of mine, hard against his skin, so that I thought we must brand each other. Then he pulled my face to his and I felt a peace roll over me as his mouth touched mine. I fell forwards and he took my weight as the plates clattered to the side…
>
> His lips touched my cheeks, hair, mouth…
>
> He pushed my head back and I felt his mouth on my throat, his hands pulling open my clothes. I tried to close my eyes against the black swirl of my mind, a memory of praying with my mother and Fatima holding me in her arms. They had left me behind, I thought, every single one of them.
>
> … My shoulders were bare, and he eased away the bandages, his lips on my skin. I shuddered as we lay against each other, pulling away as his hand moved down over my belly. 'No, Ali.' He held me close and we fell asleep as the rain poured in its torrent outside. (Crowther, 2006: 82-84)

According to Erikson (1963, 1968), an intimate relation tends to start in adulthood period, yet Maryam's intimate contact with Ali happens in her late adolescence period. Erikson believes that through intimacy the adults fuse their identities with their partners,

and they develop a sense of commitment in this way (1963: 263). Ali is the only person who has evoked a sense of intimate commitment in Maryam, so she thinks an innocent contact would create no harm to them. Although Erikson assures that adults experience genitality fully in this period since they have become sure of their identity, in the case of Maryam and Ali's intimate relation, genitality is not experienced for two reasons. Firstly, Maryam is only sixteen years old, so Ali does not force her to experience it as the bond between them is more valuable than physical satisfaction to him. In addition, he is well-aware of the cultural norms that put him in a lower position than her. Secondly, Maryam, who is raised in Persian culture, has also developed a cultural identity through which she is aware that experiencing a sexual relation before marriage would bring shame both to her and to her family. Therefore, with innocent feelings she just enjoys the touch of an opposite sex which has been evoked by her sense of curiosity and love.

The next day at dawn, Ali walks Maryam home, yet Ameneh, her aunt Soraya's servant sees them arrive together and starts a rumor that Maryam has lost her virginity. The day after, Maryam's aunt directly goes to her father and tells him "Brother dear, you must protect our name. Tolerate no shame" (Crowther, 2006: 89). This brings up the concept of sexuality and cultural constructs in this regard in Persian culture. As it is in many Middle Eastern countries, virginity is the symbol of chastity and virtue which is directly connected to the honor of the family. Nadera Shalhoub Kevorkian maintains,

> Honor is much more than a measure of the individual woman's moral quality: it reflects upon the entire family and its relations to the community. Therefore, insults to a family's honor must be avenged in kind or in material compensation. On the one hand, this emphasis highlights society's responsibility to safeguard women so as to protect family honor; on the other, when such honor is violated, the female victim is perceived as having failed to protect herself, and she is forced to pay the ultimate price so as to preserve her family honor (for instance, by having to marry the rapist, or even being killed). This dualistic perspective has not only caused further discrimination and subordination of women; it has created a social atmosphere in which people are afraid

> to discuss any abuse of women (be it sexual or societal). (qtd. in Ilkkaracan 2008: 182)

Societal norms matter more than the truth in Iranian culture. A woman's spending a night with a stranger violates the honor of the family. As Fatima states, "rumour casts long shadows" (Crowther, 2006: 91), so this rumor, which is not certified to be true, obscures Maryam's life both in this stage and in her adulthood period.

Dr. Ahlavi, who plays the role of the male attachment figure in the adolescence period of Maryam, tries to carry out the negotiating role in this crisis. As Maryam knows that she can trust him, she tries to convince him firstly by telling what actually happened on the day of the uprising. She does not refer to the caresses which she knows are wrong actions, yet she insists that she was "far from the sin… [her] father suspected" (Crowther, 2006: 94). Although Dr. Ahlavi seems to show a softer attitude regarding cultural constructs, he is quite aware of Maryam's family's position, beliefs, and values. Thus, he advises Maryam to follow a realistic manner and give up her dreams of going to Tehran to carry on her nursing training instead get married to bring peace to her father (Crowther, 2006: 95). However, a much degrading end is awaiting for Maryam.

Ali is not left unpunished for his violating the cultural norms. Maryam's father's men beat him to death. When Fatima finds him in his house after the incidents, his eyes were "swollen and blind. His hand was like a claw, curled up on itself, and black with dried blood… his clothes stank of sweat , urine and blood…he had a gash at the top of one thigh so deep that …[one] could put …[his/her] finger inside" (Crowther, 2006: 92). Although Ali's punishment seems to be so harsh, Maryam undergoes a worse punishment by her father not physically but psychologically, and the price that Maryam pays for her mistreatment is too heavy.

Upon the doctor's talk to Maryam's father, they send for Maryam to announce the final decision. Instead of Maryam's father who does not turn round to look into Maryam's face, Dr. Ahlavi conducts the speech. He starts as:

> ‘Your father and I have spoken about the rumours…He knows you have explanations, Maryam, but you must realize damage has been done to your family’s name and honour. Do you understand?’...
>
> ‘Your father is deeply disappointed, Maryam,… he cannot look on you as a daughter any more. This can no longer be your home. He has agreed [to let you go to Tehran to get a nursing training], but with one condition: that you are examined to establish if you are still a virgin.’ (Crowther, 2006: 99)

The decision to banish Maryam from her home is a cultural based decision to clear the honor of the family that has been stigmatized by Maryam. Awwad assures that:

> The social construct of honor and shame are closely linked to cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity that tend to reflect the duality in terms of what it means to be an honorable man and a shameful woman within the context of the Middle Eastern culture. At the center of this duality is the emphasis on virginity and purity of the females. It is important to keep in mind that violence against women will only occur if her illicit sexual activities become public knowledge. (2011: 107)

Maryam’s father’s disappointment is mostly related to his culture-based social identity. According to the cultural norms, Maryam has violated the code of honor and failed to protect her chastity, so she has brought shame to her family. Thus, her father’s honor would be negatively influenced by the rumors of the public who would blame him for not having enough control over his family and for not being man enough. Fearing the accusations of his social circle, he makes his decision to punish Maryam, who has to pay for her mistake of underestimating and ignoring the cultural values, by undergoing a virginity test. The reason for the violent act of virginity test is given as the only way to redeem the family honor, but in actual fact, Maryam is used as a social control apparatus through which the patriarchy practices its domination and control over the women who are expected to be submissive and pure.

Upon hearing the need for virginity test to prove her innocence, Maryam becomes somewhat hopeful so that she would be able to prove to her family her chastity and that she has not lost her virginity. Knowing the norms, she does not lose her hope to regain her self-esteem by being found virgin and innocent. She talks to the back of her father:

> MARYAM. 'And if I am a virgin, I can stay here?'
>
> Doctor Ahlavi replied for him. 'No, the damage is done. If you are a virgin, you must still go but you can do as you wish, train as a nurse.'
>
> MARYAM. 'But if I'm a virgin, I'm innocent. You will tell him I am innocent.' Blood rushed to my cheeks, and the butterfly fluttered its wings, hoping for space. But I couldn't move my fingers grasped the cushion tight. Its tiny blue stitches caught under my nails.
>
> DR. AHLAVI. 'Maryam, I will not do the test. Your father will have you taken to the barracks, and the military doctor will see you later this morning.'
>
> MARYAM. 'Why must it be a stranger? You wouldn't lie.' I spoke to my father's turned back. 'You would have the hands of a strange man, a solider, touch me? It is forbidden.' I walked across the floor and looked into his face, close enough to see each dark pore with its spot of stubble. 'You don't mean this,' I whispered. He refused to look at me. 'You don't care if I'm a virgin. You do this to humiliate me.'
>
> FATHER. 'As you have humiliated me.' His voice was calm and firm and full of anger. 'I am a general in the Shah's army. My world will be as I decree. You will do as you are told.'(Crowther, 2006: 99-100)

There is hypocrisy in the decision of Maryam's father to subject his daughter to the virginity test. Apparently, Dr. Ahlavi is one of the most trustworthy persons in this family with whom he has shared many secrets and private issues of the family, so not letting him carry on the test is a hypocritical attitude. He feels himself much degraded, so his attempt to send her daughter to the military doctors might be considered as a way to take revenge on his daughter who has caused this denigration and humiliation to him. Having developed a prototypical-based social self by abandoning and estranging himself from his personal self, he relies on the norms of his ingroup society (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 123). He cares more for his status in society rather the virginity or the chastity of his daughter and her psychological state. This prejudiced manner of the father directly pushes Maryam out of the social group her father belongs to. The act of having a sexual affair and losing virginity has not been taken as a measure for the purity and innocence in the case of Maryam, but the ingroup's biased views and their condemning attitudes have been considered and valued as a basis for this decision.

As for the impact of this decision on Maryam's identity formation, it should be said that she has lost all her trust in her father as an attachment figure, and no more she cares to identify herself with her father. The sense of shame that starts in her in this phase is much related to her father's rejecting her as a daughter and not to the cultural constructs that condemn her for not being 'fit' for the society (Erikson, 1968: 60). She does not feel herself guilty in this regard since she has done nothing to contaminate the chastity that is of great value in their culture, yet her innocence does not help her regain her value as a woman in this patriarchal society. Thus, she lives a role confusion through which she can hardly perceive why she is condemned although she has not lost her virginity, and why she cannot continue living with her family if she can prove her chastity.

The interesting issue in Maryam's identity status in this respect is that for long she has strived to practice her autonomy and continue a career in nursing to help the ones in need, yet when she is allowed to do so, she loses her sense of purpose. That autonomy seems to have no value for her since in the adolescence period what matter extremely for the youngsters is the sense of being recognized by the ones who are important to them. As a result, her father's negative judgment and his banishment give

rise to her developing a diffused identity that is defined by Marcia (1966) as a state in which the youngster neither makes a choice nor a commitment (551-552). That is why she conforms to her father's will and goes to the barrack for the virginity test.

Maryam, as a sixteen year old Iranian girl, experiences the most horrifying identity crisis in her teenage period while undergoing the virginity test. Maryam describes her memories at the military compound when she goes for the test as:

> There were men everywhere, their boots crunching on the ground and their laughter loud like barking dogs. My hands were cold and greasy as we walked from the jeep and I was glad when we entered one of the buildings, then turned off an echoing corridor into a quiet white room. There were no windows and the florescent light whined. An examination stood in the center, covered with a paper sheet. The room smelled of linoleum and disinfectant, and a little of what had cleaned away. There were footsteps outside and then three men in khaki uniform entered. One of them, a thin, tall man, changed into a white coat and washed his hands. The water in the basin sounded like nails on the blackboard, razor blades on metal. (Crowther, 2006: 101-102)

The way Maryam describes the barrack shows how terrified she is as a sixteen year-old- girl in the middle of the soldiers who would touch her untouched body to prove that she is still a virgin. Surgery room should have been a place where she wished to work in the future; however, the attitudes of the soldiers and the sense of shame push her into a state where she identifies it with the most disturbing and hated voices and scenes. Even the presence of Dr. Ahlavi in the room before the test does not help her to calm down. Maryam remembers, when he asks her "to go behind the screen and remove …[her] underclothes," she says: "I can't… I can't move… I could taste the blood inside my cheeks… I closed my eyes and somehow knew that something inside me was about to die" (Crowther, 2006: 102).

