INTERNAL MIGRANTS AND EVERYDAY ISLAM IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work
and that it has not been submitted in any form
for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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Signature:

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Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis explores the interplay between internal migration and religion. Specifically, it examines internal migrants' reconfiguration of boundaries and spaces of belonging, as well as the impact that migration has on the religious lives of migrants and those who are left behind. These topics are investigated in relation to the historical and political environment in Turkey. The study focuses on migrants coming into the Gebze urban district from the provinces of Giresun and Erzurum, and it considers the experiences of both migrants and their family members who have remained in these provinces. A multi-sited ethnographic research model is used that incorporates a translocal analytical framework, which enables the relationship between internal migration and religion to be conceptualised.

Using the 'everyday lived religion' approach and a translocal lens, life history interviews are analysed in order to elucidate the relationship between internal migration and religious life. The concept of 'everyday lived religion' permits a consideration of aspects of religion that are otherwise invisible, such as experiences and actions in migrants' lives that are not necessarily seen as religious in nature. Furthermore, the examination of life histories enables the structural, individual and local factors behind migrants' experiences (the continuation and reinvention of their religious lives, the remaking of homes, or the reconstruction of boundaries) to be revealed. In addition, the translocal lens facilitates scrutiny of the subjective experiences of both migrants and their relatives in the place of origin. The perceptions, emotions and practices of individuals and groups are studied here, with the importance of connections between and across spaces, places and locales being taken into account.

The results demonstrate that migrants' home- and boundary-making ideas and practices are reconfigured via the interactions, relationships and connections that occur both in the place of settlement and the place of origin. Moreover, institutional factors shape – and, indeed, are shaped by – religion and migration. The thesis makes empirical and conceptual contributions to the field of internal-migration research by arguing that religion in both the hometown and the destination is created, formed and influenced by the migration experience. As such, this study challenges the mainstream view that Islam is a product of the local setting, as well as indicating that the dichotomy between the rural and the urban is insufficient to explicate the complexity of the migration context. Further still, religion, with its transcendent aspect, translocalises migrants' lives so that 'here' (the place of settlement), 'there' (the hometown) and 'elsewhere' (the spiritual world) become relevant to migrants' definitions of the self and others, as well as their reconfiguration of spaces. Ultimately, a fusion of the 'everyday lived religion' and translocal approaches enables us to see that religion is used, articulated and performed in everyday places, being negotiated and contested by migrants and those who are left behind.

List of Charts, Maps, Figures and Tables

List of Charts

List of Graphics and Maps

List of Figures

List of Tables

Modern Turkish Transliteration Chart

Charts 1 and 2 present modern Turkish letters and their sounds as transliterated into

Roman letters according to current academic usage.

Chart 1: Consonants

Modern Turkish	Sounds	Modern Turkish	Sounds
b	b	l	l
c	j	m	m
ç	ç	n	n
d	d	p	p
f	f	r	r
g	g	s	s or th
ğ	gh	ş	sh
h	h	t	t
h	kh	v	w or v or u
j	zh	y	y
k	k or q	z	z or d or dh

Chart 2: Vowels

Modern Turkish	Sounds
Long	
ā	ā
ū	ū
ī	ī
Short	
a or e	a
u or ü	u
i or ı	i

Source: https://ijmes.chass.ncsu.edu/docs/TransChart.pdf (Accessed 17 February 2018).

Glossary

Açık: Open or uncovered

Akraba: Kin

Almancı: Germans

Alevi: Anatolian version of Shiism; a more hybrid form of belief, consisting of elements of *Sufism*, Shamanism, Christianity and Judaism, as well as Islam

Alim: Islamic scholar

Asr-al saadat: The age of the Prophet Muhammed

Bayram: festive/Eid days

Berat kandili: Night of salvation

*Bereket***:** Blessing and power, spiritual width or happiness

*Bid'at***:** Innovation; unorthodox religious practices and materials

*Cemaat***:** Group or community

*Cübbe***:** Long male cloaks

Çarşaf: Long, enveloping female garment

*Dernek***:** Association

Dua: Invocation/act of supplication

Efe/effendi: Ottoman title of respect, like sir

Emr-i bi'l m'aruf ve nehy-i ani'l münker: Commanding good and forbidding evil

Eyvah: Alas!

Feyiz: Spiritual favour and bounty

*Gecekondu***:** Slum/squatter house

Gurbet: Place away from home

Gurbetçi: Those who are away from home

Gurbetlik: A state of malaise, alienation and sorrow

Hadis: The words or deeds of the Prophet Muhammed/his tradition

Haramlık-selamlık: An Islamic practice of separation inside houses on the basis of gender. *Haramlık* is a part of house reserved for women, while *selamlık* is an area of a house reserved for men.

Helal: Permitted and lawful

*Hemşehri***:** Fellow countrymen, 'hometowners'

Hemşehricilik: Townsmanship, Co-regionalist

Hicret: The journey of the Prophet Muhammed and his companions from Mecca to Medina in 622

Himmet: Spiritual blessings and help

*Hoca***:** leader at prayers, preacher

Hurafe: Superstition

Huzursuzluk: Unassuradness

*İbrik***:** Cup

İcazet: Diploma or certificate

İhram: Traditional brown, woollen garment flecked with navy blue

İhvan: Spiritual brotherhood

İmam: Religious leader, one leading prayers

*İlahi***:** Hymns in praise of God

Kabe: The ground mosque in Mecca, orienting point for Islamic prayer

Kafir: Infidel

Kapalı: Covered or closed, veiled

Kelek: Animal lamp

Keramet: Emotional, material and spiritual extraordinary state of being

Kıssa: Prophetic narrative

Kurban Bayram: Feast of sacrifice

Kuşak: Belt

Laic: The state's control and compartmentalisation of religion in the public sphere

Mahram: Anyone whom it is permanently forbidden for one to marry due to blood ties, marriage ties and breastfeeding.

Na-mahrem: Anyone who one can marry; those who are not *mahram.*

Manto: Ordinary coats

*Medrese***:** Islamic educational institutions, Qur'an courses

*Mevlid***:** Poem/text about Muhammed's life written in the 15th century

*Mevlid event***:** Event consisting of the recitation of the Qur'an, hymns and the *mevlid* poem

Mevlid Kandili: The birth of Prophet Muhammed

Mezheb: Islam's School of Law

*Molla***:** Muslim scholar, teacher or religious leader

Muhabbet: Love, conversation

Mürid: Disciple of the *Sufi* order

Pardesü: Overcoat

Petek Başkanı: Honeycomb president

Rahmet: Compassion, mercy and grace

Rıza-ı ilahi: The pleasure, approval and satisfaction of Allah

Salafi: Muslims who demand a return to a so-called 'golden age' of Islam (*asr-al saadat*) and the Qur'an

Salaf'u Salihin: The rightful predecessors

Şalvar: Male baggy trousers

Sayyid: Descendent of the Prophet Muhammed

Sekine: Spiritual tranquillity; spiritual reassurance

*Silsila***:** Spiritual and genealogical lineage

Sofi: Title used particularly for and among Menzil *cemaat* followers

*Sohbet***:** Sermon

*Sunni***:** The main branch of Islam

Sufi: Follower of *Sufism*

Sufism **or** *Tasavuf***:** Islamic mysticism, inner teachings of Islam

*Sünnet***:** The acts, sayings and approval of the Prophet Muhammed

Şeyh: Spiritual master and leader of a *Sufi* order

*Şirk***:** Associating Allah with someone or something

Tarikat: *Sufi* order

Tarikatçı: Cultist or *Sufist*

*Tekke***:** Lodge

Tevessül: Intercession**,** seeking closeness to Allah by petitioning a pious person

Tevekkül: Self-abandonment unto God

*Tevhid***:** Oneness of God; divine unity

Ulema: Islamic scholar

Vakıf: Foundation

*Vekil***:** Representative

*Veliyyullah***:** Friends of God

Yasin: 36th chapter of the Qur'an

Yazıcılar: Writers

Yazlıkçı/Kışlıkçı: Summerist/winterist

Zaviye: *Sufi* hostel and residence, small *Sufi* lodge

Zikir: Remembrance of Allah

Introduction

This study explores the relationship between internal migration and religion in the Turkish context. In Turkey, internal migration has both influenced and been influenced by economic, social, political and religious factors since the 1950s. In *laic*[1] Turkey, Islam has not weakened or lost its role in the public realm; rather, in recent decades, it has diversified, enabling it to become more and more of a driving force that influences social and political spaces. As Kara (2012) discusses, however, the position of Islam in relation to the state has remained a 'problem'.[2] By examining the everyday lives of emigrants from Erzurum and Giresun living in Gebze, as well as their family members who have remained in these provinces, I will explain the complex interplay between religion and migration. To do this, objects, practices, face-to-face interactions and physical spaces will be examined through a translocal lens.

The Turkish population has been in a state of demographic flux since 1945 (Keleş, 2010; Çoban, 2013; Eroğlu, Cohen and Sirkeci, 2016). Migration patterns often involve mass movement from rural to urban areas and from the east to the west of the nation. Since the 2000s, the number of people migrating across from province to province annually has been around 2.5 million (Türkstat, 2016a). Migration has contributed to nationwide changes to demographic structure, as well as socio-economic, cultural and religious determinants. These changes are also a product of institutional developments (see Chapter 2). Karpat (2004), one of the earliest researchers on rural-urban migration in Turkey, states that migration is not only about

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[1] The term *laic* (as well as *laicité/laicism*) is used here to refer to the state's control and compartmentalisation of religion in the public sphere (standing in contrast with secularism, a term which implies the separation of the state from religion).
[2] Islam in Turkey has been limited and controlled by the state since the 1920s. Since the 1980s, however, religious groups have grown in number, and Islam has gained social, economic and political power thanks to institutional changes (Tapper, 1991; Yavuz, 2003; Taslaman, 2011, p.13; Kara, 2012; see also Chapter 2).

dislocation of people; it is also 'a key force in the social, political, and religious transformation in rural and urban areas in Turkey' (p.1). As such, studying internal migration in Turkey can help us to understand current political, social and religious developments in the country.

Islam has been a subject of heated debates in Turkey for a century due to its influential role in politics, society and the everyday lives of individuals. As Kara (2012) states, 'there is not any issue in Turkey which cannot be related to Islam' (p.1). Similarly, Şentürk, Cengiz, Küçükkural and Akşit (2012) argue that 'Islam guides how people live their everyday lives; it is how they express that they are religious, even for those who say they are not religious. Everyone positions themselves in relation to Islam on some level' (p.11). Furthermore, reports on religiosity in Turkey indicate that religion is very important for Turkish people (Konda, 2007; Gallup, 2012; Pew, 2015). For example, 56% of participants in a Pew Research report stated that 'religion is very important to their lives', with a further 27% claiming that 'religion is important' to them (Pew, 2015). Thus, for the 83% of the research population, Islam was deemed important to some extent.

In the present thesis, following existing scholarship, Islam is related to multiple traditions, rather than one single history (Asad, 1986). Here, the focus is placed on the roles of parental Islam, *Sufi* Islam and *Salafi* Islam. Parental Islam is defined as the 'customs and traditions' of the family (Fadil, 2015, p.8). *Sufi* Islam refers to 'Islamic mysticism': to the quest for personal, spiritual contact with God (Atay, 2012, p.16). The *Salafi* Islamic discourse, on the other hand, pertains to those who demand a return to a so-called 'golden age' of Islam (the age in which the Prophet Muhammed, peace be upon him, lived) and the Qur'an (Tuğal, 2006, p.253).