What Maryam experiences in this room is rape by her father's most trustworthy soldiers. After many years Maryam could still hear "the sound of saliva in the army

doctor's mouth, his hands punching up inside her" (Crowther, 2006: 260). Even in her adulthood period,

> Maryam could scarcely bear to think about what had happened to her on the day in the barracks, how they had pulled her apart, and how she had learned to hide it away in the depths of her mind… the day in the barracks had somehow punched a black hole in her mind, and however hard she had tried to turn her back on it, it had still wreaked its havoc. (Crowther, 2006: 227-228)

Rape or sexual abuse plays an essential role in the process of identity development of individuals. Hellmich maintains that the victims of sexual abuse show a "tendency to regularly engage in conscious or unconscious dissociation from both past and present events" that would impede their identity development (1995: 3). In other words, the survivors of abuse fail to synthesize the events happening in their lifespan, and from time to time they dissolve or alter them. The inability in relating their memory and consciousness impedes their identity development. As for Maryam's identity status, she is able to differentiate her memory from reality neither in her adolescence nor in her adulthood, and the memories of her past hinder her adapting to the present setting and have a healthy identity.

Hellmich also touches upon the relation between dissociation and repression. By referring to Gelinas he claims that "childhood sexual abuse may generate fear and anxiety far beyond the child's capacity to regulate; as a result, the child (and later the adult) must somehow separate from the fact or effects of the abuse or disregard particularly disturbing elements of the abuse altogether"(1995: 4). Therefore, in order to forget the bitter memories or reduce their impacts on her psychological state, the victim of abuse tends to deny the harassment. What he puts forth in this regard is that although they might protect their ego identity for a short time period, they lose their self-awareness and identity integration in the future (Hellmich, 1995: 4). This is what exactly appears in the process of identity development in Maryam. All through her life cycle, she represses this adolescence experience of rape, and she even does not share it with Fatima, her attachment figure because sharing it would mean losing her self-

integrity. The trauma of this sexual abuse leads Maryam to develop a diffused identity through which she withdraws herself into a bizarre mood (Erikson, 1968: 132). This state of her identity perpetuates in her adolescence and adulthood periods.

To conclude, in the adolescence period, in line with Eriksonian stages of life cycle, adolescents develop a sense of shame and guilt as well as need for developing autonomy. The characters that are analyzed in this section are Maryam and her daughter Sara. As Sara's gender identity is influenced by her mother's cultural identity, she experiences role confusion and develops a false self-awareness through which she blames herself for not conforming to the expected cultural norms of her Persian background.

Maryam, as a young girl, experiences various identity crises. One of them is her confusion regarding her attachment figure. In her childhood, she has never felt a bond with her mother, and this bond does not develop in this stage either. Regarding her father, she experiences the most frustrating event of her life. Not bowing to his cultural based norms, she faces rejection by him, which makes her lose her sense of commitment and self-awareness. Her being outgrouped by her father results in her failure in developing a well-developed social identity. In addition, being forced to undergo a virginity test and being raped by the soldiers during the test, she not only loses her self-respect and personal identity, but also her gender and social identity. That is, in order to prove that she has not violated the cultural constructs and has behaved in line with the gender role that is assigned for women, she conforms to her father's will. However, being raped for this purpose makes her develop a sense of inferiority as a woman and lose recognition in society; thus, fail to develop an achieved gender and social identity.

4.3. ADULTHOOD PERIOD

In this part, the identity development of two characters is focused on. One of them is Maryam, who is sent to exile in Britain and proceeds through the stages of

acculturation in a new setting. The other one is Sara, who develops a dual identity stemming from being born into a multicultural family.

After her banishment by her father, Maryam is displaced twice. Her first displacement is to Tehran just after the virginity test that her father coerces her to pass through. Although it was her dream to go to Tehran and continue her education in nursing there, her dislocation was a forceful exile for her since her father did not accept her to live in Mashhad in order to give an end to the dishonoring rumor. After she graduates with the help of Dr. Ahlavi, she is sent to London to live there. Having grown up in Persian culture and according to patriarchal norms in Iran for 20 years, when she arrives in London, she starts floundering between the two worlds. Although neither in her childhood nor adolescence periods Maryam revealed a conformist attitude and developed an identity in line with the norms, when she moves to a country where she can practice her autonomy freely, she experiences a culture shock (Pedersen, 1995) that influence her self- conception and identity.

In the early years of her life in Britain, Maryam and Edward meet in St. James's Park while watching the pelicans. Edward, a young Englishman, describes that day as:

> 'She had her wonderful scarlet coat, and I'd see her coming through the crowd, hair down to her waist.'… 'One day she took a book from her bag. It was as red as her coat. She'd already learned the first few verses and didn't want me even to look at them, just the last one. But she wouldn't let me watch her practice. I had to turn away. I'd listened to her and look up at the roofs of Horse Guards, and I think I was the luckiest man in the world. (Crowther, 2006: 156)

Although these are the early days of Maryam in London, she has let a man other than Ali accompany her in this new setting. This can be assessed as her need for sharing her feelings and overcoming the sense of loneliness in a totally new environment. In other words, Edward's being able to enter Maryam's life in this period seems to be a chance for her to ease her adaptation period. In Edward's eyes, she seems to be a reserved person who avoids practicing English in front of a stranger whose mother tongue is

English. However, as it is previously mentioned, those verses and the red book mean more than anything to Maryam as they are the gifts from Ali who was the only person she has entertained emotional feelings for. As Erikson (1963, 1968) highlights, this period of life is extremely critical in the lives of adults, who strive for intimate contact, but because of her past traumatic experiences Maryam is not in a position to think of intimacy.

In addition, Maryam's asking Edward not to look at her while reading those verses can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it can be considered as a sense of self-doubt regarding the English language that she is not competent in. Wardhaugh maintains that language is considered as a means of discriminating individuals as ingroups and outgroups (1986: 100). Thus, Maryam, who is still under the influence of her residual culture, is hesitant to be scorned for her inadequate English by Edward, who is a member of outgroup English society. Secondly, her hesitation might have resulted from the sense of guilt in Maryam who might be feeling that she is cheating on Ali for reading those meaningful and special verses to another man. In fact, this shows the internal conflict in Maryam. While she is struggling to practice her English with the help of a native speaker to develop her language skills in the host country to be acculturated, she lives a crisis based on her bitter experience of rape that directs her to keep her distance from strange men.

Maryam is an ideal candidate for Edward to marry. When explaining his feelings toward Maryam to his daughter, Sara, he stresses that "once upon a time, I used to think of your mother and me as two blind people, trying to reach each other across a crowded room" (Crowther, 2006: 156). The word "blind" that Edward uses to define Maryam and himself manifests the cultural difference between them. In fact, Edward is aware that they would have difficulty to get adapted to each other. Nevertheless, believing that he can get over this diversity, he proposes to her. Maryam remembers,

> …a Saturday afternoon one springtime, when Edward had asked to meet her at the top of Richmond Hill, by the balustrade that looked out to the meadows below. It had been before they were married, and daffodils were growing along the path. She had sat in her red coat, watching the

> people pass and feeling the breeze in her hair, trying to be just where she was. He had come and led her along the quiet roads until they came to an iron gate, and then he'd covered her eyes with his hand so that she almost cried out. 'It's a surprise,' he'd reassured her, guiding her along a path. 'Keep your eyes closed.' She's heard him fumble with some keys before a door opened and they'd walked over creaking floorboards, with a smell of paint in the air and bright light on her eyelids. 'Now you can look.' She's blinked her eyes open then, to find herself in a large, empty room with windows all along one side, overlooking a rose garden, and she'd glanced down to see Edward on one knee. 'Maryam, will you come and live here with me as my wife?' he'd asked. She hadn't felt quite present and had turned and walked away from him, slowly, through the other rooms, past the heavy oak doors and beside the leaded windows. He was still kneeling when she came back. 'Will you marry me, Maryam?' 'Yes, she's said, as if she were in a dream, and had bowed her head in the bright sunlight, thinking of Ali, tears breaking as Edward had stood and kissed her, and still she's smiled. (Crowther, 2006: 231-232)

Edward's marriage proposal is a traditional European style of proposing that is not much known to Maryam who is from a totally different Eastern culture. In Persian culture, no man can directly propose marriage to the girl he wants to marry. As it is mentioned in the adolescence period of this study, in Iran, the suitors have to talk to the girl's father before they talk to her personally. This has its root in the concept of respect that is dominant in the eastern culture. Therefore, Edward's surprise and his kneeling on his knee do not excite Maryam.

Maryam's moving around the house and checking the view before she accepts Edward's proposal is also an indicator of the cultural difference between them. She is not much informed about the host culture and the way she is expected to behave in this situation according to British culture. Besides, having been in love with Ali for long, she neither loves Edward to get excited, nor does she feel she is present there. Maryam's identity status in this stage is a moratorium status (Marcia, 1966: 551) because she has to make a choice. All she needs to have in this certain period is a home

and someone to trust in order to compensate her lack of home and family. Therefore, not emotionally, but logically she accepts Edward's marriage proposal. Although Maryam's tears are assumed as the sign of her happiness by Edward, in actual fact, they express her loss and regret for her past. She might have dreamt of this moment with Ali for many years, yet being sure that marriage with Ali is impossible, she bows to her destiny and makes a rational decision to marry Edward.

Maryam's confusion in her decision is quite apparent in her wedding photograph as well. Sara defines her parents' wedding picture as:

> It was in the mid-sixties outside Chelsea register office, everything shiny and black with rain. In the background my mother was wearing a short white wedding dress, thin gauzy material floating round her thighs. She was looking away from the camera, to the side of the frame, her hair in a short bob and her veil flying high above her, caught in the wind like a sail. In the foreground my father was running towards the camera, his eyes wide and cheeky like a school boy's behind horn-rimmed glasses. He was in a dark Beatles suit, holding out a black umbrella as if he thought his new wife was right beside him, sheltering from the rain. He had no idea she was far behind, in a world of her own. (Crowther, 2006: 20-21)

Maryam is not mentally present in her wedding ceremony either, and her mind is stuck in her past. On the other hand, Edward is not aware of Maryam's state of mind, and he does not notice how lost his wife is. Although what Edward aims at marrying Maryam is to share his life with her and provide her with a shelter that she seems to be in need of, Maryam is too bewildered and is sunk in her past. Even their position in the picture demonstrates the way they feel. Unlike Edward, who is in the foreground of the photo happy like a school boy, Maryam is in the background not even aware of the fact that it is her wedding ceremony, and she should be sharing her life with Edward, whom she has chosen to get married. As a result, Maryam's adaptation to the idea of marriage with Edward is not much internalized by her, and she is far from accepting Edward as her ingroup in this phase of her life.

During their marriage, Edward partially plays the role of attachment figure in Maryam's adulthood period as he instils a sense of trust in her. Being far away from her homeland and the ones who are valuable to her, she assumes Edward as a trustworthy person who would be protecting her in this new environment (Erikson, 1968: 93). The reason behind her sense of security and trust in Edward is that "he never punished her, not once, … [and] he always made her feel safe. In a way it was why she had married him" (Crowther, 2006: 30). Apparently, Maryam compares Edward to her father, and when she notices that he is different from her father who punished and banished her and caused all the pain she has been suffering from, she identifies Edward as an attachment figure and develops a sense of security in the unfamiliar setting in exile.

Edward is a caring and attentive husband. In the early days of their marriage he tries to

> hold her up through her nightmares and tears, the places where she floundered and the past she could never fully share with him… When they were just married, the bleak moments wouldn't last long: a few hours before she would re-emerge, sweet and smiling, and he would hold her even closer. But it grew worse after the Revolution and her parents' deaths. Her collapses were less frequent, but deeper and darker. She would emerge from them in a daze, blank eyes wandering down to the garden, peering at him as if she scarcely knew him, flinching if he tried to touch her. Then finally it would pass. (Crowther, 2006: 31)

Maryam's attitudes in this period reveal her severe identity crises in London. Not only the loss of the familiar environment but also the loss of the family members makes her withdraw herself and get isolated and depressed. Her marriage with Edward brings a sense of commitment to Maryam, yet from her past experiences she has developed a sense of doubt in trusting people, so she hesitates to share all her bitter past experiences with Edward. As Erikson puts it, external doubt that is likely to be developed in childhood seems to be like a feeling that hidden prosecutors are chasing from behind (1968: 112). These secret prosecutions in Maryam's life are her bitter memories of past that continue all through her life cycle. Besides, the virginity test and the rape trauma

that she had lived in her adolescence were the factors that had created shame in her personality development, so she had preferred to repress the sexual abuse (Hellmich, 1995) instead of sharing it with anybody because remembering those unpleasant events would influence her identity development negatively. However, Edward's responsive and devoted attitudes in long term help Maryam to repress the sense of inferiority that was caused by the virginity test and rape trauma she had experienced in her adolescence period.

Maryam passes through an adaptation period that causes confusion in her during the first years of her life in London. In a talk to Sara she says how she felt lost, disoriented, and scared:

> When I first went to London, it was so different from here. I would lie in bed some nights and bite the side of my hand to make sure it was real. I think I was trying to wake up in a way as well, back here in the time before it went wrong. Sometimes you can rattle so hard between places, it's like your bones should break. You'd do anything to make it stop – slap a child even, who reminds you of a world that feels lost for ever. (Crowther, 2006: 229)

Obviously, in these years, Maryam suffers from an identity crisis based on her displacement. She lacks adaptation to the new setting, and she wishes not to be obliged to live somewhere that she feels she does not belong to. That is why she can hardly differentiate reality from dream. As a result, she feels regretful for the wrong actions that she has done which enhances her sense of self-blame. This period in Maryam's life is directly related to the rejection period in the displaced people. As Pedersen (1995) assures, not overcoming the requirements of the new culture, the displaced people show a tendency to release themselves from the pressure that the new culture has caused in their process of identity development. Thus, Maryam who finds herself incapable of getting acculturated tends to show aggressive reactions like slapping her nephew that she was previously exposed to by her own father in order to reduce the pressure she feels.

In the process of acculturation after the rejection period, expatriates from time to time get stunned with the benefits that the new culture provide for them, so they are inclined to adopt the new culture. With Edward's support, after Maryam overcomes the primary crises, she shows some attempts to get adapted to the British culture. One of the ways to ease adaptation period in displaced people is helping them overcome language barriers. Therefore, Edward reads "the Sunday papers" to Maryam (Crowther, 2006: 130) in order to help her improve her language skills. After Sara's birth, the atmosphere in their home becomes much more positive. They listen to English music which is considered as another method to get familiar with the language as well as the culture in the new setting (Berry, 2005: 699-700). Sara remembers her childhood when once they were listening to an old Beatles song "I Wanna Hold Your Hand" which was one of Edward's favorite songs. She says,

> Years ago, he would croon and spin my mother round the kitchen with her feet off the floor. 'Stop' she would laugh, a little anxious, pushing him away with a hand over her mouth. 'What would my father say?' She had a beautiful accent, full of long, soft vowels which strangers sometimes mistook for French. (Crowther, 2006: 123)

In this period, although Maryam enjoys Edward's attention toward her, and she has started to become familiar with British culture, she is still under the influence of her home culture. The duality that she lives in this period is directly related to the cultural difference between Persian and British cultures. Dancing with music and being hold in the arms of her husband would not be considered as something acceptable in her residual culture. Therefore, she is ashamed of behaving improperly according to her father's cultural norms. More interestingly, in this stage, she still values her father's cultural values even though she is married and lives out of Iran. The reason for Maryam's sense of shame and guilt can be explained in line with her gender identity. Barry, Bacon, and Child assure that as women in Eastern culture are reared as the ones who should be responsible and obedient (1957), any violation in their gender role might result in their blaming themselves and feeling a sense of guilt. Therefore, Maryam's withdrawing herself from her husband and feeling ashamed are the indicators of how her gender-based identity is salient. Shortly, Maryam's identity in this period is a hybrid

or in-between identity through which she blames herself for not respecting her parental norms while enjoying the British cultural constructs.

The other important issue that is mentioned by Sara regarding her mother in the above excerpt is her accent. Maryam has a strong Persian accent while speaking English which manifests her limitations in accomplishing language skills. Studies by Suter (1976), Piske, Mac Kay and Fledge (2001) highlight the influence of the native language of an individual on the second language while speaking it (193). They maintain that one's native language background "is the most important predictor of degree of L2 [second language] foreign accent" (Suter, 1976: 193). In the case of Maryam, it should be noticed that she has learned English from Ali who used to be tutoring her in Iran. Thus, having no experience regarding the native English accent, he tries to teach Maryam with his own accent that is likely to be a hybrid Persian-English or else purely Persian accent. In addition, what they used to practice was verses in a poetry book and not a book on teaching spoken English . As Edward puts it, Maryam "only knew a few lines of poetry, which was remarkable, but not much use" (Crowther, 2006: 6). As a result, Maryam's English and her accent are under the influence of her native language that sounds strange to Sara.

Accent, on the other hand, is one of the phonological nuances of a language that can be best learned in the setting where one is exposed to it by the native speakers. It is through mimicking the native speakers that one can produce the correct sound and intonation. Consequently, Sara's defining Maryam's accent as a French accent indicates Maryam's weakness in adopting English accent. Furthermore, Maryam's non-English accent in Britain can also be a sign of her resistance toward English language for her fear of losing her mother tongue. In other words, as Maryam is not yet acculturated, she hesitates to adopt English accent that might give rise to her being categorized by her Persian family as an outgroup member.

After her adaptation period, Maryam starts developing her language skills with the help of Edward and Sara. Maryam recalls a summer day when Sara was a toddler

> …the three of them had driven to the seaside, with towels and a picnic hamper in the back of the car. They had stopped for a break in a lay-by beside a meadow. Sitting on the grass verge, Sara had pointed at things and Edward had said their names. Maryam had repeated them as well, also learning new words- swallow, barely, dragonfly, ladybird. (Crowther, 2006: 28)

In this period, Maryam is less dogmatic about her Persian culture and language, so she tries to get adapted to the British culture by learning English. Mimicking the words and learning the new ones facilitate her adaptation to the new culture (Berry, 2005: 699-700). The important feature in her mimicking is that she trusts her husband and daughter, so she does not fear to be mocked by them, nor is she afraid to feel the sense of inferiority for her making mistakes in using English. Moreover, she knows that by learning English and using it correctly, she can gain a status among the British people and be regarded as an ingroup by them that would enhance her self-esteem (Wardhaugh, 1986: 100). That is why she repeats the words and mimics her husband.

Maryam's adaptation period in Britain takes a long time. Besides the language, Maryam lacks adaptation in cultural practices in the host country. When Sara becomes thirteen, she teases her mother for her incapability regarding some skills that reflect British culture. Maryam remembers,

> Sara teaching her to ride a bicycle when she had been about thirteen, running along behind her, their laughter in the spring breeze, May blossom fallen on the grass. 'You can't do anything,' Sara would half tease. 'You can't ride a bike, play tennis or make pancakes.' Maryam would pinch her check playfully. 'But, daughter of mine, I can ride a camel, beat you at backgammon, and eat water melon with my bare hand. (Crowther, 2006: 27)

Maryam's personal identity in this phase is still close to her root culture, yet neither she experiences role confusion nor is she reactive to her daughter who mocks her inability to perform the role that is assumed to be performed by an English mother. Although

Sara's criticism is an unconscious discrimination and outgrouping of her mother, Maryam tries to prove her capabilities in her home culture to show that it is the cultural difference that results in her being seen as someone who is unable to fit in this new culture. More interestingly, her failure in getting acculturated in British culture does not change her identity into a 'diffused identity' (Erikson, 1968: 262) in this stage.

As previously stated, one of the most influential factors in the process of identity development is food. Many displaced people struggle to continue their home cultural habits of eating and the food they consume. This is a way to keep their culture, and in some cultures, dislocated people develop a sense of guilt if they start to get adapted to the food culture in the new setting. Even after years of living in London and marrying an English man, Maryam still cooks Iranian food. As Sara explains, "soft, starchy scent of basmati [special Iranian rice], saffron and roasting lamb" used to be all around the house frequently. The cupboards of her turquoise kitchen were "full of henna, herbs, dried figs, and limes" (Crowther, 2006: 4). She used to carry all these Persian ingredients from her 'home' Iran (Crowther, 2006: 4). The reason behind Maryam's cooking and consuming Persian herbs and food is highly related to the concept of ethnic identity. Preserving one's indigenous food habits is associated with his/her identifying himself/herself with the group that one belongs to (Jensen, 2003; Phinney, 1992). Thus, Maryam strives to keep her home culture and ethnic identity in order not to lose her bond with her past.

Until her early middle adulthood, Maryam has both clung to her home culture, and has been partially adapted to the host culture in Britain. Therefore, her identity manifests a hybridity that moves between the two cultures. All along her life cycle, she has experienced various identity crises in different forms and severity. The news related to the loss of her family members in Iran also has influential impacts on her identity. One of these losses that shakes her sense of self is the news about her half-brother, Shariar's execution by the religious forces called 'pasdars' after the Revolution. He is found guilty for his father's crimes in Shah's reign that the new government believes his children have to pay for (Crowther, 2006: 150). Although Shariar has not personally attempted to be involved in any action against the new political force, he is killed for his father's military acts. When Maryam learns about the loss of her brother, she falls into

despair, and she blames her father who caused her brother's execution. Erikson assures that the sense of conscience which is the social part of psychosocial identity development leads an individual to develop a sense of hatred toward the initiators of guilt (1968: 119-120). Thus, her hatred toward her father increases, yet there is nothing she can do to reduce the pain other than withdrawing herself from her family and locking herself in her room and crying for long hours.