Interaction between religion and migration in Turkey can perhaps be summed up best via the *gecekondu* (squatter housing) areas of the country. In Turkish, *gecekondu* refers to a particular type of house constructed in a certain time frame. These houses are built on public land and are built very quickly, often at night. Indeed, *gecekondu* can be translated as 'put up in one night'. Such houses are located mainly on the outskirts of cities. They tend to be constructed roughly and to consist of just one or two rooms (DiCarlo, 2008, p.71). They first appeared in the 1930s in the peripheral areas of large cities including Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. The practice spread to other industrialised provinces after the 1950s (Şentürk, 2013, p.14). This research project takes place in the *gecekondu* areas of the Gebze district. Gebze was selected as it is home to a diverse range of both regional and Islamic traditions and backgrounds. It has been referred to as a 'small Turkey' (Tezcan, 2011). This context provides a useful and rich research field for the study of religion, migrants and migration processes.

The Turkish term *gurbetçi* ('those who are away from home') will be used to refer to internal migrants. The word *gurbetçi* is derived from the Turkish term *gurbet*. *Gurbet* is originally Arabic word and means 'absence from the homeland; separation from one's native country; banishment; exile; life or place away from home' (Çağlar, 1994, p.39). The concept of *gurbet* is a popular theme in Turkish films, songs and poetry. In literature on Turkish migration, *gurbet* is used as 'a generic name for the emotional burden of the separation, nostalgia and homesickness among many Turkish migrants' (Naldemirci, 2013, p.42; see also Vural, 2018). It should be noted that *gurbet* is not used to describe a physical place away from home; rather, it refers to the emotional dimension of the experience of *gurbet,* as Gezen (2012) argues (p.92). *Gurbet* is utilised to refer not only to Turkish migrants living in foreign countries, but

also to internal migrants within Turkey (Naldemirci, 2013, p.42; Gezen, 2012, p.91). It is important to clarify also that, although *gurbet* is part of the language of my participants, they did not actively use the term to describe themselves when they were interviewed. Within this thesis, however, following Turkish popular culture, I will employ the term *gurbet* to refer to the particular cultural concept described here.

Most researchers of *gurbet* have done no more than define what the term means within Turkish culture (Kaya, 2007; Alkın, 2012; Issa, 2017). However, Gezen's (2012) research on Turkish German literary works and music and Naldemirci's (2013) study of older Turkish migrants in Sweden contextualise the concept and provide useful insights regarding *gurbetçi*. In Gezen's study, *gurbet* is associated with a sense of separation and a longing for the hometown and is used to describe the devastating effects of migration upon Turkish people (including habitation in inhumane conditions and economic/social hardship, leading to feelings of foreignness and alienation). In addition, Gezen argues that the emotional burden of *gurbet* motivates migrants to search for, and arrive at, 'home' in *gurbet.* Similarly, Naldemirci (2013) suggests that the migrants' experiences and emotions can be motivated by their desire to feel 'at home' (p.43).

My use of the term *gurbetçi* will be analytical, in the sense that it will enable the elements and factors that constitute a migrant's subjectivity to be explained. Following previous research, the term will be utilised to explain a sense of separation, a longing for the hometown, and the experiences and conditions associated with migration. The thesis will explore how experiences of *gurbet* motivate migrants to maintain interactions, create religious and non-religious ties with institutions, and thus make or find spaces of belonging. I will conceptualise *gurbet* further in Chapter 4. The following paragraphs will indicate the types of social relations and institutions

that will be examined in the forthcoming chapters to demonstrate their roles in the creation of spaces of belonging.

This thesis foregrounds the role of religious resources and face-to-face interactions in shaping the lives of internal migrants. By religious resources, I mean practices, objects, ideas, identities and information (Knott, 2016). The face-to-face interactions studied include: (1) those between emigrants from the same place (*hemşehris*); (2) those between family members; (3) those between migrants and religious leaders (*vekils*[3] and *şeyhs*[4]); and (4) those between people affiliated with the same group (spiritual brotherhood).

The face-to-face interactions and religious resources that are formed and performed in various dwellings (for example residential houses, teahouses, mosques, backyards, bazaars and associations) are also scrutinised. In particular, the function of associations in migrants' everyday lives and in their identity formation will be considered. The two types of association that are important in Turkish internal migrants' lives are hometown associations and *cemaat* associations. Hometown associations (*hemşehri dernekleri*) are organised groups of emigrants from particular regions who come together at a particular physical place, where they perform, experience and preserve their regional culture (Tezcan, 2011). It is a formal institution that represents the interests of the migrant community (DiCarlo, 2008, p.90).

Cemaat is a Turkish term derived from the Arabic word جَمَاعَة *jama-a* and is utilised to refer to a group of people who belong to the same religious, social and

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[3] *Vekil* literally means representative; it refers to anyone who is authorised to perform the *şeyh's* (leader of a *cemaat*) work ('Vekil', 2006). The term was used by my study participants to refer to a person who is the sole mediator between the *şeyh* and the *cemaat* (see Küçükcan, 1999, p.205). In my study, *vekil* refers to one who is assigned by a *cemaat* leader to be a representative of a *cemaat*. *Vekils* are responsible for giving *sohbets* in Gebze, as well as regulating the economic and educational affairs of institutions that belong to *cemaats*.

[4] *Şeyh* literally means 'elder' and is a *Sufi* title given to the spiritual master and leader of a *Sufi* order. A *şeyh* is responsible for ensuring that followers live their lives in accordance with the teachings of Prophet Muhammed, loving Allah and seeking guidance to purify their souls (Öngören, 2010).

ethnic group in Turkey (Piricky, 2012, p.535). A *cemaat* is a religious group guided by a leader. Participants share practices, ideologies and values, and the groups are formed on the basis of intimacy, friendship, loyalty and empathy (Yaşar, 2004; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013). They do not have any political affiliations, set hierarchical structures or formal acceptance/resignation mechanisms (See Ertekin, 2017). In Turkey, most religious *cemaats* have emerged from *Sufi* orders. Research states that since the 1950s, the term *cemaat* has been used to refer to 'orders which have evolved and developed in ways that very much reflect the demands and needs of modern societies' (Başer and Öztürk, 2017, p. online). *Cemaats* have become particularly popular amongst internal migrants since the 1980s (Narlı, 1999; White, 2002; Yavuz, 2003; Tuğal, 2006).[5] Today in Turkey, *cemaats* are concerned with philanthropic activities, the media, education, ritual, and the political field (Başer and Öztürk, 2004, p.308). In my study, I use the term mostly to refer to groups of people living in Gebze who are affiliated with *Sufi* groups (such as the Ismailağa, Menzil and Kadiri *cemaats*, as well as their offshoots), *Salafi*-oriented groups and people who follow Islam of their parents (See Chapter 2).

Focusing on the aspects mentioned above furnishes a consideration of interaction between migration and religion in Turkey. Existing research indicates that migration influences individuals' social, cultural and religious lives. As Knott (2016) states, moving to a different location and building a new life alters a person's memories, imagination and perspectives. Levitt (2007) suggests that the process of migration leads to people adopting new identities and allegiances, and causes 'religion to become central to immigrants' identity expression' (p.2). In addition, Turkish researchers have found that urban and rural religiosity differ from one

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[5] I will further discuss the relationship between internal migrants and cemaats in Chapter 2.

another (Köktaş, 1993; Günay, 1999; Çelik, 2002, 2013; Şahin, 2008). There are many reasons why religiosity, imagination and memories may change, persist or be affected in some other way by the migration process. The key point in relation to the Turkish context is that internal migrants come into contact with many different types of religious and cultural backgrounds when they arrive in *gecekondu* areas (Çelik, 2002; Şahin, 2008; Şahin, 2015). Overall, it can be hypothesised that migration has religious consequences that affect how individuals live and causes a shift in religious allegiance, either towards or away from the Islam that they brought with them and place of origin.

The intersection of religion and migration will be examined in this study through scrutiny of migrants' daily lives. The discussions will be framed by the theoretical concepts that are relevant to this thesis (which are explained in more detail in Chapter 2). In the present chapter, a translocal lens will be utilised. The term 'translocality' refers to 'a simultaneous situatedness across different locales which provide ways of understanding the overlapping place-time(s) in migrants' everyday lives' (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.4). Put simply, I interpret translocality as an analytical tool enabling one to focus on the everyday lived experiences of migrants, as shaped within sites, such as the home or the neighbourhood, which connect one's origins and elsewhere. In addition, everyday life and space are considered to be constructed via rich local–local relations that are created through 'imaginary, virtual, physical and proxy' form of co-presences and networks between 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere' (Baldassar, 2008, p.252). In translocal studies, the roles of non-migrants and those left behind are also considered (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.10). Overall, then, translocality involves interdependency, connectedness and relationality between rural and urban contexts. Thus, it can be argued that migrants' lives are multi-sited

(involving houses, associations and neighbourhoods) and multi-scalar (including individual, local, regional and translocal spheres – see Brickell and Datta, 2011).

I employ the notion of translocality because it enables all aspects of migration to be considered (for example, internal migrants, non-migrants and those left behind in the hometown). As well as providing actor-oriented analytical tools (Brickell and Datta, 2011), the translocal approach overcomes dichotomies between 'here' and 'there', the 'rural' and the 'urban', which are examined both explicitly and implicitly in existing research on internal migration (see Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). This thesis will demonstrate that a translocal lens can offer useful insights into migrants' lives, enabling regional cultures and identities to be considered closely. To date, however, translocality has not been used to conceptualise the interplay between internal migration and religion (see, for example, Smith, 2005; Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2012, 2013).[6] For this reason, I will also appeal to aspects of transnationalism – a framework which has been utilised in the study of links between international migration and religion.

The concept of transnationalism has been employed in the study of religion and immigration since the 1990s. Transnationalism can be defined as 'a process by which migrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlements' (Basch, Schiller and Blank, 1997, p.7). It is argued that, through transnational relations, networks and ties, migrants can sustain a variety of spatial and temporal connections, thus creating a

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[6] I am aware that some researchers have applied a translocal approach to conceptualisations of religion and migration recently, including Glei and Jaspert's *Locating Religions: Contact, Diversity and Translocality* (2016) and Maftukhin's *Islam Jawa in Diaspora and Questions on Locality* (2016). These studies explore the links between international migration and religion, considering religion to be a translocal practice. I was not able, however, to draw on these studies for my project because they were published very recently, when I had almost finished the first draft of the thesis.

kind of religious and cultural continuity, as well as a distinct sense of identity and of belonging (Basch *et al.,* 1997, p.7).

In the transnational approach, the circulation of religious resources, people and networks is examined, with the concepts of connectedness and transnational ties being central. Research in this area has shown that religion and religious groups create both formal and informal networks (Küçükcan, 1999; Levitt, 2007; Sheringham, 2011). It has also been suggested that transnational activities: (1) transform lived religion (for example, practices and structures) in both places of origin and places of settlement (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002; Sheringham, 2011; Levitt, 2001, 2007); (2) enable migrants to connect with each other symbolically and mentally (Küçükcan, 1999; Levitt, 2007; Akdemir, 2016); (3) facilitate the construction of religious spaces, which produce spaces of trust for immigrants (Küçükcan, 1999; Sheringham, 2011); (4) promote the formation and maintenance of ethnic and religious identities (Küçükcan, 1999); and (5) challenge structural policies regarding minorities in the homeland (Sökefeld, 2006 cited in Akdemir, 2016, p.30). Chapter 1 will provide an in-depth review of the existing literature on transnationalism, religion and migration.