Another crisis in Maryam's life emerges after her sister, Mara's death whom she has not seen for more than a year. Her sister was seriously ill "in wheelchair with cropped hair and swollen with drugs", and unfortunately they did not have a chance to say a final good bye (Crowther, 2006: 2). All through her life, Maryam has constantly accused herself for this distance and upon hearing her sister's death, she "had cried and shouted down the phone at the betrayal, full of her own guilt" (Crowther, 2006: 3). For both losses, Maryam not only blames herself for not being there and sharing the pain with her family, but also she blames her father for being the reason for this distance and her sense of guilt. Her neither forgiving herself nor her father blocks her coming to terms with her Self (Pargament, 1997: 262). As a result, in the face of any event or news that she associates with her father, Maryam remembers her banishment and repressed feelings toward him. She recalls how his banishing her and throwing her away like rubbish has hurt her soul all through these years (Crowther, 2006: 225). Thus, she continuously blames her father and circumstantially herself that end up with unresolved confusions and collapses. Maryam seems to be caught in a never ending vicious circle which she cannot escape. These crises that appear in connection with her losses are distinct factors to display her failure in achieving a sound personal and social identity.

Besides the loss of her family members, Maryam's inability or confusion to figure out her father's real feelings toward her is a much painful experience for her. What triggers Maryam's confusion is that although her father had never called or wrote to her through the years she is living in Britain, he has sent her expensive jewellery nearly every year just before her birthdays (Crowther, 2006: 226). This attitude of her father generates doubt (Erikson, 1968: 112) in Maryam's identity. She cannot perceive whether the gifts from her father are something to praise her, or they are the reminders of her wrong act of dirtying his name and a bribe for her to stay away. Thus, Maryam

continues to experience this duality and mistrust which pull her down and results in her identity crisis frequently. The defence mechanism that Maryam develops to fight these fluctuations and sense of doubt is hiding those gifts behind the old carpets in the attic and never use them on any occasion. However, the long-buried memories do not stay still where they are, and they are activated by any incident that Maryam associates with her history.

Saeed's arrival is one of these provoking occasions upon which Maryam's confusion increases, and she falls into despair. What she suffers in this period from is nostalgia (Davis, 1977: 414) through which she ceases to control her destructive drives that have been screened for a long period. Maryam is about sixty when Saeed moves to Britain. When defining her feelings about Saeed, she says,

> 'He meant no harm, I know, but somehow he pulled back a veil I'd tried to forget or ignore, just by his presence, his chatter and his green eyes. I suppose he was the son I could have had in another life, and I – stupid old woman- felt mocked for it.'(Crowther, 2006: 130)

Maryam blames Saeed to bring all her long-buried memories back. Memory is a way to reincarnate the history of people (Berberich, 2007: 28). Saeed mainly belongs to Maryam's past or history that she can neither forget nor continue living with. What she confesses is the reflection of her sense of regret that Erikson defines to be related to the idea of generativity in adulthood (1968: 138). In other words, as Erikson maintains, failure in giving birth which would manifest the adults' lack of generativity might lead them into a misconception of lacking ego integrity and a sense of fulfilment which create crisis in them (1963: 267-268). Although Maryam has given birth to Sara, her regret is for her lost youth love that was restricted by her father. Saeed becomes a symbol of her loss, so seeing him increases her pain. That is why, when Saeed comes to Britain, Maryam's flashbacks become more frequent and her frustration and despair force her practice her father's authoritarian attitudes that once she has personally suffered from in her adolescence period.

When Saeed moves to Britain, due to his lack of adaptation to the new environment, once he leaves school, where he is humiliated by his peers, and instead of going to school, he starts moving around in a shopping centre when he is noticed by police and is taken to the police station (Crowther, 2006: 12). Maryam is so reactive toward Saeed for his misbehavior, that while waiting for Sara to arrive there she says "The shame of it. She shook her head as if she had dirt in her mouth. Why have you brought me here, Saeed? What would your mother say? Her hands rubbed over each other, and there was a fleck of spit on her chin" (Crowther, 2006: 10). Maryam's distressful response is due to different factors. Firstly, she is upset to be in a police station where she hates to be (Crowther, 2006: 10). As an immigrant, who is considered to be an outgroup member in the host country, she feels humiliated and ashamed to pick her nephew up from the police station. As Saeed once defines the position of Iranians in Britain, he says "if you have an Iranian passport, people here, the authorities, think you're a terrorist, someone who may have a bomb strapped to their belly. We're in 'the axis of evil' they say, the scourge of the earth…I am treated like a refugee, as if it is a thing of pity, of scorn to call myself Iranian" (Crowther, 2006: 137). Maryam has most probably shared the same views with Saeed to feel alienated and so embarrassed. Secondly, Maryam's hatred for police may also be due to her depressing and humiliating experience of being the daughter of a general and being raped by military doctors in her adolescence in Iran. Confrontation with the police forces might have evoked the rape trauma that surfaces her deeply buried sense of shame. Finally, she thinks that Saeed is under her responsibility, and any misbehavior of him is due to her failure is training or parenting him well. Therefore, she feels herself guilty for not being protective enough to Saeed.

Consequently, under the influence of her cultural views and her father's authoritarian parenting style, she believes that she has to correct his misbehavior through corporal punishment (Straus, 2009). That is why when Sara takes her mom and cousin out of the police station, Maryam suddenly "reached over and took Saeed's chin in her hand,…[and] … drew back her hand and slapped him so hard [that] his head jerked to the side" (Crowther, 2006: 11-12). Her harsh behavior gives rise to a dispute between Sara and her. Sara criticizes her mother as:

SARA. ‘He’s bullied at school and then he comes home to this. You’re supposed to look after him, protect him.’

MARYAM. ‘And make him weak? … [Maryam] replied. You don’t understand Sara.’

SARA. ‘No, I don’t.’

MARYAM. ‘When I was a child, if I was weak, I was punished. It made me strong. When I humiliated my father, he humiliated me. It made me strong. Look at Saeed. He’s weak at school and you tell me to pity him. That won’t make him the son Mara wanted, the grandson my father deserved, the nephew I want.’ (Crowther, 2006: 12).

Maryam’s punishing Saeed has its root in her own history. Corporal punishment, as Straus (2009) maintains, is used as a method for correcting misbehavior of children, and it conveys a message to the children to behave as they are expected to. It is a warning to children that if they do otherwise, they would be punished. Maryam is culturally brought up in a family which considers corporal and/or physical punishment as a way to empower their children. Thus, as an adult, when she underestimates peer influence and overestimates the capability of her nephew to get adapted to his new home, she feels herself trapped. Thus, she practices an old authoritative manner that she used to be familiar with from her own adolescence periods. She is not aware of the fact that after all these many years of living away from her father, who has been a source of anger and aggression in her life, she is doing what her father used to do to her.

This, in fact, is the worst crisis that Maryam experiences in this stage of her life. On the one hand, she is aware that her father’s reactions and rage over her are the reasons for her fluctuating identity, and on the other hand, she is still supporting her culture in which corporal punishment is valued as a method of correcting children’s behavior. The duality in her reaction apparently manifests her yet not completely

formed identity. Her behavior categorizes her as a person who acts according to her cultural norms in Iran.

As Straus (2009) maintains, corporal punishment may have long-term influences and much severe impacts on the psychology of individuals. He asserts that corporal punishment might result in psychological problems in children as they lose their self-esteem, suffer from anxiety, and get depressed (Straus, 2009: 8-9). After Maryam's slapping Saeed, who is in his late childhood and very early adolescence, he refuses to go back to his aunt's home, and he attempts to commit suicide. When Sara, Saeed and Maryam get out of the police station to go home, Sara takes them to a café near the bridge to calm them down. It is there that Saeed stands up and walks away. Sara says,

> I tried to hold on to his sleeve, but it slipped through my fingers. 'Come back' I said softly. He walked slowly at first, but when he was out of easy reach, he started to run towards the bridge… Saeed ran up the steps…
>
> Saeed had made it to the middle of the bridge and stood there as I drew closer. He looked at me like a frightened animal, and then glanced down at my mother, still on the riverside. The railing was low and he suddenly leaned forward to swing one leg over it. At that, I heard a shrill cry of distress from my mother, deathly scream, as she saw what was happening, and I felt a surge of adrenalin shoot through me. I flung myself towards my little cousin, balanced a few meters away, and grabbed him as he wavered. With all my weight I pulled him back on top of me, his foot kicking into my guts as we crashed down onto the pavement. (Crowther, 2006: 13-14)

The severity of the corporal punishment in Saeed's case brought him to the verge of committing suicide. His running away and trying to jump off the bridge is due to his sufferings both for not being adjusted to the new environment that he has to live in, and for feeling alienated and punished physically that might have been a new experience in his life. As Donoghue (2005) defines, in adolescence period, teenagers develop a sense

of reasoning, so they seek for dominance and freedom of choice, while their parents think that their children are still in need of protection (82). In case of Saeed, it is apparent that, he wants to experience his autonomy for not going to school where he is bullied in order to keep his self-esteem. However, Maryam, as a parental role model, believes that he needs to be protected, so to guard him, any method would be legitimate. Maryam's obstinacy in this regard results in Sara's losing her baby while struggling to save her cousin's life.

When Maryam takes Sara to the hospital, without waiting for her to come out of the operation room, she leaves her there and takes a taxi to go home asking Saeed to call Edward and inform him about the accident. This is the most extreme self-shame that Maryam lives in her life. She sees herself as the only reason for Sara's loss, so she feels a heavy and unbearable pain in her chest (Crowther, 2006: 30). It is then that she decides to go back to Iran. It would be an attempt to come to terms with her Self.

On their way to the Heathrow Airport, both Maryam and Edward are sitting in silence. Edward explains the day as:

> She had rested back in the plush leather seat, watching the grey outer suburbs of London pass by, as the sky grew loud with the screech and scream of jet engines. She's turned to watch the side of Edward's face and leaned to kiss his cheek as they queued in traffic. He'd turned to her, eyes brimful of tears, and then looked away again, parking the car and taking her luggage to check in. They had hugged at the departure gate, and he'd kissed her forehead.
>
> 'You have been the most beautiful thing in my life.' She hadn't been able to talk as he let go of her hands and walked away. She wished she had said 'And you have been the most patient and gentle of husbands. Part of me never expected to feel safe again'. (Crowther, 2006: 210-211)

The couple's farewell at Heathrow echoes the silent method of communicating between them. Based on her Persian culture, Maryam is not in a habit of verbalizing her feelings

to her husband although in her mind she is certain how much she owes to Edward for the supportive manner he has shown all along their lives. He has become the most trustworthy attachment figure (Bretherton, 1992: 760) for Maryam that she is sure she might hardly experience this feeling again. Edward's tears are also the sign of his dissatisfaction or sorrow for his wife's escaping in the most vital period of their life when their daughter is so fragile and Saeed is in need of protection and encouragement to get adapted to his new life. However, Edward respects Maryam's decision to go back as he thinks in order to recover and re-emerge from this crisis she might be in need of a space or home, and this home is nowhere other than Iran.

Maryam's return is an attempt to go back to the roots of her traumatic experience to attain her identity that has to be re-formed in her motherland. Korostelina (2007) notes that return to one's homeland is one of the main factors in completing cultural adaptation or identity development in expatriates (117-118). Maryam defines the reason for her return, in a chat with Noruz, the wife of her villager Hassan Taymorey, as "I feel I have been between places for so long. I needed to come back. There were too many unfinished conversations, too many people I wanted to see before I die" (Crowther, 2006: 129). She also expresses her feelings as:

> I suppose it's become harder to be so far away from where I grew up. The older I am, the more shallow my roots have felt in England. There I have no one to share stories with, or to remember. In London, I'm surrounded by people who know this country only through their news, a cartoon of Iran. It can be lonely. (Crowther, 2006: 132)

Maryam is at about sixty-five, in the last stage of life cycle, so she needs to look back at her life to enjoy her ego integrity as Erikson (1963, 1968) maintains; however, having lived various frustrations in her life, she feels nothing other than despair. She has categorized herself as an ingroup with her family in Iran that she feels no sense of belonging to the host country. After so many years of living there, her identity is still in the state of rejection, and she has not progressed in getting acculturated or adapted to the British culture. Her salient Persian identity urges her to go back to her roots. Consequently, to experience a sense of fulfilment and to complete her identity

development, Maryam goes back to her homeland. However, the duality in Maryam's identity development continues after her return as well.

The first unpleasant reaction that she encounters in Mashhad is from her niece, Shirin, who accommodates Maryam in her home for a short time. After many years of living abroad, Maryam does not consider that the way one looks might be criticized by her family members who form her ingroups. She faces the most severe alienation by her family members in Iran.

> Shirin was polite to her strange, foreign aunt, who was awkward and old fashioned in her Iranian customs, her scarf forever slipping from her hair. 'Don't whisper,' she told her sons as they peered from behind the door at the walking myth of their mother's and grandmother's tales.
>
> Maryam left as soon as she could, bowing her thanks, away from the hush whenever she walked into a room, Shirin's friends looking up with their polite, quick smiles.
>
> 'A smile like a knife' she heard Fatima's voice whisper in her head. (Crowther, 2006: 32-33)

What Maryam lives in this respect is "a reverse culture shock" that is frequently seen in expatriates upon their return to their homeland (Mitchel, 2006: 5). Gaw asserts that some "returnees have also been reported to experience alienation, disorientation, stress, value confusion, anger, hostility, compulsive fears, helplessness, disenchantment, and discrimination" (2000: 84). When Maryam finds out that the rumor of her teenage years has not ceased after all those years, she experiences a further shock. The basis of her crisis is the fact that she is not much prepared for the changes occurring at home. She notices that she is no longer considered as an ingroup member by her Iranian family, and she is criticized not only for her physical appearance that does not match the new style in Iran, but also for her banishment that was only a rumor. The peeping and whispering of her family members and the people around influence her self-esteem negatively, so that she feels she has to leave this house which for long she has yearned

to return to. When describing her frustration regarding the reactions of the people around, she feels the soothing comfort of her already dead caregiver Fatima as the main attachment figure in Iran who sympathizes with her in her discomfort. Fatima's memory is the only thing that helps Maryam to overcome the crisis. As a result, she decides to leave Mashhad to go to Mazareh, the village of her father, in order to rescue herself from the hostility of her so-called ingroups.

The last time that Maryam is displaced after her return is when she goes to Mazareh. The most interesting issue in this regard is that, her ultimate goal for her return is to go back into her roots and the familiar environment of home that she had longed for all along her life in Britain, yet she finds herself in the middle of a duality when she starts to suffer from nostalgic feelings for her 'English home and family'. That is, the concept of home that she has identified with Iran while living in Britain changes into a diverse direction. Having experienced the comfort and financial welfare in Britain, in face of poor life conditions in Mazareh, she flashes back to remember her home in London and idealizes it as a real home (Berberich, 2007: 29). Her nostalgic feelings are, in fact, manifestation of her not yet completed identity formation.

In Noruz's house when she opens her luggage, she smells "a scent of English lavender" and when she is rubbing "cream on her face, its fragrance …[reminds] her of the marble bathroom back in London" (Crowther, 2006: 147). When Sara comes to Mazareh with the purpose of taking her mother back to London, she reminds Maryam of the higher life standards of them. She sees the confusion in Sara's eyes when she is washing her hands in the sink "where the water ran like darts of ice," she finds herself in a position of explaining the underdeveloped communication problems when Sara asks her to go and call her father by saying "we may need to queue. There's just one phone," and finally, she empathizes with her daughter when she reminds her that "it would be mid-afternoon in London… time for tea and toast, Saeed swinging his legs beneath the kitchen table" (Crowther: 207). Beside the dualities that the nostalgic remembering causes, she is forced into a position to take stand between her Iranian and British families.

Maryam's life-long struggle and wish to go to her homeland, which she describes as her "heart's home," (Crowther, 2006: 109) creates confusion in her. Although she is well-received by her old villagers- the Taymorey family-, she feels she is being judged by them when they ask her how her "English family" is (Crowther, 2006: 120). Calling her family 'English' is a verbal categorization, and it is used when the people of one group outgroup others by judging them for not sharing their values, beliefs and ideals (Abram and Hogg, 1990: 2). Although this question might not be addressed to her as a means of categorization by Hassan, it triggers a sense of doubt in Maryam (Erikson, 1968: 112), and she starts to criticize herself for not being well-involved and supportive toward her husband and daughter. In an attempt to show how connected they are as a family, she says "We tried to bridge our two worlds as well as we could," however, "she was no longer sure if she had tried as hard as she might have done; if a part of her hadn't rather rocked the bridge, and kicked it hard to crumble beneath her" (Crowther, 2006: 120-121). This self-questioning is one of the consequences of her return and reverse culture shock. In other words, while in Britain, she would hardly let other people criticize her attitude or anything related to her culture, but confronting a criticism by her ingroups, results in an awakening or self-realization in her.

Another judgment that comes from one of her ingroups, her beloved Ali, is also critical in Maryam's identity development. When she meets Ali after many years, she feels "life in her veins… his eyes finding hers so quickly, with no need to speak. There, beneath the surface of reflections, was their lost world" (Crowther, 2006: 143-144). Most probably her lost love was one of the essential reasons for Maryam's lack of adaptation and identity crisis in Britain. However, Ali's rejecting her marriage by defining it as a non-muslim marriage which would not be considered as a real marriage according to his cultural belief, shakes Maryam's sense of self (Crowther, 2006: 164). Ali's categorization is more destructive for Maryam since he was the only person in Iran whom she believed she could trust.

When Maryam finds out that Ali expects her to take off her marriage ring, she remembers her wedding day and moves back and forth between Edward and Ali as the two different worlds that she belongs to. The hybridity in her identity generates another

identity crisis in her. Eventually, she makes her choice and says "No, Ali…Not like this. Of all people, you must accept me as I am.' She took the ring and slid it back on her finger, her chest tight, angry and sad" (Crowther, 2006: 164). All along her life, she has suffered from not being recognized as an individual, but a person who should have conformed to an identity that is defined for her. Thus, she realizes that even Ali, whom she has identified as her soul-mate, is not in a position to accept her as she is, and this evokes a sense of doubt in her which gives rise to her despair.

The duality that she experiences in her middle adulthood displays Maryam's identity fluctuations that she has lived all along her life, since she is caught in-between the two worlds where she feels she belongs to neither. In other words, this is a state of marginalization that is explained by Berry (1997) as a natural part of acculturation process according to which the expatriate is not able to develop a sense of belonging either to her residual culture or to the host culture. Berry asserts that this condition appears when the expatriates are in the position of living in a country other than their homeland; however, in the case of Maryam, this happens in her country of birth. In this regard, it can be claimed that, Maryam's status of identity is close to a diffused identity that Erikson (1968) defines as a state when the individual is totally uncertain in making choices or undergoing commitments. Although she seems to be making choices in certain periods, in actual fact, no distinct identity state is formed in her.

Maryam's decision to return to Iran is due to her wish for joining with her roots and completing her incomplete identity, yet her homeland does not furnish her with what she has expected to attain. Even Sara's attempts to convince her mother to go back to England also end in failure. Maryam feels that she has to stay in her native country although it was "the house of fragments" with "Edward's eyes, his kindness, their child" on one side, and Ali on the other side (Crowther, 2006: 264). Shortly, Maryam has not been able to form an achieved identity in spite of the several displacements in her life cycle.

The second character, whose identity development will be elaborated in this chapter, is Sara. As mentioned previously, she is born into a multicultural family so that she is familiar both with her mother's Persian culture and her father's British culture.

Except for her short visits to Iran, she has never lived there, so the Persian part of her identity is formed under the influence of her mother in Britain.

In her emergent adulthood period, while studying teacher-training in Oxford, Sara meets her husband- Julian- who was her friend's brother (Crowther, 2006: 170). In fact, Maryam's dominance on Sara's gender based identity is so strong that unlike British girls who are quite relax in forming a relationship with the opposite sex, Sara is unable to flirt with Julian, and she continuously runs away from him. Her attempts to ignore Julian result in her friends' teasing her; however, after a short time and with Julian's persistent tries, Sara accepts to go out with him (Crowther, 2006: 171-172). Sara becomes a subject of scorn by her peers due to the diverse culture she is raised up with. Maryam's hesitation in letting Sara form an intimate relation is based on her personal trauma that she experienced in her youth. Nevertheless, Sara overcomes this confusion after a short time.

In the early years of their relationship, she starts teaching in London, and meanwhile Sara and Julian come to know each other. Remembering those years she says,

> I cooked him Persian meals, taking him to the parade of Iranian shops near Olympia, fairy grottos full of the music I'd grown up with, and we bought pomegranates, *gaz* [a Persian sweet] and dried figs, and got drunk on red wine, dancing to his Mills Brothers tapes. (Crowther, 2006: 172)

Sara is happy with her Iranian background and the hybridity in her identity neither disturbs her, nor Julian. The mixture of British and Persian cultures enriches their relationship. However, when Julian takes her to meet his grandmother, Sara lives her first identity crisis in her adulthood period when she realizes the difference between her parents and Julian's British family. Her confusion generates from the duality between her maternal culture and the host culture in Britain. As she considers Julian as her partner with whom she tends to fuse her identity (Erikson, 1968: 136), she shares her feelings in this regard with him:

> ‘My parents had to start from scratch- no routines, no extended family, no customs or ways of doing things that make you feel like you belong to something that’s been going on forever. No easy habits. My father had his English way and Maman [mother] had her Iranian way, and it was all mixed up. Sometimes it was wonderful, but sometimes it was horrid- people who were nasty or rude because they couldn’t understand what she said or meant, her own frustration.’ (Crowther, 2006: 173)

Sara’s crisis in this stage is a manifestation of her social identity that is under the influence of two cultures. She feels herself as an in-between person who lacks a history. In addition, she is in a position to play the role of intermediary between her mother and the British people. Thus, she strives to sort out the misunderstandings resulting from the cultural differences that exasperate her mother. Her confession to Julian about the hardships that she has experienced throughout her life is a sign of her trust in him. Thus, she has identified herself with Julian who partially performs the role of attachment figure as well as intimacy partner.