The transnational lens is adopted here to respond to the following questions: I will ask (1) how the ties that internal migrants sustain with people in their places of origin impact upon religion in their places of origin, and (2) how migrants' everyday religious lives are formed through negotiations and dialogues between 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'. Since the people in this study are not international migrants but, rather, internal migrants, I will consider their everyday lives in relation to regional and provincial factors, instead of in the context of the nation state.

To return to the field of translocal studies, existing research usually focuses on the grounding aspect of migrants' experiences, rather than on movement and

networks (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2012). In my understanding, the grounding experiences of migrants can be interpreted by looking at the practices, materials and events in public and private spaces that provide migrants with a mental connection to the hometown, thus allowing a sense of attachment to the new place to be forged. If this is the case, then it can be also claimed that translocal attachments, ties and practices help migrants to become comfortable with the new destination. The translocal researchers (such as Brickell and Datta, 2011; Tan and Yeoh, 2011; Wise, 2011) mainly look at the sites, objects, practices and encounters in origins and destinations, as Verne (2012) mentions, translocal research concentrates mainly on places: 'what is in them' and 'what flows through them' (p.19). This research will focus on these sites: tea houses, houses, *cemaat* and hometown associations and neighbourhood. I will examine the encounters, objects and practices that exist in these places, engaging with researches on diasporic religion in order to consider the material and spatial aspects of migrants' lives and religious affiliations.

Tweed (2006), in his work on Cuban-Americans in Miami and their churches, has coined the term 'sacroscape', which refers to the ways that 'religions move across space and time' and 'are not static' (p.62). For him, religions allow migrants both to dwell and to cross. The term 'dwelling' indicates people's location within a religious-nationalist historical narrative, including the rituals and resources that situate them in social spaces and the natural landscape (Tweed, 2006, p.81).[7] More simply, dwelling refers to the placement of religious resources and people in real or imagined space(s) and time(s), such as 'here', 'there' and 'hereafter'. In Tweed's word, 'religions situate individuals and groups in time and space, transform the natural environment, and allow devotees to inhabit the worlds they construct' (Tweed, 2006, p.82). 'Crossing'

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[7] For more information about the concept of 'dwelling', see Tweed 2006, p. 80-140.

on the other hand, is used in the sense of 'moving across', and is divided into three categories: terrestrial, corporeal and cosmic crossing. Terrestrial crossing involves communication tools, transportation vehicles and travel – for example, pilgrimages (Tweed, 2006, p.124). Corporeal crossing alludes to the performance of ritual in order to confront embodied limits and traverse the life cycle – for example, birth rituals, death rituals and rites of passage (2006, p.136). Finally, cosmic crossing concerns a horizon that a person imagines, and is subdivided into the 'transforming' and 'transporting' stages. The transforming stage refers to changing one's condition — purification and healing, and/or even reform of one's homeland. Here, religious resources are used with the aim of crossing the horizon, or transcending personal and social limits. The transporting stage involves changing one's location from this world to another – from 'here' to 'hereafter' (Tweed, 2006, p.152). As the above shows, religion can be understood, to enable migrants (and followers more generally) to cross personal and social boundaries both in this world and in other realms (such as heaven).

The notions of dwelling and crossing can help us to understand how the temporal and spatial aspects of religion are interrelated with migration. Here, the 'mental, social and physical dimensions of space' must be considered in relation to the rituals and symbols utilised by migrants (Knott, 2005, p.15; see Chapter 2). Concentrating on these spatial and temporal aspects allows the question of how religion enables immigrants to find groups, spaces and identities to be examined. Furthermore, these relationships should be considered in reference to places of origin, religious places, and an imaginary past and future. These ideas can be utilised to facilitate a consideration of religion within the framework of translocality. Indeed, what the notions of dwelling and crossing have in common with translocality is the

11

focus on people's everyday lives (including the examination of the material and spatial aspects of these lives) and connectedness. Therefore, Tweed's definitions of the notions of dwelling and crossing are linked clearly with the grounded aspect of the migrant experience.

Recently, research on religion has been centred upon the everyday (see Ammerman, 2007; McGuire, 2008; Dessing, Jeldtoft, Nielsen and Woodhead, 2013). The main hypothesis here is that 'the religious realm cannot be separated from other everyday practices, and that the boundaries between what and where religion is are increasingly blurred' (Orsi, 2003, p.172, see also Ammerman, 2007, p.5). In other words, these researchers focus on the religion lived by ordinary people – people who do not rely on support from any particular religious group. They aim to shed light on less institutional and less visible forms of religion performed in both public and private spaces (Dessing *et al.,* 2013). Such work provides important insights in relation to my study as it moves beyond the analysis of religion via dogmatic and theological arguments to consider real-life situations – an angle which is particularly relevant to the qualitative analysis of research data undertaken here.

Taking the aforementioned approaches into account, this study will consider the relationship between religion and internal migration by examining spaces/places, face-to-face interactions and resources. I will explore migrants' reconfiguration of spaces of belonging, boundaries and social and religious consequences of translocal activities. I will consider existing academic arguments which suggest that face-to-face interactions and religious resources turn places into spaces that are based on perceived regional cultures (including religious aspects). The ideas of a sense of belonging and maintaining of boundaries will be important here in addition to sense of connectedness between places, spaces and scales (Metcalf, 1996; Boym, 1998;

Ahmed, Castenade, Fortier and Sheller, 2003; Ehrkamp, 2005; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Fortier, 2006; Tweed, 2006; Knott, 2009; Wise, 2011; Vasquez and Knott, 2014; McMorran, 2015; Knott, 2016).[8]

Keeping all of the above in mind, I will examine the life histories of migrants as well as the perceptions of migrants and of those who remain behind about migration in relation to their religious lives. Also, I will consider face-to-face interactions (between migrants and non-migrants), materials, practices and spaces/places. In this way, the interplay between migration and religion will be sketched. My focus on the intersection of migrants, resources, face-to-face encounters and physical dwellings will provide insights into how resources and interactions can reconfigure home and sacred home, and engender boundary construction. In addition, I will explore how migrants' experiences shape the religious lives of parents who are left behind, and lead to the construction of boundaries between the migrants and those left in the hometown. As such, the study will contribute to existing translocal research by examining an area that has not been researched to date: religion in internal migration. Specifically, the study will consider the following empirical questions:

1. How do migrants in Gebze reconfigure boundaries and spaces of belonging through daily practices, materials and encounters?

2. How do translocal relations impact on the religious lives of dispersed family members?

   And, related to questions 1 and 2,

3. Do *cemaats* (*Sufi*-oriented associations) reproduce or subvert institutional practices and norms?

The secondary research that I have undertaken on religion and internal migration indicates that Saktanber's research into middle-class migrant women in a residential

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[8] See the in-depth literature review in Chapter 2.

complex in Ankara is closest, ethnographically speaking, to the approach taken in this study. Saktanber (2002) argues that a middle-class Islamic group living in Ankara city centre creates their own living spaces at the urban level, producing its own, alternative intellectual environment and maintaining distance from the dominant secular culture. Her research offers a useful contribution to the field by indicating that internal migrant women should not be seen as passive and obedient; rather, they are involved actively in constructing their own spaces. It should be noted, however, as Tuğal (2004) points out, that Saktanber's study is limited to a place that is exclusively and intentionally middle class, and thus the creative input of non-middle-class sectors, such as those in rural and *gecekondu* areas, is overlooked. This is one reason why I have selected the *gecekondu* areas as the focus of my study. In addition, I contend that Saktanber's study falls short in relation to the consideration of the migration context. Despite the fact that her participants are internal migrants, she ignores the migration experience in her study, thus failing to show how migration and religion are interrelated. In contrast, this thesis will bring both religion and migration to the fore, paying close attention to the creation and development of regional identities and cultures. In the next section, I will explain the motivations behind the research design.

Motivations

The motivations behind this study are personal. That is to say that I experience, live and perform my own religion; Islam is a constitutive element in my life. Additionally, I was born in a village in the Giresun province in north-east Turkey, an area that has seen extensive change due to internal migration since the 1990s. In the last 30 years, many people from my village have moved into the cities for economic reasons. This has led to a situation in which, during winter and spring, the village population is around a quarter of what it is during the summer because those who migrated from the

village return to visit their relatives or to work in gardens during the warmer months. With this background, migration is not a strange concept for me. Indeed, I have developed a research interest in the topic, having observed the dynamic circulation of goods and people between villages and towns, which is facilitated by intercity buses. Familiarity with religious life and with internal migration thus provides one of my reasons for selecting this area of focus for my Ph. D thesis.

My general observations of my village indicate that migrants who affiliate with *cemaats* grow moustaches and begin to follow particular dress codes, as well as to use religious language. I knew that many of these people had not taken religion seriously before they moved. I asked one of them to talk to me about his experience. During our short conversation, I learnt that he belonged to a *cemaat* in Istanbul known as Yazıcılar ('scribes'), at which the members were encouraged to read, and write about, a specific set of books (several volumes, totalling 6000 pages, in the Arabic alphabet).[9] He explained that his *cemaat*'s activities included teaching people how to read Ottoman Turkish and the Qur'an, and weekly sermons. As we spoke, I realised that his conversation involved a mixture of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic words. He also mentioned that he had brought a board, a pencil and a book with him to the village so that he could continue to write during the summer. This marked one of the moments that led me to undertake ethnographic research in the places that migrants select as settlement destinations.

In addition, my sister moved to Gebze in 2006. I have visited her several times, thus giving me the opportunity to observe migrants from rural areas of Turkey in the eastern part of the country and to talk to them. Specifically, I have been able to hold

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[9] Yazıcılar, which can be translated as 'scribes', is the title of a religious group that belongs to the Nur movement (a movement that evolved around ideas of Said Nursi,1877-1960). Yazıcılar members spend time writing about Said Nursi's work by hand to help them understand, internalise and become attach to the Arabic language and the Ottoman past.

conversations with labourers living in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood in Gebze. During my visits, I saw men and women in particular religious types of dress attending *cemaat* associations to attend *sohbets*[10] (sermons) and learn about the Qur'an. The local mosque – the Yellow Mosque – was filled with people during daily prayer times. I noticed that public spaces could easily become religious spaces, too; those who were affiliated with *cemaats* would visit teahouses for events or just to gather with friends to discuss religious matters. In Gebze, there are also religious associations connected to the *cemaats*, which, like the mosques, belong to the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet* hereafter).[11] These are located very close to each other. Private houses also become religious spaces during weekly *sohbets*. As such, public and private spaces are always under construction and subject to contestation.

In Turkey, all places of worship not run by the state were closed down in 1925 and, since then, *Sufi* religious practices have been banned. However, *cemaats* associated with *Sufism* have emerged and have become sites of religious expression for citizens – indeed, they are even more powerful than the *Diyanet*, in terms of their attraction for the public (Taslaman, 2011). Some religious scholars and academics working at the *Diyanet* and in divinity departments in Turkey, however, associate *cemaat* practices, materials and beliefs with superstition and magic, and they tend to see *cemaat*-related practices as unnecessary. In addition, as Korkmaz (2010) suggests, although migration has come to influence the religious landscape increasingly, the

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[10] *Sohbet* literally means 'conversation', 'religious sermon' and/or 'being together'. It refers to emotional bonding between two people and/or a meeting in which people talk about religious and worldly affairs. The term is utilised mostly in reference to religious meetings where people listen to the words and advice of scholars in the field of religion or to religious leaders. In this thesis, *sohbet* refers to meetings where people listen to the words of a *Sufi şeyh* (a leader of a *cemaat* or *Sufi* 'master'), *vekil* (representative) or one educated in the field of religion.

[11] A formal religious institution founded via Parliament Bill 479 on 3rd March 1924.

16

relationship between religion and migration processes has been largely ignored by social scientists in Turkey. Finally, these *cemaats* create a form of religion that stands in parallel with the state version. The focus on *cemaats* has been selected in order to fill gaps in the existing literature, enabling an understanding to be gained of the reasons for their popularity and the motivations behind individuals' *cemaat* affiliation. An additional aim is to examine the relationship between the state and practised religion in more detail. In the next section, I will give an overview of the chapters.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organised into eight chapters, excluding the introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 will examine the existing literature on internal migration and religion, including its shortcomings and limitations. There will also be a review of literature related to the production of spaces (such as home and boundary construction) and to translocal flows and boundary crossing in the migration context. These concepts will be explained through theoretical frameworks including translocality and the 'everyday lived Islam' approach.

Chapter 2 will provide background information about internal migration and religion in Turkey in order to place the study within a broader institutional context. Firstly, it will explore how institutional policies cause internal migration and impact on emerging squatter settlements. Secondly, it will consider how Turkish religious landscapes have been shaped by internal migration and institutional norms and practices. Additionally, it will explore how *cemaats* have re-emerged as important religious institutions, as well as examining their strategies.

Chapter 3 then focuses on developing the research methodology. Here, ethnographic research is used as a method of data collection. This involves interviews and participant observations, and a multi-sited approach to data gathering.

Appropriate theoretical approaches are utilised to interpret the findings. The chapter will describe site and participant selection methods, as well as data-analysis choices. In the final section of the chapter, issues, such as ethics, the insider/outsider debate, trustworthiness and the data-analysis process will be discussed.

Chapter 4 explores migrants' decisions to move, their journeys and their settlement experiences in Gebze, as well as the role of kinship in the decision to migrate to Gebze. The chapter highlights both the conditions and the emotional consequences that emerge from migration. The Turkish concept of the *gurbetçi* is also elaborated further. Chapter 5 then explores how migrants ground themselves in Gebze, looking at their interactions and encounters with former migrants and religious leaders in the new location. In terms of approach, Chapters 4 and 5 will utilise the life histories of migrant men and women, focusing on their day-to-day experiences and interactions.

Chapter 6 considers the reasons why migrants ground themselves in *cemaat* associations and hometown associations. Here, I examine religious and cultural resources via the notion of home by examining aspects, such as objects and practices. Specifically, *cemaats* and 'hometown associations' (*hemşehri dernekleri*) located in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood in Gebze are selected in this chapter to exemplify how internal migrants make spaces feel like 'home' or like 'the garden of heaven'. I will examine the production of home by focusing on the role of the leaders (such as those who lead religious practices or those who use material and visual culture at associations) and migrants' perceptions of the sense of feeling 'at home'.

Chapter 7 continues on the theme of affiliation with religious groups and its consequences for relations between different groups. The boundaries between migrants who follow different Islamic traditions, and between migrants and those left-

behind are examined through the moral and religious discourses of the research participants. In particular, I will show that symbolic boundaries between (a) *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam, and (b) migrants and people in places of origin are maintained as a result of religious affiliations made in Gebze. The chapter explores how religious boundaries also create geographical boundaries along the lines of rurality and urbanity. It will be suggested that these boundaries can be transgressed, and thus can have social and behavioural implications.

Chapter 8 explores the impact of migration and migrants on places of origin. The chapter investigates translocal relations, reasons for maintaining translocal relations between dispersed family members, and the changes that migrants and returned migrants make by considering the concept of translocal family. The concept gives a holistic picture of the effects of internal migration by taking the experiences and points of view of those who stay into account. The chapter will show that stayers maintain boundaries through remarks about religious practices and clothing. It will conclude with a discussion about the social and religious effects of migrants upon people living in villages and, specifically, in the districts of Giresun and Erzurum. It will become clear that these effects depend on whether migrants sustain ties, whether or not they visit their hometowns, and whether or not influential religious authorities are present in the migrants' hometowns.

The conclusion to the thesis will discuss my research questions and summarise the insights provided by the analysis of my fieldwork. In addition, the contributions of the thesis to two key areas of research (firstly, the links between religion and translocal research; secondly, the connections between religion and internal migration) will be clarified. I will also address future directions for further research.

Chapter 1: Internal Migration and Religion in the Translocal Context

This chapter reviews the literature on the interplay between internal and international migrants and religion, asking whether it offers insights into the relationship between migration and religion. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section reviews the literature on religion and internal migrants and will point out its contributions and limitations. It is worth noting from the outset that religion has been largely ignored in the literature on internal migration (Korkmaz, 2010).[12] When religion does feature, it is primarily examined in relation to the urbanisation process in Turkey (Günay, 1999; Altan, 2010; Çelik, 2002, 2013).

The second section reviews the literature on religion and international migrants in order to provide an understanding of how religion and migration are intertwined (Tweed, 2006; Levitt, 2007). The section handles concepts and discussions in transnationalism literature, filtering them through the translocal framework to make them relevant to the present study of internal migration. As yet, such an approach has not been applied to religion in the context of internal migration. By moving between translocal and transnational literature, importing and exporting discussions, the chapter will examine religious resources, physical encounters and translocal activities in everyday lives in order to establish how and why migrants find and produce spaces, maintain boundaries, and construct a sense of belonging. The impact of migration on kinship relations and the religious lives of dispersed family members will also be considered here.

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[12] The existence of a master's thesis (Örnek, 2011) and a book chapter (Çelik, 2013, p. 135-137) on religion and migration has recently been brought to my attention. Both studies are quantitative. I will discuss these studies later in the chapter.

1.1 Religion and internal migration

1.1.1 The under-researched field of religion and migrants

The purpose of this section is to review recent research into internal migration and religion. A number of researchers suggest that religion in Turkey has been under-researched within social science (Saktanber, 2006, p.813-814; Şentürk *et al.,* 2012, p.39). Religion also tends to be overlooked in internal migration studies (Korkmaz, 2010). Researchers propose several reasons for this gap in Turkish literature. For example, for Mardin (2006), social scientists in Turkey view religion as the residue of a backward past, as narrated by Saktanber (p.814). Other Turkish researchers have also pointed out that social scientists construct a barrier between themselves and Islam. This is perhaps because they see Islam as a threat to the foundations of public order, the modern construct of the public/private divide, and the integrity and identity of the state itself (Hurd, 2005, p.240; Şentürk *et al.,* 2012, p.38). In other words, the secular ideology of the state has influenced academics. Importantly, some researchers consider themselves to be 'guardian(s) of the secular state' (Öktem, 2011, p.7). According to Öktem (2011), these guardians position themselves as the 'rightful owners of the state', and feel obliged to defend it against internal and external challengers to its hegemony, norms and practices, such as Islam (p.7). Thus, religion has not been a popular topic for Turkish social scientists for ideological reasons.

Furthermore, Şentürk (2012) and his colleagues state that theories like secularisation influence the approaches of social scientists (p.39). Saktanber (2006) adds that social scientists assume that urbanisation and industrialisation lead to the 'declining of religion's significance' (p.813). For example, Kıray, one of the leading scholars on urbanisation in Turkey, decided not to publish a body of research on mine workers and emigrants in Zonguldak (a Turkish province) in 1980 after the results

revealed that religion was becoming increasingly influential among mine workers (Akşit, 2012, p.96). For Kıray, religion belongs to traditional societies and rural people; she believes that it should have faded away as urbanisation and industrialisation developed, as Akşit (one of Kıray's students) explains (2012, p.61). But it has not. Such research decisions indicate that secularisation and modernisation are the accepted ideologies in Turkish academia, while other areas like religion are shunned.

Thus, Turkish social scientists approach Islam through secularisation and modernisation discourses. Indeed, this is just one example of the worldwide acceptance of the modernisation paradigm. As Vasquez (2016) contends, 'A central assumption of the modernization paradigm was that religion, which was dominant in traditional societies, would wither as science and rationalization spread and either die or at least become privatized and rationalized in advanced societies' (p.432). The main argument that many scholars propose here is that the secularisation associated with modernity would bring about the weakening of religion's importance, or its withdrawal from the public realm, at least (Casanova, 1994). Although it is now accepted that secularisation has occurred and there is little doubt that religion has lost its influence in certain contexts (in Northern Europe), it should be noted that secularisation continues to represent just 'one situation among others' (Berger, 2001 cited in Leonard and Vasquez, 2006, p.227). Similarly, Çelik (2013) suggests that the role of religion on the institutional and public levels in Turkey has not been weakened in urbanisation process. Instead, secularisation has led to a change in the role and structure of religion. Some dimensions of religiosity (such as rituals, beliefs, experiences and knowledge), for example, have diminished and been transferred to other dimensions (Çelik, 2013, p.32).

Some recent developments in Turkey indicate that Islam has become a powerful political and social instrument since the 1980s. A number of researchers suggest that, although religious expression has been brought under stricter control and supervision since the 1920s, Islamic movements and groups have gained increasing economic, social and political power since the 1980s (Delibaş, 2014). There has also been an upsurge in Islamic electronic and print media in recent years, and many new Islamic organisations and institutions have sprung up (for example, *cemaats*, schools, cooperations and associations). As a response to this resurgence of Islam in Turkey, the literature available on religion and internal migration has increased dramatically (Tapper, 1991; Saktanber, 2002; White, 2002; Yavuz, 2003; Tuğal, 2006; Eroğlu, 2010; Şentürk, 2013). This body of literature aims to understand the motivations behind the rise of religious-conservative parties, such as the Welfare Party (1983–1997) and the Justice and Development Party (2001–present).

Thus far, I have argued that religion is an under-researched field in the Turkish context and has only begun to be examined in more detail since the 1980s, as Islamic activities have increased. Although Islam is positioned here as an instrument for political mobility, the meaning of religion for migrants remains a question that requires research. On this point, Şentürk *et al.* (2012) write that 'studies on the social aspect of Islam in Turkey have remained limited to researchers in divinity departments, who mostly study the theological and doctrinal dimensions of religion' (p.38). Below, I will review the existing literature on internal migration and religion, most of which has been conducted by researchers in divinity departments in Turkey, as well as examining studies conducted on internal migrants outside Turkey.

1.1.2 Religion and internal migration in the urban context

Previous literature has explored interaction between religion and migration in relation to urbanisation. These studies consider how the urbanisation process influences religiosity and religion and leads to the emergence of religious communities. The research on religiosity is quantitative and tends to compare religiosity in urban and rural areas (Altan, 2010),[13] and measures religiosity by looking at religious beliefs, practices, experiences, knowledge and orthopraxis. The results suggest that religiosity has undergone change in urban areas – for example, people from rural areas have a different type of religiosity from those who have lived in cities (Günay, 1999; Çelik, 2002, 2013).

Atacan (1990) argues that religion in Turkey has experienced major changes in terms of organisational structure, the worldview, values and behavioural patterns, which have coincided with increased internal migration (p.14). Some studies have also examined how the roles and structure of religion have been transformed by the urban context (Kehrer, 1996, p.107). It has been suggested that urbanisation increases people's tendency to adopt mystical and radical forms of Islam, while dissolving folk Islam (Türkdoğan, 1997, p.37; Çelik, 2013, p.75). In addition, the urbanisation process has been said to transform religion from a social and institutionalised format to privatised and individualised one. It has been found that movement to the city renders religion hybridised, leading to elements from different Islamic traditions being combined and thus demonstrating that different traditions can live side by side (Tuğal, 2006, p.61–63; Çelik, 2013, p.138). Some contend that urbanisation disturbs the traditional authority and surveillance mechanisms of rural communities, thus leading to the degeneration and secularisation of religious ideas, which is shown

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[13] See Altan (2010) for more on the urban/rural religiosity dichotomy.

through mixed-up practices like reciting the Qur'an at birthday parties (Meriç, 2005). The process of urbanisation is figured here as a disciplinary and coordinating factor in influencing of religion and religious lives of the migrants. Religion and religiosity, therefore, are framed as being dependent upon urbanisation.