Sara re-emerges from her first identity crisis in this period with Julian’s support. He appreciates her by saying “you grew up as your mother’s eyes and ears in a way. It’s made you alert, tender” (Crowther, 2006: 173). He also reveals his fascination with Sara by emphasizing her being careful in not taking anything for granted and listening to people carefully to sort out the root of any problem (Crowther, 2006: 173). Julian’s attentive nature and his understanding behavior boost Sara’s self-esteem. As she feels she is recognized by Julian whom she values as the person she will commit herself to, she does not hesitate to have her first sexual relationship with him. Erikson notes that, sexual intimacy can be considered as a sign of fusing identities (1968: 136), and even though Sara was warned by her mother to “prize” herself by not letting anyone dishonor her (Crowther, 2006: 173), she gets united with him.

The idea of sexual relation is perceived and treated differently in Persian and British cultures. As previously stated, in the eastern culture chastity of a female is directly related to the honor of the family. Maryam, who is banished by her father just for the suspicion of a sexual relation, has tried to impose her eastern cultural values on

her daughter in order to protect her from any probable suffering. Thus she has been successful to keep Sara under her control in this regard until the age of twenty-four. Therefore, until her emergent adulthood period (Arnett, 2000: 469), Sara has developed a gender-based identity that is much reserved compared to the cultural constructs in Britain. Nevertheless, with Julian's stepping into her life and her coming to notice the difference between her multicultural family and an ordinary British family, for the first time in her adulthood, she questions her identity. Neither in her childhood nor in her adolescence, she has revealed her disturbance or confusion regarding the duality in her cultural background. Thus, after meeting Julian and identifying herself with him, she categorizes him as the intimacy figure who is considered as an ingroup. To this end, she experiences a genital combat that to Erikson (1963) is a way to find one's real self (264). Through her sexual relation with Julian, Sara feels herself as a mature person who can easily take her decision to abandon her Persian culture, and perpetuate her life according to British culture. This becomes a breaking point in Sara's identity development process as she releases herself from the boundaries of imposed hybrid identity that were dominant until this stage to develop a personal and social identity in which British culture is more salient.

It is after this period that little by little Sara distances herself from her mother and her cultural background, and she gets closer to her father and British culture. The most obvious alienation of Iranian culture in Sara is shown is her attitude toward Iranian food and ingredients. Although once she was even influencing Julian with the scent of saffron and Persian food, she starts to assess the Persian herbs and food as something belonging to her mother as she says mom brought them from "her home" (Crowther, 2006: 3). It is a description that categorizes Maryam as an outgroup member to whose group Sara no more has a sense of belonging.

Sara's alienating her mother continues when she loses her baby boy while struggling to save Saeed's life on the bridge. In the hospital, when she learns that she has lost her baby, she whispers to her husband Julian that she does not want to see her mom (Crowther, 2006: 15). However, Sara's dream of a tiger attacking her mother, and her struggle to protect her mother from the tiger is an internal crisis manifesting her uncertainty in rejecting Maryam. She is confused about her mother's reaction, so when

she wakes up and sees her father beside her bed in the hospital, she tells him "I don't think I can face seeing her right now. I wouldn't know where to begin" (Crowther, 2006: 17). The duality in Sara's conscious and subconscious mind shows her bewilderment regarding her mother's role in her life. Throughout her life cycle, she was left in a perpetual condition of moving from Persian culture to British culture which was due to her mother's lack of adaptation. Thus, both her personal identity and social identity could not be formed clearly. However, loss of her baby shakes her identity and puts her in a state of role confusion. As a mother to be, she could not accept her own mother's irresponsible behavior. Sara thinks that Maryam who has faced several losses in her life, should have been more delicate in this regard, yet she is so involved in her personal despair that she can hardly distinguish what is right for her family. Putting it another way, it can be concluded that Sara had for long played the role of attachment figure or mother in her own mother's life**.** She is the one who has facilitated Maryam's adaptation period, yet what Sara expects from her mother in this critical and painful stage is a bit of empathy and understanding that she selfishly ignores.

As a consequence, Sara makes her final decision to reject her mother as she blames her for punishing Saeed that results in her loss. Although the female attachment figures are mostly important in this kind of painful experiences in women's lives, Sara does no more consider Maryam as someone whom she can trust and with the help of whom she can overcome the crisis. This rejection symbolizes her rejection of her maternal culture as well. She distances the Persian culture that has so far been salient in her identity.

Edward's role as the attachment figure and caregiver gains importance in this phase of Sara's life. While in the hospital, the caring attitude of her father soothes her. Sara remembers her father's first visit in the hospital:

> EDWARD. 'Hello darling,' he said as he bent to kiss me, looking like he hadn't slept. 'I bought some proper coffee and a croissant, your favorite.'
>
> SARA. 'I'm really not hungry, Dad. But thanks.'

EDWARD. ‘Nonsense, try a mouthful for your old man, and he broke off a small piece and held it to my mouth.’

I let the pastry go soft in my spit and closed my eyes before swallowing.

EDWARD. ‘And another.’

I opened my mouth again.

We sat like that silently for half an hour, and he fed me like he would a sick bird, crumb by crumb. At the end we smiled at each other. He reached into his coat pocket and pulled out a small, pale-brown cloth dog, its fur worn through and one ear stitched back with green thread.

Ted. I laughed and winced at the same time.

EDWARD. ‘He’s a bit the worse for wear, but he’s seen you through some tough times.’

I held the small toy up to my face and breathed it in, the smell of powder and the drawer in my old room full of discarded make-up and perfume. Thanks Dad. (Crowther, 2006: 16-17)

Although Sara is in her adulthood period, she needs someone to share her frustration with. She seeks for someone who might enhance a sense of security and trust in her. Thus, her father affectionately construes the role of caregiver, who feeds her crumb by crumb, and makes her feel the real trust and solidarity (Bretherton, 1992: 760). The childhood toy that Sara’s father, Edward, brings for her to the hospital is a symbol that reminds her how she has overcome the hardships in her past. In other words, Edward knows her daughter’s habits and the way he can reduce her pain. As a result, her father becomes a stimulating factor that soothes her about her loss and helps her to overcome this critical crisis in her life (Cassell, 2001: 4).

The role Edward executes in her daughter's life and identity development is very deep. He is aware of his daughter's negative feelings toward her mother and her blaming Maryam for her loss, yet he tries to soften Sara's feelings by telling her how sorry her mother is, and how he feels himself guilty for not being able to sort the things out (Crowther, 2006: 17). He tries to justify his wife's responses by stating,

> I don't know. Maybe I should have seen it coming. She is not as young as she was, and Saeed's taken his toll, waking up in the middle of the night in tears. I think he made her homesick and exhausted all at once…
>
> He took my hand. 'She's a complicated woman, Maryam. Sometimes she's a mystery to herself, let alone to me.' He had shared these words before, other times when she had seemed to crack around the edges, a stream of Farsi shouted from the landing before the door to her turquoise room was slammed shut, emerging full of regret hours later. (Crowther, 2006: 17)

Edward is the one who has for years noticed Maryam's fluctuations. Not only he blames himself, but also he relates the changes in Maryam's attitude to Saeed's psychological reactions that touch Maryam's heart seriously. Sara has witnessed her mother's strange reactions from time to time all along her life, yet she finds it hard to forgive her this time. Hence, when she hears her mother has decided to go back to Iran, she feels released (Crowther, 2006: 17). However, the bond between Maryam and Sara is much stronger than she assumes it to be. That is why, when she receives a letter from her mother in Iran who asks Sara to go and see her there, she cannot resist. Julian's protest does not work as she says "I don't feel I really have a choice. I have to go and bring her home" (Crowther, 2006: 189). Her decision to go to Iran is also related to the hidden Persian identity that Sara hosts in herself and the unanswered questions about her mother's background.

Although Sara has visited Iran for several times during her childhood with her mother, it is the first time she goes there alone. For this reason, Maryam has written all the procedures that she has to follow in detail in her letter. When she arrives at the

airport in Tehran, Shirin, her mother's niece, picks her up with her husband Hameed, and she stays in their house for several days until she goes to Mazareh to see her mother. During this period, Sara notices how her world view differs from Shirin's family.

Even after thirty years, Shirin and her husband still criticize Maryam's disobeying the patriarchal norms and her dishonoring her family by falling in love with a man of a lower class. She still blames Maryam for degrading her family honor in Iran and leaving her English family in a difficult situation to come back and reunite with Ali. The way Shirin criticizes Ali is extremely harsh as she says: "Ali was a servant, after all, a peasant for all his learning… He's nothing… His life has been nothing" (Crowther, 2006: 198- 199). Encountering these explanations about Ali, Sara gets surprised and "frown[s] at Shirin's judgment of Ali; taken aback at the scorn in her tone even though Shirin had never known him" (Crowther, 2006: 199). Maryam's leaving her husband and daughter and returning to Iran is a painful experience for Sara, and due to her mother's insensitive decision to leave her in the hospital and return home, Sara had categorized and rejected her as an outgroup in Britain. Sara's alienating her mother is a prompt reaction for her loss, yet it can hardly influence their attachment as a mother and daughter. Nevertheless, Shirin's criticism and degrading Maryam is nothing acceptable to Sara who has a fused British-Persian identity. She protects her mother's act when she says "I suppose it's been my mother's life to live" (Crowther, 2006: 199). That is, Shirin's estranging and criticizing Maryam helps Sara's awakening and noticing the sufferings that her mother had to bear all along her life. In fact, with Shirin's words, Sara returns to her intermediary position as an attachment figure for her mother that she used to perform in the previous stages of her life. As a compromiser, she had to find a common ground to minimize her mother's conflicts and ease her adaptation process in Britain. Now she is aware of the agonizing background of her mother which gave rise to her enduring identity crises.

The fluctuations in Sara's identity perpetuate when she goes to Mazareh and sees her mother. Maryam's welcoming Sara in Mazareh is full of hope and sorrow, yet Sara is not sure about her own feelings, and the only thing she wants to find out is why Maryam has left everything there and come here (Crowther, 2006: 202). In the face of

Sara's anger, Maryam seems to have a much smoother manner in contrast to the aggressive and uncontrolled conducts she had displayed in Britain. She tries to sooth Sara by saying:

> …please don't be like me or my father. Look at me.' Sara lifted her face. 'Anger has no going back. A slap cannot be undone. Some insults can never be unsaid. They worm away inside, however much you regret, hope, pray, until something terrible happens, like the day on the bridge. I don't want you to suffer like that.' (Crowther, 2006: 206)

Maryam is in the last stage of her life cycle that Erikson calls maturity (1963: 268). The main purpose of individuals in this phase of their lifespan is achieving integrity. That is why they are ready to fight whatever threatens their sense of fulfilment and ego integrity (Erikson, 1963: 268). In her village, Maryam is much contended compared to her distressful state in Britain. She has overcome the crises that she has lived before moving to the Britain. She feels herself in a place she really belongs to, and she has attained a chance to revise her life. According to self-categorization theory, an individual has to minimize her self-doubt to construe a sound social identity (Hogg and Terry, 2000: 124). It is in this period of her life that Maryam has come to terms with her Self to form a sound personal and social identity. The identity that she has achieved in Mazareh, has helped her to gain her self-integrity by distancing the despair and failure that she has suffered from all along her life. Sara defines her mother's integrity in Mazareh as "You know, you're different here…Less like you might blow away. In London, sometimes, you seemed at one remove" (Crowther, 2006: 222). Maryam with the recently developed understanding of herself tries to protect her integrity as well as her daughter's identity whom she associates with her young ages. Having suffered agony for a long period, she tries to share her own experience with Sara, who is blaming her mother for the sadness of her father, the identity crisis of her cousin, and the loss of her own baby.