Understanding the place of religion in the urbanisation process – and in Turkey in general – requires the exploration of new religious movements and groups. In Turkey, these have taken the form of religious communities, called *cemaats*. There are several reasons given in existing studies for the emergence of *cemaats* in *gecekondu* areas of Turkey. According to Çelik (2013), migration and urbanisation have led to traditional rural forms of meaning and solidarity becoming scattered, and migrants have been unable to reproduce these in the urban context (p.40). In addition, as Yavuz (2003), posits, existing rural values were not sufficient in the face of the complex relations that exist in urban areas (p.91). As a result, *cemaats* have reinterpreted Islam for rural migrants, gearing religion toward the maintenance of communal ties and solidarity, and the perpetuation of a shared code of conduct for Turkish society (Yavuz, 2003, p.91). For Çelik (2013), this explains why *cemaats* have developed in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods: they provide appealing content and real or imagined futures for migrants in *gecekondu* areas, who are trying to come to terms with the urbanisation process (p.40). Furthermore, Vergin (1985) draws attention to the 'cultural crisis' caused by the development of secular values in Turkey, which are seen as a threat to religious values. Such reasons and crises have caused migrants to affiliate with *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats* (Vergin, 1985, p.56). These ideas are worth bearing in mind when examining the functions of, and reasons behind, the emergence of *cemaats*. The following paragraphs will explain the main

approaches that have already been taken to the study of religion and urbanisation, considering the limitations and weaknesses therein.

1.1.3   Limitations of existing studies on internal migration and religion

Researchers on interaction between religion and internal migration consider religion and *cemaats* to be instruments for adaptation, solidarity and political mobility. Kıray (1964), for example, sees them as 'buffer mechanisms', a term which refers to their function as temporary institutions used during the transition stage of migration (p.7). Such temporary institutions emerge because of social changes, such as emigration from rural to urban areas and cultures. In order to facilitate smooth changes and adaptation to the urban culture, society creates such mechanisms (Kıray, 1964, p.7). They include houses/communities, teahouses, hometown associations and *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. They enable migrants to adapt to a new life setting, easing the transition period and sustaining rural values and social relationships in urban areas (Kıray, 1964, p.7).

Similarly, researchers on religion and urbanisation suggest that *cemaats* (religious groups) have emerged in *gecekondu* areas (shanty towns) and become popular amongst internal migrants because they have this 'buffer' function (Celik, 2002, 2013; Yavuz, 2003). They provide a mechanism of solidarity for migrants, helping them deal with emotions, such as loneliness, helplessness and alienation. In addition, they serve as compensatory mechanisms for a sense of deprivation experienced by the migrants (Şahin, 2008, p.338; Çelik, 2013, p.74). More recently, Turkish literature on this issue has criticised the notion of 'buffer mechanism' because it includes the expectation that these institutions will disappear once urbanisation and industrialisation reach their summit (Kıray, 1964). Research has shown that, in fact, the number of such institutions has been increasing – they have

become more diverse and, indeed, more influential (see Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005; Tezcan, 2011). These studies focus on the positive roles of religion and *cemaats* in Turkish society but tend to overlook the negative ways in which these institutions influence people, as well as glossing over the notion of individual agency.

A similar understanding of the role of religion in the lives of internal migrants can be found in worldwide research. For example, Re Cruz's (1998) study of Mexican and Mayan internal migrants indicates that migrant women convert to Protestantism because the new religion provides them with new ideological tools that represent their economic and social transformations (p.84). Similarly, Chao's (2006) research into the reasons behind religious conversion among urban immigrants in Taiwan shows that people convert to Protestantism because the churches provide them with social capital and solutions to daily problems. Furthermore, Ghannam (2002) researches Egyptians relocating to Cairo, suggesting that religion facilitates the creation of a sense of belonging and promises to enable the development of a unified community from a fragmented urban fabric (p.119). This is because, for her, religion provides a strong basis for trust, social control and communality (Ghannam, 2002, p.119). These studies examine the role of religion in internal migration via a functionalist approach, in which it is considered that religion can exist as long as it meets the needs of people (Christiano, Swatos and Kivisto, 2002, p.42).[14]

Moreover, in another instrumentalist research method, religion is framed as a tool for protesting against the dominant class and modernisation (Tuğal, 2002, p.86). In this sense, religion can be considered a form of social protest (Rodinson, 1972 cited in Tuğal, 2002, p.87). Research on religion in Turkey that takes this approach

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[14]See also Tajima's (2012) research on Japanese internal migrants and their engagement with religious movements, and Wilsons's (2010) research on the role of *compadrasgo* ('ritual kinship') in the incorporation of Mexican internal migrants into new settings.

examines the resurgence of Islam and, in particular, political Islam. This is because Sunni Islam[15] in Turkey has been controlled by the state, and religious expression in public spaces has been discouraged until recent decades (Tapper, 1991; Çelik, 2013; Çavdar, 2016). As a reaction to the restrictions placed upon religious practice and the imposition of secular institutional norms upon society, religion has come to be used as an instrument enabling people to become involved in politics, economics and education, particularly for those with conservative views. As a result, *cemaats* have been established and the power balance has tipped since the 1980s (see Saktanber, 2002; White, 2002; Yavuz, 2003; Şentürk, 2013; Çavdar, 2016). Similar arguments can be found in literature on *Alevis*[16] in Turkey in the migration context (Şentürk, 2013; Akdemir, 2016), as well as in research on ethnic minorities in other countries (for example, the Uyghur Muslims in China – see Hasmath, 2011, p.124). Following such ideas, in this study, religion is seen as a tool for 'material mobilisation' (Tuğal, 2002, p.87).

Existing internal-migration literature explores migrants' experiences through the lens of the urban-rural dichotomy. It is a dichotomy that can take temporal, social, spatial and mental forms. Regarding its mental form, Wirth (1925) writes that 'there is a city mentality which is clearly differentiated from the rural mind,' adding that 'the city man thinks in mechanistic terms, in rational terms, while the rustic thinks in naturalistic and magical terms' (p.219). Where the temporal form is concerned, the rural way of life can be considered dependent on natural conditions that are related to

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[15] *Sunni* refers to people who follow the traditions of the Prophet Muhammed (peace be upon him) and his companions. These traditions are practices based on the acts, sayings and approval of the Prophet Muhammed (BBC News, 2018). The great majority of the world's Muslims are Sunnis—estimates suggest that the figure is somewhere between 85% and 90% (BBC News, 2016).
[16] *Alevis* are those who follow *Alevism*, a mystical branch of Islam. Its adherents claim to be followers of the Prophet Muhammed, his son-in-law Ali, and the twelve *İmams* and their descendants. In contemporary Turkey, *Alevis* position themselves as being in opposition to *Sunni* Islam (See Akdemir, 2016).

land or livestock, whereas in urban areas, time is segmented and regulated by individuals and institutions (such as free time, work time, home and workplaces). Urban people thus manage their time according to their jobs and the institutions with which they engage (Çelik, 2013, p.98–9). It has been argued that this very urban/rural dichotomy that has led to associated changes within religion and religiosity. Also, internal migrants have come to rely on networks centred around *cemaats*, which has led to the increased popularity of *cemaats* (Yavuz, 2003).[17] It can also be considered responsible for having rendered *cemaats*, teahouses and hometown associations 'buffer zones' (Tatar, 1999, p.83-85; Çelik, 2013, p.36).

The fields of research discussed above are useful in terms of the present study as they help to explain the relationship between religion and migration. However, the existing literature fails to capture the complex interplay between migration and religion in sufficient depth. In addition to recognising the limitations of the instrumentalist approach, the secularisation/urbanisation narrative, and the dichotomy between the rural and the urban, I posit that existing literature has shortcomings because it usually positions religion and migrants as merely chance instruments of mobilisation – they are figured simply as side issues in the processes of urbanisation, migration, secularisation and modernisation, as Tuğal (2002) suggests. As such, I suggest that the instrumental approach is an insufficient paradigm through which to develop a comprehensive understanding of the reality of the lives of internal migrants and their everyday religious lives.

Furthermore, recent researchers have challenged the dichotomy between the rural and the urban (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2012, 2013; Hedberg and do Carmo

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[17] Of course, there are also other reasons behind the links between *cemaats* and internal migrants. For instance, Yavuz (2003) emphasises that the state's inadequate policies towards migrants have played a role in increasing popularity of *cemaats* in the migrant community (p.84). I will return to this issue in Chapter 2.

2012), contending that urban and rural areas are relational and interconnected; they are created through mobility, the circulation of resources, and movement through communication and transportation (see Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012). In addition, researchers have suggested that migrants cannot be seen merely as movers; rather, they are translocal actors who connect places through their mobility (Brickell and Datta, 2011). They are able to sustain translocal connections with people in their places of origin through communities, communications and flows of resources. Finally, existing research dismisses the fact that, in this global age, the media, telephones, social media and advanced means of transportation have changed religiosity as they have enabled unprecedented levels of communication and connection between cities and rural areas. These connections have led us to move beyond the dichotomy between urban and rural areas, and thus also beyond the concept of local Islam (urban versus rural Islam). Now, I turn to other existing theoretical approaches, such as transnationality and translocality, which will enable this thesis to go beyond the dichotomy between 'here' and 'there', and to recognise migrants' agency.

1.2   Religion, translocalism and everyday life

Recently, migration, technological innovations, developments in transportation, and rapid flows of capital, commodity, information and labour between places have had effects on the development of the humanities and social sciences. Well-established paradigms have been challenged, and new forms of academic analysis have been developed. As Vasquez (2016) suggests, new mobilities and flows 'challenge teleological views of history and evolutionary approaches to culture, which posited a single path along which societies developed from the simplest, most primitive to the most complex and civilised' (p.432). This environment also reveals the limitations of

existing local studies of (im)migrants, which tend to ignore the ways in which localities are connected to other places, histories and scales of social experience (Levitt, 2007, p.22), as well as overlooking the fact that migrants stay connected with their places of origin through communication tools and transportation.

Researchers of migration have developed the concept of transnationalism to explain the complex experiences faced by immigrants due to the connectivity and circulation that exists between places. Basch and her colleagues (1997) define transnationalism as 'the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlements' (p.7). They add, 'We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants build social fields that cross geographical, cultural, and political borders' (Basch *et al.,* 1997, p.7). The aim of the transnational approach could be said to be to balance the concepts of local and global studies (Levitt, 2007, p.22). Such a methodology thus enables the dual or multiple orientations, lives and experiences of immigrants to be examined (Siapera, 2007, p.100).

Recently, transnationalism has been criticised for its focus on the mobility, detachment and dis-embedded experiences of migrants (Morley, 2000; Ahmed *et al.,* 2003; Fortier, 2013). It has been said that many studies fail to consider the ways in which migrants are grounded in places. King (2012) describes transnationalism as a 'too vague, free-floating narrative […] with its emphasis on hypermobility and the de-territorialisation of space and place in migration' (p.144). Similarly, Ley (2004) argues that transnational 'migrants do not simply exist in borderless in-between spaces but must be grounded somewhere' (cited in Giles, 2015, p.23). This suggests that transnational researchers pay little attention to emplacement and the situated

nature of migrants, which includes emotional, embodied and material practices

(Ehrkamp, 2005; Dunn, 2010; Giles, 2015, p.23).

In addition, it has been noted that the concept of internal migration has

remained largely unexplored in transnationalist discourses, despite the influence it has

on global migration dynamics (Trager, 2005). In transnationalism, the nation state

seems to be the only recognised boundary but, of course, relationships with the

regions, neighbourhoods and even houses from which migrants hail are also important

(Verne, 2012). Indeed, although the transnational approach fails to examine the

grounding aspect of migrants beyond the scope of discussions about nationality,

Glick-Schiller's own critique of 'methodological nationalism' should be noted.

Fortier summarises this critique as follows:

> By refusing to assume a connection between territorial space (of migration, of residence, of 'origin') and social space (kinship, work, virtual and physical social networks, belonging), this strand of migration studies comes with a critique of 'container studies' (Faist 2010, p.28) – 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2003; also Glick-Schiller 2010) and 'groupism' (Brubaker and Cooper 2001) – in favour of studies that can accentuate migrant networks, associations and groups across national and regional borders, or that can reveal the interrelatedness of state practices and laws regarding the management of migration (Bauböck 2010) (Fortier, 2013, p.65).

Another strand of research into migration – translocalism – has been developed in

order to understand how migrants maintain two or more localities. Smith (2011)

describes translocality as connections and linkages between and across different sites

and scales (p.181). Brickell and Datta (2011) have coined the term 'translocal

geographies' to describe 'a simultaneous situatedness across different locales' (p.4).

Giles (2015) suggests that the translocal approach aims to explain the tension and

interplay between mobility and grounding, without prioritising the importance of one

or the other (p.25). By doing this, translocal studies make important contributions to

transnational studies, bridging the gap that exists in the latter in terms of the grounding aspect of migrants (see Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.3–4).

Translocality emphasises spaces, places and scales, and the connections between them. As a result of diverse connections, relations, interactions and individual translocal practices, connected and dynamic places are produced (Giles, 2015, p.24). As Hedberg and do Cormo (2012) suggest, exchanges between different people, settings and geographies produce relational, interconnected places, as well as transforming places (p.2). In addition, for translocal researchers, a nation state is not the only reference point for migrant identity. Instead, family houses, neighbourhoods, villages, provinces and regions are important nodes for identification and a sense of belonging (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.10). It can also be said that migrants' lives are shaped not only through engagement with the local geographies of residences, but also through the development of attachments with the surroundings (Smith, 2001). Migrants' experiences in their new settings are mediated daily by various scales, such as homes, associations, streets, neighbourhoods and cities. In other words, migrants' lives are shaped by multiple spatial registers and affiliations (in both the place of origin and the destination) and are mediated by their engagement with a variety of sites (Cohen, 2006; Brickell and Datta, 2011).

Furthermore, the concept of translocality gives weight to the notion of the grounding of migrants. Here, emotional, embodied, material and quotidian experiences are brought to the fore. By examining these experiences, one can establish how localities, cities and neighbourhoods shape, and are shaped by, migrants' daily lives (see Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Giles, 2015, p.24). Migrants express their identities and a sense of belonging to their places of origin, their physical dwelling locations and even elsewhere (Hall and Datta,

2011, p.70). Here, the mobile aspects of migrants' lives (such as boundary crossing, networks and routes) must be taken into account. Moreover, the translocal 'includes the highly mobile, as well as those who are immobile and left behind' (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.10; Tan and Yeoh, 2011; Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013).

In this study, the translocal framework will be utilised in an attempt to gain a detailed understanding of internal migrants' lives and connections between people across spaces (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.10). Analytical tools will be used to facilitate a conceptualisation of interaction between religion and migration, an approach which has been little used in this area. I shall draw on transnational research on religion to elucidate this relationship as religion has been conceptualised well in the context of migration in this field. In the following paragraphs, I will review transnational studies in more detail in order to provide information about existing research into flows of religious resources and their impact.

One of the main thrusts of the literature on transnationalism concerns connections between different places. Such connections are maintained through diverse modes of communication, such as travelling/visiting and media/technology (Levitt, 2007).[18] They serve as channels through which various ideas, people, information, experiences and images flow across boundaries, transforming the religious landscape of the host country, as well as of the home country (Küçükcan, 1999; Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002; Levitt, 2007; Sheringham, 2011; Akdemir, 2016).

As a result of transnational migration, religions can be transformed from folk religion into officially sanctioned practices or formal and church-based practices

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[18] Several studies focus on the role of remittances in fostering transnational ties (see Karpat, 1976; Tezcan, 2011) but without considering the role of religion in such activities (see Chapter 8).

34

(Levitt, 2001, p.179). Moreover, it has been argued that the immigration process leads to radical transformations in the ways that religious, social and cultural resources are used by people (Tiilikainen, 2013, p.55). Some immigrants find new ways to perform rituals, adding or removing certain practices as a result of moving into a new environment where resources and opportunities are different (Tiilikainen, 2013, p.155). This situation demonstrates that, as Asad (2015) suggests, 'traditions accommodate rupture, recuperation, reorientation and splitting – as well as continuity' (p.169). Religion can be understood, therefore, as organic and interpretive; it can be learnt and relearnt, and it can dissolve if it does not serve a purpose for its followers or if religious authorities and leaders become absent (Giddens, 1994).[19]

I will show that the circulation of remittances, resources and people becomes a social force that can transform the values, identities and everyday lives of individuals in both the place of origin and the place of settlement.[20] I posit that such networks, ties and flows can also be used to examine internal migratory movements between provinces. Migrants usually select a destination due to interpersonal ties – former migrants provide potential migrants with information about areas, accommodation and job opportunities before migration takes place. A number of researchers have used the network approach to define the reasons for migration (Faist, 2000, p.17; Boyd and Nowak, 2012). Skop and her colleagues (2016) suggest that these networks consist of 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect the movers, former movers and non-movers in origin and destination' (p.398). In line with such research, I will explore the reasons for internal migration in Turkey by scrutinising translocal networks, flows and ties.[21]

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[19] On this point, see Chapters 5, 7 and 8.
[20] This idea is discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 8.
[21] See Chapter 4.

I have explained how translocal theory helps us to understand ties, social relations, and movement between and across places, spaces and scales. It provides useful analytical instruments and discussions through which to interpret the grounding aspect of migration, examining migrants' practices, experiences and places in order to do so. The analytical tools that the translocal lens supplies will be employed here to enable the conceptualisation of interaction between migration and religion. In the section that follows, I will introduce the 'everyday lived religion' framework proposed by Dessing *et al.,* (2013) so as to clarify the definition of 'religion' utilised in this study.

1.2.1 'Everyday lived religion'

The idea of 'everyday lived religion' conceptualised by Dessing and her colleagues (2013) refers to the lived experiences of Muslims in Europe who do not rely on the support of any particular religious group. They explore how Islam is lived and performed by ordinary people in both social and private spaces, such as houses, schools and workplaces. Dessing *et al.*'s research can be considered a development of the notions of 'lived religion' (McGuire, 2008) and 'everyday religion' (Ammerman, 2007). The 'everyday lived religion' hypothesis concerns the ways in which the use of religious resources (such as values, practices and beliefs) 'cannot be separated from other practices of everyday life' (Orsi, 2003, p.172). For example, everyday practices like food preparation, child rearing and dressing are related to religious intentions. The approach brings to the fore the religious practices of ordinary people, which have often been neglected by researchers and religious leaders (Ammerman, 2007, p.5; Dessing *et al.,* 2013, p.1–3).

Such a focus emphasises the idea of popular religion (Woodhead, 2013, p.15–16). Popular religion can be defined as 'the lived and unstructured religion of

subordinated groups' (Possamai, 2015, p.781). Research into popular religion enables the voices of those who are not engaged in religious communities to be heard – in the Turkish context, the religious commitments that people make in their everyday lives are made apparent by interactions in social institutions, such as teahouses, hospitals and schools. I will expand on the main concepts associated with popular religion later in this section. Here, however, I will consider why examining this sphere is important in the Turkish case. According to Mardin (1992), since the modernisation trend began to take hold in Turkey in the 19th century, researchers and religious leaders have discussed Islam as a single entity. The fact that popular beliefs are meaningful for people has been ignored; such beliefs are often branded mere superstition. Indeed, these researchers and leaders have even sought to eradicate these superstitions and myths. However, popular Islam lives alongside institutional Islam in secret, and remains meaningful for people (Mardin, 1992). By examining everyday practices, materials and interactions that are not necessarily religious but are considered to be 'popular' or 'folk-based', this study will show how migrants and their families use religion in multiple ways through their migration trajectories and in different settings.

The 'everyday lived religion' thesis is important, therefore, in my research. The theory allows us to consider how everyday face-to-face interactions, practices, spaces and materials are interwoven with religion. It can also help us to determine the ways in which religion is an important source for the creation of spaces that foster ties and the maintenance of connections between the place of origin and the place of settlement. In addition, the concept of 'everyday lived religion' offers a framework through which to consider types of religion that are otherwise invisible – experiences and actions in migrants' lives that are not necessarily seen as religious in nature until they are articulated, performed and lived. The next section will focus on spaces and

places, looking at the importance of face-to-face interactions, materials and practices by which migrants create new spaces in the translocal context.

1.2.2 Spaces and places in 'everyday lived religion' and the translocal context

Studies on translocality and 'everyday lived religion' often analyse migrants' lives by focusing on spaces and places (Knott, 2010; Brickell and Datta, 2011; Dessing *et al.,* 2013; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). For translocal researchers, places are bodies, private homes, restaurants, neighbourhoods and cities (see Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). In the context of 'everyday lived religion' research, the notion of places includes private homes, religious communities and other spaces beyond religious sites. As Verne (2012) suggests in relation to translocal studies, it is important to focus on 'what is in the places' and 'what flows through places' when seeking to gain an understanding of the connections between different areas (p.29).

The researchers examine these spaces by focusing on the material, embodied and emotional practices of migrants, as well as migrants' social relations and interactions (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.4). These practices turn places into spaces. The concept of 'spaces' in both transnational and translocal studies 'encompasses or spans various territorial locations' and 'has a social meaning that extends beyond simple territoriality' (Faist, 2000, p.45–6). In other words, these spaces become 'meeting points' where places, spaces and scales come together (Giles, 2015, p.31). This is because both religious and non-religious resources can be said to connect migrants to an imaginary past, an expected future and an imagined future. These elements might also be linked with migrants' places of origin, places of worship and places they consider to be divine. In transnational and translocal studies, spaces are not seen as static and contained; rather, they are fluid and dispersed, and social relations, communication and actions take place in them, shaping the meaning of the

spaces themselves (Georgiou, 2006; Tweed, 2006). These theoretical points will be explored in detail in the paragraphs below.

In seeking to clarify the meaning of 'space(s)', it is helpful to examine how the concept of space itself can be conceptualised. Here, I employ Knott's notion of 'dimensions of space'. Knott (2005) states that 'physical, mental and social space' can be brought together (p.15). A street, for example, can be a physical, a mental and a social space all at once. One can consider this plurality in terms of the relationship between religion and the street space – religion can exist 'physically in its religious buildings, socially in its religious organisations, networks and casual exchanges on religious matters, and mentally in its representations as both a multi-religious locality and one associated at different times with particular religious' groups, such as the Jews and the Sikhs' (Knott, 2009, p.16). To illustrate how the notion of 'dimensions of space' will be used in this chapter, let us take the example of a printed photograph. A photograph can change a physical building as an object (as a decoration), become a mental space (as it holds memories of people and places) and produce a social space (in which migrants mark themselves as being distinct from the rest of the public). These examples show that practices and face-to-face interactions create imagined, social, physical and spiritual spaces. Local places, such as the teahouses, back yards, mosques, *cemaats*, hometown associations and private houses examined in this thesis, are linked to multiple dimensions of space, which can converge or diverge.