Sara's other crisis is due to her belief in her mother's betrayal of her father and of herself, by keeping Ali and her history with him as a secret. When she meets Ali in Mazareh, he makes "her feel sad and cheated, as if all the memories of her childhood might now prove to be just figments of her imagination, half-truths or lies" (Crowther,

2006: 215). She remembers "all the mornings she'd woken up as a small girl when her mother has disappeared to Iran, and made cups of tea for her dad as he'd sat in the study with his head in his hands" (Crowther, 2006: 217). Ali's existence and her mother's past with him once more shake her sense of trust in her mother. She cannot forgive Maryam for the suffering and pain she had caused to her father. Allen, Hauser and Spurell assure that unresolved attachment organizations in the adulthood period might have a basis on the previously experienced trauma or loss in the childhood or history of the person through which the individual has become overwhelmed (1996: 254). Sara's bitter memories are welled up when she assumes Ali as the reason for her mother's fluctuations and lack of adaptation in Britain.

The way her mother tries to defend herself and Ali is to state that "Ali is all that's left of my past. Everyone else is dead and gone, even Mara now. He's the only person who knew me then, who can help me remember" (Crowther, 2006: 206). However, Sara's gender identity that is partially shaped by her mother's culture restrains her from empathizing with her mother. Thus, she is confused to see her mother with a man for whom she has left her father. This feeling triggers a sense of anger and shame in her.

Sara goes out of control when she sees "Ali's hand on her mother", and she feels "a flood of bitterness" (Crowther, 2006: 216). Although Maryam tries to calm her down by taking her hand, she pushes her away and says,

> 'Don't touch me. What did you expect, that we'd all greet each other with open arms?' her anger uncoiled, and she drew back her hand. For a moment she wanted to hit her mother as hard as Maryam had hit Saeed, and to make her crumple up as she had seen her father bent double in the loft. But Ali took hold of her wrist and firmly lowered it to her side, Maryam reaching for Ali's arm as well. (Crowther, 2006: 217)

The Persian culture of her mother seems to be salient in Sara's social identity. She cannot accept the immoral attitude of her mother who degrades her father by having kept a secret relation with another man. The burst of anger and shame leads Sara to lose

her control and show her attempt to punish Maryam, whom she thinks deserves this punishment. As Donoghue (2005) asserts, through corporal punishment either parents or children try to show their dominance in their dialogues (85). Finding out that she cannot convince her mother of her wrong action verbally, she tries to use an authoritarian method that she was familiar with in her childhood. Donoghue also claims that physical punishment might have a long-lasting influence on children, and that they might practice it on the other people believing that it might help them correct their unacceptable attitude (Donoghue, 2005: 81). Thus, Sara, whose hair was cut by her mother as a punishment in her childhood, and who had witnessed her mother's corporal punishment on Saeed, comes to believe that in order to convince her mother to go back home, she has to apply corporal punishment and reveal her dominance. In fact, Sara's attempt is directly related to the idea that children may perceive the message that their parents wish to give them through corporal punishment wrongly (Straus, 2009: 9). When punishing Saeed, Maryam had explained it to Sara to be a way to strengthen the weak ones according to her culture. In Sara's eyes, her mother's hidden relationship with Ali was a sign of her weakness, so that Sara, who had perceived her mother's message mistakenly, thinks that she could help her to regain her true space and identity via corporal or physical punishment. The thought of corporal punishment is an indicator of Sara's Persian ethnic identity which is dominant in this stage.

After a few minutes, when she thinks of her act, she feels herself "weak and ashamed of her anger as it dissipated" (Crowther, 2006: 218). She apologizes to her mother for her reaction. Sara emerges from her identity confusion by the contribution of her British persona. Identity based, Sara is still under the influence of both Persian and British culture and the salience of her identity moves from one to the other from time to time. She realizes that instead of impulsive reactions that are misleading, she has to listen to her mother. Her main purpose to come to Iran is to figure out the reasons behind her mother's fluctuating identity; therefore, they go for a walk to sort out the dispute between them, and Maryam shares what she has long suffered from with her daughter. She says,

> All I ever wanted as a child, a young woman, was to be free of etiquette and tradition, arranged marriages and everything just so. All I found was

> another world where I had to work out the new traditions, habits, how to appear just so. (Crowther, 2006: 222)

Upon Maryam's explanation, Sara gets a feeling of being recognized by her mother (Erikson, 1968: 156), with whom she had difficulty to feel herself as an ingroup. Now she could understand her mother better and empathize with her as she realized that her mother was not able to fit into the British society. By developing a sense of forgiveness, Sara comes into peace of mind and she tries to heal the painful memories (Pergament, 1997: 262). Thus, she overcomes the pain that is inflicted by her mother's mysterious behaviors all along her life.

When Maryam tries to tell that while in Britain she had no contact with Ali but he had been in her life all through these years, Sara gets more confused. Understanding that "it had not been an infidelity" but a hidden life, her anger against her mother subsides, yet she confesses that a part of her mother was heartless to make others in her life suffer for her internal clashes (Crowther, 2006: 227-228). Sara's regret regarding all the pain her mother has caused for her beloved ones, influence her deeply, so that she comes to a state to forgive her. Thus, she reaches a resolution both with herself and her mother.

After learning about the sufferings of her mother, Sara is not sure if she could convince her to go back. Ali's explanation regarding his relation with Maryam helps Sara to make her final decision. Ali says,

> I have not brought her here, and you cannot take her home. She must choose to come or to go as she wishes – to be herself. If we put our own needs aside, the important thing is for Maryam to know her own mind, when it is not driven by fear or guilt or obligation. That is what she always wanted as a girl – she should have that freedom as a woman. (Crowther, 2006: 235)

Sara finds out that her mother has strived to attain her freedom in order to form her personal as well as social identity. Her return to Iran was the last ring in the chain that

she had to complete. Therefore, as a person who had both British and Persian cultures in her identity, Sara thinks that Maryam deserves this freedom so that she decides not to force her mother to go back home until she feels it is time to do so.

Meanwhile, Ali's asking her to define her idea about Iran shakes her sense of Self or identity. She says,

> I've never felt English but I know Iran isn't my home. I have relatives here who I've never met, who I may never meet, who may be dead and buried. Still, they exist in my head – the conversations I have had, all I might have learned from them. It's like a thing that hasn't quite been born for me – Iran. It's an idea in my mind that I may never understand, but that will always be part of me. I would fight for that idea, although sometimes I've hated it – my mother's empty eyes, when I knew she was somewhere that I couldn't follow. (Crowther, 2006: 237)

Sara does not deny the Iranian part of her identity. She defines herself as a hybrid person whose identity from time to time moves between the two worlds. She comes to terms with her Self in this way. The positive point in her identity is the tolerance that she had developed during her life cycle. The features of one culture have helped her to complete the lacking parts in the other culture that she belongs to. Thus, she has developed an in-between identity that respects both culture of home and host. Sara's learning about her pregnancy in Iran is also an indicator of her hybridity that finds a way in a new baby to be born.

However, the identity development of the baby most probably would not be as painful as her mother's since with her new understanding of herself, Sara will not present an unformed identity model for the baby. The other two British role models, namely Julian and Edward would also reinforce the integration in the identity of the baby. In addition, if Maryam chooses to stay in Iran, without an un-integrated foreign role model, the baby will have an integrated and possibly later an assimilated identity.

In conclusion, Maryam, as a displaced person completes her life cycle by returning to her place of birth and explaining her painful history to her daughter, who has accused her to be infidel and uncaring. During the process of her identity development in her adulthood, she has experienced acculturation strategies, yet she is not likely to show an achieved identity. Although she has primarily substituted her husband as her attachment figure to enhance a sense of security in an all strange atmosphere, due to her cultural and ethnic identity that were developed in Iran, she hesitated to share her childhood and adolescence frustrations with him. It is only after her return to her homeland and with the arrival of her daughter that her personal identity shows the signs of maturity and self-content that are the characteristics of identity development in this phase of her life.

Sara, the other character, primarily manifests a cultural and social identity based on her father's British culture. This is due to her extreme contact with British people and her internalizing British culture as her home culture. However, from time to time, she experiences identity crises regarding her attachment figures and intimate relations that have their root in her mother's ethnic and cultural background. Having overcome the confusion regarding her mother's behaviors and forgiving her mother, she develops an identity that is formed by the influence of her maternal as well as paternal cultures, so she displays an achieved identity.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation has been to examine the process of identity development in expatriates. The main assumption in this study is that while emigrating to a new society either by choice or coercion, displaced people are in an attempt to carry their cultural heritage with them as a part of the identity they have formed in their homeland. However, encountering the cultural diversities in the host country, immigrants experience culture shock (Pedersen, 1995) and reshape their identities in line with their history as well as the new social and cultural experiences.

This study has aimed to demonstrate that the process of identity formation in expatriates is a dual process. While the first layer of immigrants' identity is primarily formed in their homelands under the influence of their heritage culture in line with the stages of Eriksonian epigenetic life cycle (Erikson, 1963, 1968), after their transition into a new settlement, the second layer of their identities is built up both in accordance with the epigenetic stages as well as under the influence of the host culture through the stages of acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2005) and the process of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995).

With the intention of revealing in what ways this process proceeds, Buchi Emecheta's *Kehinde* (1994), Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* (2000), and Yasmin Crowther's *The Saffron Kitchen* (2006) have been studied chronologically. Just as many other philosophical theories and approaches that have been proved to be valid through their application on real or fictional characters, in this study, too, the psychology-based theories of Erikson, Berry and Pedersen are applied on the fictional immigrant characters in the novels mentioned. Unlike researches conducted on real entities that are mainly limited to a certain region or immigrants with similar ethnic backgrounds, utilizing these theories on fictional characters has enlarged the scope of study and provided a chance to research the process of identity development of immigrants with

various cultural background and scrutinize the influence of British culture on their identity throughout the process of acculturation and culture shock in this new setting. In addition, the authors of these novels, who are the descendants of immigrants, might have created characters, who would represent them as displaced people in a foreign land, who would have passed through a similar process while developing their identity in Britain.

Through an in-depth analysis of these three novels it has become evident that, there is no pre-determined form of identity that can be attributed to an uprooted individual or a group as identity has a flux nature that can be altered in certain circumstances (Erikson, 1968: 24). Therefore, the degree of accepting or rejecting a new culture is completely dependent on the degree an individual is eager to deal with the outcomes of various cultures.

While preparing this study, it has been observed that the process of social identity development in expatriates is diverse before and after their displacement. It has been found that individuals are likely to develop both psychological and social parts of their identities in accordance with the epigenetic stages of Eriksonian theory; however, when they move into a new settlement, beside these psychosocial identities based upon their home cultures, they pass through acculturation stages resulting from cultural diversities in the host country. In other words, before their displacement, the social side of individuals' identity is essentially formed through parental orientations and social and cultural practices of their residual culture, yet after they begin to live in another country, this process becomes a multilayered one since on the one hand their social identity is still influenced by their parental cultural norms while on the other hand, the impacts of the dominant host culture on their identities alter their social identities.