In this study, I will examine home making, including religious and non-religious practices, materials and social interactions present in places that are related to migrants. In doing so, I aim to uncover how migrants produce spaces of belonging in social, emotional and mental terms, thus expressing their identities and a sense of belonging in these spaces. I will employ the notions of 'home', 'the sacred home' and

'the translocal family' here in order to reach an understanding of the intersection of migration and religion. These frameworks will allow us to consider the ways in which identity and a sense of belonging are constructed in the aforementioned spaces.

1.3   Spaces of belonging

1.3.1 'Home'

In the migration context, the notion of 'home' can be seen as a negotiation between where one lives now and the places where one has lived in the past (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.14). As such, 'home' is not fixed or given; it is made up of material and imaginative elements, and is shaped by feelings and emotions, as Blunt and Dowling discuss (2006, p.22). In addition, 'home' is multidimensional, being a concept in which temporality (past, present, future) intersects with spatiality (physical and imaginary) and social relations (family, oppression, domination) (see Kabachnik *et al.,* 2010). Indeed, researchers have struggled to define 'home' adequately. As Allen (2008) suggests, 'home is not a single entity [….] Home can mean many different things simultaneously. These meanings are in tension with each other' (p.94). She goes on, 'the meaning and experience of home are situated within contradictory and often paradoxical experiences and are inherently complex' (Allen, 2008, p.94). In Allen's (2008) research, internal migrants in United States were asked to explain what 'home' meant to them by considering a variety of spatial, temporal, psychological and social dimensions (p.94).

Scholars have also explored how migrants turn diverse sites into home through home-making actions, including practices, materials and face-to-face interactions (see Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Kabachnik *et al.,* 2010; Wise, 2011; Kochan, 2016). Rose (2003) contends that objects and materials are crucial to the production of domestic space as they transform a house into 'home'. By focusing on home making, these

researchers explore migrants' social worlds, their selves, their identities and their sense of belonging, in addition to examining migrants' micro geographies and aspirations (Brickell, 2012; Kochan, 2016). For Miller (1998) 'things matter because our social worlds are constituted through materiality and things' (p.3). In Chapter 6, I suggest that home making is a key determinant of what 'home' means and what it means to feel 'at home', where internal migrants in Gebze are concerned. In a similar vein, in this thesis, I will explore how photographs, artefacts and face-to-face interactions transform a hometown association into a home (see Chapter 6).

1.3.2 'Sacred home'

Several studies on religion have also looked at the production of a type of space that can be termed 'the sacred home'. Metcalf (1996) suggests that Muslim spaces are created via ritual, relationships and symbols (p.3). Similarly, D'Alisera (2010) argues that sanctioned practices, rituals and narratives are essential because they inscribe meaning 'onto spaces that are not formally consecrated or architecturally Islamic' (p.108). In his interpretation of 'the sacred home', Saktanber (2002) draws upon Campo's work, examining the role of the Muslim imagination in the production of Muslim space. He focuses on the *Kabe*[22] (the ground mosque in Mecca, orienting point for Islamic prayer), an imagined Muslim community (or 'house of Islam') and the concept of paradise (or the 'house of peace') (Saktanber, 2002, p.40). Campo (1991) suggests that sacred spaces are being produced by behaviours (through reciting the Qur'an, praying and using polite formulae when invoking the name of God) and materials (by using religious objects, such as copies of the Qur'an, photos of the *Kabe*

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[22] The term *Kabe* derives from Arabic word *ka'b*, which means cube. *Kabe* thus means a cubical building. For Muslims, *Kabe* is the house of Allah built by Prophet Ibrahim and his son Ismail and located in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. It marks the geographical centre of Islamic world and is the focal point of prayer, orientation, and pilgrimage (Ünal, 2001; Stacey, 2013).

and images of Arabic calligraphy). In 'the sacred home', it is objects and practices that allow a physical space to be defined as sacred. These spaces are considered to repel evil and to lead believers towards the ultimate domestic paradise, 'the garden of heaven' (Campo, 1991 cited in Bertram, 1996, p.155-157, see also Hartono, 2012). These descriptions of the sacred home' indicate that sacred space does not just occur naturally; it is produced through practices, symbols, narratives and imaginations.

1.3.3 'Translocal family'

The third concept to discuss here is 'the translocal family'. This term is used in relation to how family members separated by long distances become translocalised through various practices, materials and forms of co-presence, which mediate distance between people (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.14). As Tan and Yeoh (2011) contend, 'the translocal family' is produced through 'everyday spatial practices and relations, drawing on both imagined and material ties that bind, and using strategies that selectively mediate distance and foster co-presence among geographically dispersed family members' (p.40). This family can exist in both the place of origin and the place of settlement (Yeoh, Huang and Lam, 2005, p.308). I employ this notion of 'the translocal family' in my research in order to understand flows of resources (practices, materials) and emotions between dispersed family members, and their effects upon the religious lives of both migrants and those in places of origin.

Above, I have explored the dialectical relations between home-making practices and spaces and their influence upon one other. Migrants produce spaces through the use of materials and practices, and by coming into co-presence with people. In addition, places influence interactions and the decision to produce spaces. Understanding the intersection of spaces, places and home-making practices requires

a more in-depth exploration, however, of the temporal, spatial, historical and geographical connections made via home-making practices and migration.

1.3.4 Connectedness, a sense of belonging and identity

The links between spaces, places and scales needs to be examined in order for the functions of the 'home', 'the sacred home' and 'the translocal family' in the context of migrant religion to be understood in depth. As Brickell and Datta (2011) argue, translocality involves 'spaces, places and connections' (p.5). These connections can be physical or virtual, and they are maintained through various media and types of movement, as discussed above. At this point, I wish to turn to the imaginary and mental aspects of connectivity that are related to the religious and non-religious home-making practices of migrants and those left behind.

Home-making practices connect migrants and dwellings across places, spaces and scales. This is because home-making practices have spatial and temporal meanings. For example, a photograph can hold memories of people, events and places that represent or signify the homeland in the past (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.198). When migrants use objects, perform practices or encounter fellow townspeople, 'a kind of virtual dwellingness' (Urry, 2000, p.134) is created. For Urry (2007), to dwell 'is always to be moving and sensing, both within and beyond' (p.31). Migrants place themselves in physical locations but also inhabit remembered and imagined homes (Wise, 2011, p.103). In addition, various places become connected to past, present, imagined and future homelands (Burrel, 2008; Datta, 2008).

Religious practices can connect migrants to the past (this may or may not mean the hometown) and the future (including the idea of 'hereafter'). In addition, religious rituals, objects, festivals and events link spaces and places together (Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Tweed, 2006; Levitt, 2007). Tweed (2006) suggests that religion is about

'finding a place' and 'moving across space' (p.56). He argues that the religious practices enacted within churches enable migrants to recover the past and to forge connections between 'here' (the current place) and 'there' (imagined places), and even 'elsewhere' (in other words, the life beyond this one) (Tweed, 2002, in Levitt and Schiller, 2004; see also Campo 1991). To extend these ideas, I contend that home-making practices can be interpreted as making places like teahouses or mosques into sites where places, spaces and scales come together. In this way, these sites enable migrants to stay connected or to cross spatial and temporal boundaries.

In addition, the imagination, recreation, remembrance and restoration of time and space produces feelings and emotions (see Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Ehrkamp, 2005; Fortier, 2006; Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.28; Şimşek, 2013). As research has found, homes are also produced by, and produce, feelings and emotions (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.22; Allen, 2008, p.85). Allen (2008) describes 'home' as a place of retreat, safety, relaxation, self-expression and continuity, in addition to relating it to security, family, intimacy, comfort and control (p.86). This suggests that internal migrants feel at home when they feel secure, have freedom, are in control and are comfortable. Allen's study, however, does not examine home-making practices; rather, she focuses on participants' perceptions of home. In contrast, my study examines home-making practices in order to explore the production of home and a sense of feeling 'at home'.

Ghassan Hage (1997) discusses the idea of building of the feeling of being 'at home, which is inherent to home making (or 'home building', in Hage's terminology). For Hage (1997), home building can be understood as the use of 'affective building blocks' that 'provide four feelings: security, familiarity, community and a sense of possibility or hope' (p.102-105). These affective building blocks are created by encounters with the sensual landscape of 'home' – through vision, sound, smell and

taste (Hage, 1997, p.107). In Tan and Yeoh's (2011) research on migration, it is suggested that left-behind family members develop surrogate relationships to remind them of their absent children and a lost past. Such actions, it is argued, provide stability and continuity, in terms of their own identities as parents (Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.54). Considering these points, a 'home' can be understood as an 'affective space' shaped by emotions and feelings, rather than just a material dwelling (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.22).

The literature on religion and migration suggests that religious practices can generate a 'sacred energy', which believers can harness to purify, discipline and protect the self from spiritual sickness (Vasquez and Knott, 2014, p.335). With regard specifically to Islam in the Turkish context, research indicates that co-presence with a *şeyh* (a leader of a *cemaat*) is thought by believers to provide purification and healing (Schimmel, 1986, p.366; Mardin, 1993, p.214; Saktanber, 2002, p.195-201). In addition, *cemaats* provide solidarity, trust and a space for self-expression, as well as offering protection against the negative effects of urbanity (Çelik, 2013, p.147). These points can be explained further via Tweed's (2006) notion of 'crossing'. Tweed describes 'crossing' as an action that involves transforming one's condition. In his discussion of this phenomenon, Tweed (2006) adds that religious tropes, artefacts and rituals provide insight, purification, healing, reform and revolution (p.152). He describes how one imagines personal limits, or a horizon, and that religion helps one to cross these limits and achieve the ideal personal condition – for example, purity or health (Tweed, 2006, p.153). A consideration of such feelings indicates the importance of the sacred within the context of home making (see Chapters 5 and 6).

The ideas of 'home' and 'the sacred home' are connected intrinsically with the concept of a feeling of belonging. A feeling of belonging is a prerequisite for feeling

'at home' – sometimes, it is even used interchangeably with the notion of being 'at home' (Antonsich, 2010, p.645). I suggest, therefore, that the home is produced by, and produces, a sense of belonging to both the place of origin and the place of settlement. 'Belonging' can be understood, therefore, as feeling 'at home' – 'being attached to, and rooted in, a particular place' (Antonsich, 2010, p.647). In the migrant narrative, a sense of belonging or of being 'at home' is challenged by feelings of uprootedness and isolation, and a 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996, p.192).

This '"homing desire" can be achieved by physically and symbolically (re)constituting spaces which provide some kind of ontological security and *homely feelings* in the context of migration,' as elaborated by Fortier (2000, p.163, my emphasis). So, a sense of belonging is not just about feeling attached to 'here' and 'there'; it also concerns migrants' desires and everyday lived experiences of locality (Massey, 1992, p.178). Existing research has shown that migrants in diaspora have a desire to come together at dwellings where they can meet, communicate and exchange (Fortier, 2006, p.73). These actions produce a sense of belonging and a feeling of trust, as well as intimacy with the places and people in question (Fortier, 2006; Wise, 2011).