The only difference in this process can be seen in the immigrants, who are born in the host country. That is, the second generation immigrants are likely to go through the process of identity development by merging the cultures of home and host from birth. That is why the identity crises that they experience throughout their lifespan are predominantly related to diversity between cultural and social factors of their parental cultures as well as the mainstream culture.

In the novels analyzed, all the first generation immigrant characters have spent their childhood and adolescence periods in their home country, while their children are born in Britain. Therefore, it can be inferred that the main characters in the novels such as Kehinde and Albert in *Kehinde*, Samad in *White Teeth*, and Maryam in *The Saffron Kitchen* have experienced crises on trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. shame and doubt, initiative vs. guilt and industry vs. inferiority according to the Eriksonian Epigenetic Stages in the childhood and adolescence periods. However, it is in their adulthood period that they get acculturated and construe an identity which reflects the influence of both British and home cultures.

There are several common features that can be extracted from this study. Firstly, it can be suggested that when the features that Erikson attributes to specific stages of individuals' identity formation fail to develop, they are directly transmitted to the other stages of the life cycle until they are formed. To illustrate, although the crises regarding trust vs. mistrust are the most significant and primary features that are developed in early childhood, they can apparently be seen throughout adolescence and adulthood periods of the characters as an outcome of their incapability to finalize these conflicts or due to cultural differences and displacements that trigger their sense of security. That is why in almost all novels not only mothers, fathers, siblings, and caregivers but also friends, spouses, or mentors have been substituted and identified with as attachment figures, who would enhance the sense of trust in the individuals in distinct phases of their lives.

Not as substantially as the trust conflicts, the characters experience crises on the concepts of doubt, shame and guilt. While these confusions in the childhood and adolescence periods of the first generation immigrants are mainly related to their displacement or being blamed for the loss of mother and/or twin as in Kehinde's life, in Maryam's identity development, the senses of doubt and guilt appear as a result of uncaring attitude of her mother and a self-blame for the death of the attachment-figure's son. In the second generation immigrants these senses are predominantly based on the diversity of cultures. In *Kehinde*, both Joshua and Bimpe experience doubt and guilt based on the gender variety between the host and home cultures in their parental culture, while Magid and Millat in *White Teeth* undergo confusions based on the concept of

leader-follower position that stems from their twinship in Bangladeshi culture. In *The Saffron Kitchen*, the cultural use of corporal punishment as a method to strengthen children's identity is the major reason for identity crises both in the first and second generation immigrants. The severest crisis regarding the sense of shame is experienced by Maryam when she is sent for a virginity test to prove her innocence where she is raped by the soldiers during her adolescence stage.

In the same way, the concepts of identity vs. role confusion that is likely to appear during adolescence period, is noticed in other phases of life cycle as well. The role confusions in the teenage characters like Joshua and Bimpe in *Kehinde*, Millat and Magid in *White Teeth*, and Sara in *The Saffron Kitchen* mainly emerge from the duality in their imposed parental cultures and the dominant British culture. The vital issue to be considered in this respect is the fact that the parents, who have failed to get acculturated or could not build or endure an achieved identity, have transmitted their own confusions to their children.

When these young characters, who are born in Britain, move to their parents' homelands, they live through culture shock and experience cultural diversity directly. Through the analysis conducted in this study, it can be extracted that all the second-generation characters experience the honeymoon stage of culture shock upon their arrival. However, while Joshua adopts the African culture that provides him privileges based on his gender in order to re-form his social identity, Bimpe's integration starts with her 'intimate relationship' with an African boy which is a vital aspect of role confusion in the process of identity formation in this period. Magid, on the other hand, who has personally experienced fluctuations prior to his displacement, does not show any tendency toward his father's Islamic culture. His rejecting his father's culture is partially connected with his being a twin and partially due to his mentors/attachment figures who lead him toward developing a social identity in line with British cultural norms. Sara's case is a little different since her purpose to go to Iran is a short visit, and she goes there in her adulthood period as a married woman. However, it is after her travel to Iran that she comes to internalize her mother's culture and notice the reasons for her mother's lack of adaptation which has impeded her developing an integrated social identity. Thus, finding out the root of her mother's imbalanced identity, she re-

emerges from role confusion and defines herself as an integrated person whose identity embraces both British and Persian cultures.

This study comes up with the idea that in the adulthood period the role confusions are generated from lack of adaptation to the new environment or nostalgic idealization of the past. While Albert, Samad and Maryam's confusions in this stage of their lives is connected to their dominant ethnic and cultural background, Kehinde's role confusion is mainly based on her twin identity and acculturation that makes her unable to make a choice between the cultures to adopt, and it is partially related to her twin identity which directs her toward both cultures and results in social identity conflicts.

One common issue in this regard is the manipulative attitudes of the male characters in their adulthood period. In the process of social identity development, both Albert and Samad have reached the dis-integration period of culture shock, so in many aspects of their identity development process, they are in an attempt to manipulate the dominant culture in Britain as well as their home culture. To develop their social identities and re-emerge from role confusion, they are in a perpetual projection state to blame the culture in the new settlement for their personal failures.

In addition, a sense of inferiority which is the sign of a prevailing crisis in adolescence period is reflected all through the lifespan of characters. However, in many instances, this crisis has been diverted from being an effort to cope with social and academic demands into a power struggle to attain recognition and status. This crisis can be evaluated as a conflict either in the personal or social identity development. On the personal account, individuals' experiencing scornful attitudes of their peers or family members can generate a sense of inferiority in them as in the case of Kehinde, who is rejected by her biological family, Millat who is categorized as a follower by his father and Saeed, who is not recognized by her aunt Maryam. However, when this bullying and discrimination is due to lack of cultural adaptation and rejection of the people in the host country, the social identity development is influenced. While, Saeed lives this culture-based bigotry in his childhood, Millat experiences it in his adolescence period, Samad undergoes this crisis in his emergent adulthood period during military service,

Kehinde is exposed to it by her husband's relatives in her mid-adulthood, and Maryam in her homeland by her ingroup Persian relatives during her old-adulthood.

The confusion on intimacy is also experienced by all adult characters which mainly results in despair. Kehinde's intimate relation with Albert ends up in failure since Albert's gender-based identity that he has formed in accordance with his African culture dominates their relation, the intimacy that Samad experiences in his marriage is also an unachieved one, and in order to overcome this crisis he is either in an attempt to masturbate for the purpose of a narcissistic self-satisfaction, or he starts up a sexual relation with Poppy- Burt-Jones which satisfies his sexual desire for a short time. The only interesting intimate relationship can be witnessed in Millat during his adolescence period that is defined as 'precocious puberty' which Erikson believes to be a quest for personal identity rather than experiencing identity fusion with a trustworthy spouse. Sara is the only character, who achieves in developing her social identity upon her intimate relationship with Julian. Her accomplishment is due to her rejecting her mother's ethnic background which has been the cause of her traumatic attitude regarding intimate relation.

The crisis about the sense of generativity that is related to the characters' productivity and creativity is detected in all first-generation immigrants in the novels. Due to his sons' straying from their residual culture and failure in developing a sound identity, Samad develops a sense of stagnation or boredom. However, Maryam proceeds through this conflict when her daughter forgives her and develops an integrated identity. Kehinde's children's rejecting her guidance results in her stagnation, but she compensates this disappointment through her decision to study sociology as an act to develop her creativity.

Only two characters in this study reach the last stage of epigenetic life cycle and they are Samad and Maryam. What Samad experiences in his old-age is despair and regret for his failure in his life. However, Maryam develops ego identity and shows a self-contained status after going back to her homeland where she overcomes the life-long crisis that has influenced her identity negatively.

One of the most interesting outcomes of this study is the concept of twin identity that both Emecheta and Smith have incorporated to their novels. Kehinde and Taiwo in *Kehinde* and Magid and Millat in *White Teeth* are the exact exhibition of an idealized identity that the authors believe to be necessary to be developed by immigrants. In other words, what is emphasized through twin identity is the idea that only by bridging the home and host cultures can one reach the phase of interdependence in the stages of culture shock (Pedersen, 1995: 3) and develop an independent or achieved identity (Erikson: 1968: 23; Marcia, 1966: 552). Among the displaced characters in the novels, only Kehinde has reached this stage of achieved identity passing through various identity crises both in Nigeria and Britain and coming to terms with her Taiwo to form a united identity encompassing both African and British sides of her identity.

Neither Millat nor Magid could reach the last stage of culture shock. Magid, who is displaced by his father's decision and has spent a part of his childhood and adolescence in Bangladesh, builds his identity under influence of his Indian and British mentors, and develops an integrated identity. However, Millat who has spent his life near his parents in Britain, comes to the point of total rejection of both his parental and the host cultures, and construes a diffused identity as a marginalized immigrant. The opposite identities that Millat and Magid develop seem to be the two halves that an integrated identity needs to be formed out of. This integration is likely to wake in the identity of the twins' baby to be born in Irie's body. Thus, it can be argued that the third generation immigrants will most probably develop more achieved identities.

In *The Saffron* Kitchen, there is no twin to discuss twin identity, but Sara, who is a second generation immigrant with a British father will give birth to her child from Julian- her British husband- in Iran. Therefore, the idea of third generation immigrants is also valid for this novel, too. In other words, the baby to be born will be brought up by Sara, who has developed an integrated identity in her adulthood, and her British father and husband. It seems that the cultural conflicts that Sara has personally experienced will be minimized in her child's lifespan since Maryam would mostly spend her life in Iran, so this child will likely to develop an integrated identity as a third generation immigrant.

Finally, in this study it is observed that the idea of moving back to the roots is one of the substantial factors in the process of identity development of expatriates. Korostelina assures that the process of adaptation is generally completed after immigrants return to their country of native culture (2007: 118-119). This return would result in the sense of security in a familiar environment as it has been seen in the case of Albert and Maryam, or it may result in a reverse culture shock as in the case of Kehinde. Therefore, upon their return, immigrants may notice their degree of adaptation to their homeland and decide if they can get re-adapted to their home, or they have been too acculturated to be able to survive there.

All in all, it can be concluded that identity development is a psychosocial process through which people form their identities both psychologically and socially. In order to form their identities, individuals primarily proceed through the stages of Eriksonian epigenetic life cycle which lead them to form both personal and social sides of their identities. However, the process of identity development in expatriates follows a different process. As it has been evident in this study, while on the personal level, expatriates follow Eriksonian epigenetic theory, on the social level, they undergo acculturation that results in changes in their behaviors and cultural practices in the host country.

Throughout this analysis, it is observed that all the characters have experienced conflicts in line with epigenetic stages to form their personal identities, yet the order of the crises are not parallel to Erikson's theory. However, immigrants' responses to culture shock or acculturative stress as a process of developing their social identities in the new settlement manifest variations. While some of them have coped with the intercultural variety and have become integrated to the unfamiliar culture, some others have failed in this process. Thus, it can be presumed that expatriates' reactions to cultural conflicts are subjective, and there is no ideal or predetermined form of identity to be developed by displaced people.

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