In addition, home-making practices in a dwelling can produce a sense of belonging in, or a feeling of being in, an imagined or remembered home. This is because the practices enable migrants to maintain social relations between sites (Ilcan, 2002, p.3); they enable migrants to stay connected. In this way, emotions are produced – emotions which migrants attach to the places where they are felt. This generates place-belongingness: the place comes to feel like 'home' (Antonsich, 2010, p.646). It is important to note here that belonging can be felt (a sense of togetherness), experienced (understood and respected) and performed (via home-making practices)

(Cheng, 2010). A sense of belonging in the current dwelling place can be understood, therefore, via the scrutiny of migrants' practices and the spaces which enable migrants to connect with 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'.

The research suggests that emotions and a sense of belonging are not inherent to people's experiences: instead, they have to be made, a process which involves materials, practices, and the physical places and environment (Fortier, 2000; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Ehrkamp, 2005; Wise, 2011). Studies of Turkish internal migration have shown that communities produce a sense of belonging that migrants need to have (Çelik, 2002, 2013; Şentürk, 2013, p.122). Şentürk and Erkal (2015) posit that hometown associations institutionalise and preserve the sense of belonging to the hometown and the place of settlement (p.347). To go even further, some have argued that hometown associations create a belonging matrix, which enables migrants to deal with a sense of displacement and alienation (Aytaç, 2005, p.181). Here, 'belonging' and 'attachment' are considered to be products of loyalty to a shared geo-spatial history (Köse, 2008, p.228). In such research, it is assumed that a sense of belonging is inherent in people's experiences and backgrounds, or that it is a result of migrants' conditions. However, the question of why or how a sense of belonging is produced in the first place tends to be under-researched in these studies of Turkish internal migrants. As Bell (1999) suggests, 'one does not simply or ontologically belong to the world or to any group within it' (p.3). In other words, migrants' material, embodied and emotional everyday practices need to be explored in order for the notion of a sense of belonging to be unpacked fully.

One area that needs to be addressed in relation to these issues is the concept of identity. In this thesis, I will examine interactions, resources and places in order to explore how, why and when migrants' identities are maintained, transformed and

performed. I will study community practices and individual experiences in relation to the notion of identity. According to Hall (1990), 'community is the context, where the similarities and the differences constitute what we really are and what we have become' (cited in Georgiou, 2006, p.50). In this context, representations and identities are produced and consumed communally in such a way that both a sense of belonging and the symbolic boundaries between 'us' as insiders and 'others' as outsiders are actively and continuously produced (Georgiou, 2006, p.50). A study conducted by Shanneik (2012), which analyses Algerian women's experiences of living in Ireland, shows that Algerian Salafi-oriented women use religion to map religious space and to distinguish it from other social spaces (that is, secular or Irish spaces) by employing religious resources and artefacts, by avoiding unnecessary contact with the Irish majority, by sending their children to the mosque to learn Arabic and the Qur'an, and by ordering their children not to socialise with non-Muslim pupils (p.89–90). Therefore, it can be suggested that these associations come to function as social spaces in which individuals express or construct their identities, while also constructing boundaries and differences.

At the level of the individual, I consider identity to be a facet of becoming 'other' because this 'otherness' is constituted in part by a desire for an identity (Probyn, 1996 cited in Fortier, 2000, p.2). As Georgiou (2006) puts it, identities are not fixed and stable; they allow people to rediscover and redefine their contents, not through an exclusive gaze to the past, but with a parallel focus on present experience and on the future of transformation and change (p.40). In addition, as migrants' lives are shaped by multi-faceted contexts, identities become fragmented and situational, and are determined by one's affiliation with the future as much as by one's relationship with the past (Georgiou, 2006, p.2–13). A focus on home-making

practices enables us to understand migrants' identity formation because these practices give us information about the nuances of group identification, the relevance of space and time, and the importance of a sense of belonging. Bearing in mind the idea of time and the role of the future here, identity is not always being; it is also 'becoming' – a condition that can be examined by looking at migrants' home-making practices and interactions (Hall, 1991, p.225). The approach I take here is to analyse the life histories of my study participants in order understand how and why identities are always already under construction.

There are some general points that must be taken into account when exploring the relationship between identity and migration. For example, migrants who are dislocated from their homes lose contacts and networks, while encountering new ones. Therefore, they are faced with a situation in which they need to redefine themselves. As Mercer (1990) indicates, when one's identity is in crisis – when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by experiences of doubt and uncertainty – the identity itself becomes an issue. Giddens (1991) adds that, in the current era, identity is not just a given; it is selected and constructed. This is because modern society does not provide stable 'anchor points for the self' (p.33). He continues to say, '[s]ociety and self are both 'in flux', in a world of contingencies and insecurities' (Giddens, 1991, p.33). Furthermore, these conditions can lead to people turning to traditions because they can provide anchorage, facilitating basic trust and the continuity of identity (Giddens, 1994, p.81). In addition, a migrant's hometown should be considered part of the equation because it represents a key node of belonging and a source of identity formation, as Brickell and Datta discuss (2011, p.28).

Importantly for our purposes here, research on religions and transnational migration shows that ethnic and religious identities are conflated (see Küçükcan, 1999; Tweed, 2006). Küçükcan's (1999) research on Turkish migrants in London suggests that religious communities promote ethnic identity by using religion, and vice versa. However, as Portes and his colleagues suggest, transnational research is mostly conducted with people who are already involved in transnational activities (see Küçükcan, 1999; Tweed, 2006; Levitt, 2001, 2007; Akdemir, 2016). These studies are conducted with religious groups that already maintain material and mental ties with places of origin. I will consider, however, that communities are established not only by migrants and are not simply brought along from places of origin. As such, the role of sense of attachment to the hometown in the formation of collective and individual identities needs to be considered (see Chapter 6).

Thus far, I have examined how dwellings and institutions in places of settlement become spaces that create a sense of connectivity, belonging and identity, focusing on the importance of materials, practices, interactions, social relations and the environment. All these factors help to create place-belongingness (or a feeling of being 'at home') and lead to affiliation with groups. However, as Fortier (2000) argues, 'institutional forms of identity are commonly understood as tantamount to the construction of boundaries […] constructing cultural identity is also about constructing cultural difference' (p.3). Institutional practices and individual experiences of identity are related, then, to emphasising differences and the construction of boundaries. Group membership can influence one's feeling of identification with a hometown either negatively or positively. In this thesis, I examine the boundaries between three Islamic traditions, *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam, in order to emphasise this point. I also use a translocal lens to scrutinise the

differences between the religious lives of migrants and those of their parents who are left behind.

1.3.5 Boundaries and place-to-place relations

The construction of religious boundaries can be described as a political and socio-historical process. Boundaries pertain to people's sense of group identity and are often linked to political identities and shaped in relation to others (McGuire, 2008, p.22-23). Knott (2008) suggests that boundaries are useful in the definition of religion, the identities of religious groups, and the subjectivity and relationships of the faithful (p.83). Boundaries are established because they generate feelings of group solidarity, as well as providing protection from, or resistance to, external forces (Lamont and Molnar, 2002).

In the present study, the boundaries maintained between those affiliated with *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats*, those affiliated with Salafi-oriented *cemaats* and those who follow parental Islam (which all migrants bring along from their places of origin) are examined. *Sufis* identify with *şeyhs* (*cemaat* leaders/ 'spiritual masters'), *Salafis* identify with the Qur'an and adherents to parental Islam identify with their ancestries (Asad, 1986, p.15). The existing literature focuses on the differences between these Islamic traditions, as well as the responses of the different groups to each other (see Günay, 1999; Knysh, 2007; Atay, 2012; Şahin, 2015; Valdinocci, 2015; Kaya, 2016). The variances between traditions are seen as products of history, politics and theological differences. I posit, however, that the boundary making associated with these divisions is a product of social practices in the Turkish internal migrant context. Moreover, these boundaries are not natural or essential; they are negotiable and contestable (Pellow, 1996; Fechter, 2001, p.73). I focus on the symbolic boundaries based on the differences between individuals and social groups (Madureira, 2012,

p.1). Such boundaries exist at the intersubjective level (Lamount and Molnar, 2002, p.68–69).

The boundaries that I discuss here are constructed as a result of affiliations with certain groups. 'Affiliation' refers to a shared set of resources – beliefs, ideologies, values and behaviours – that are produced and consumed collectively in a group environment (Hirschman, 1983; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013, p.33). The links between the boundaries and community has been mentioned above (see Fortier, 2000, p.2; Georgiou, 2006, p.50; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013, p.33). The community creates boundaries by repeatedly articulating differences that are presented as being in opposition to others (Tweed, 2006, p.111). In this way, boundary construction causes members to value their groups more and to strengthen their collective identities (Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013, p.33). In short, a sense of affiliation is defined in terms of opposition to other groups and shape migrants' social relationships to each other.

One way in which boundaries are constructed is by projecting others' beliefs as false or profane, while maintaining the authority and authenticity of one's own faith. For example, Knott's (2008) examine boundaries between magic and witchcraft from religion; false from true piety; religious studies from theology. Drawing from Anttonen (2005, p.198), she suggests that 'boundaries are attributed *sacrality* in setting apart those things which are non-negotiable, pure and sacrosanct, as well as forbidden and taboo' (Knott, 2008, p.98). This form of exclusion protects a group from those outside its borders. One can interpret the boundaries drawn between parental Islam, *Sufi* Islam and *Salafi* Islam in similar ways – for example, both *Sufis*

and *Salafis* call parental Islam *bid'at*[23] (innovation) and *hurafe*[24] (superstitious), and *Salafis* delegitimise *Sufism* by calling the latter *şirk* (suggesting that *Sufis* associate Allah with someone). I consider these processes to constitute the attribution of *sacrality* to boundaries, enabling an 'us' and a 'them' to be defined. In this way, migrants maintain a strategy of exclusion, which is linked to identity formation. As Deschamps (2010) suggests, 'the characteristics of a group […] acquire their significance only in relation to perceived difference from another group and evaluations of the differences' (p.87).

Moreover, boundary maintenance is an 'expression of power', as Knott (2008) emphasises (p.99). Woodhead (2013) argues that power is derived from one's religious knowledge, institutions, ethnicity, class and gender. In simple terms, the knowledgeable tend to have power over the ignorant. Similarly, institutional religion has power over non-institutional religion, men have power over women, the majority (dominant groups) have power over the minority (subordinate groups), and the state has overall power (Woodhead, 2013, p.15–17).

The dimension of power and its role in constructing symbolic boundaries between the followers of parental Islam, *Sufi* Islam and *Salafi* Islam will be analysed with reference to the concepts of tactical and strategic religion, developed by Woodhead (2013) in the context of the 'everyday lived religion' paradigm. Tactical religion refers to religious activity that is ignored, unarticulated and overlooked by religious institutions, the state and researchers (Dessing *et al.*, 2013, p.1–3). This tactical religion is often called 'popular religion', 'superstition' or 'magic', and

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[23] The term *bid'at* means religious innovation and unorthodox religious practices and materials. It also refers to anything that was not known at the time of the Prophet Muhammed and his companions and is not referred to specifically in the main Islamic texts such as the Qur'an and *hadis* (the words and deeds of the Prophet Muhammed).

[24] *Hurafe* literally means 'superstitious' and is used to refer to irrational views and practices that have been performed in the name of religion.

indicates those who are not engaged in official religious communities. Strategic religion, on the other hand, is prescribed, established, and state-influenced, and belongs to 'knowledgeable people' (such as religious scholars and leaders), institutions and the dominant class (Woodhead, 2013, p.15–17). Strategic religion thus tends to be considered more powerful than the tactical variant. Strategic religion involves maintaining boundaries by limiting and controlling sacralisation, and one of the ways in which this is achieved is by placing tactical religious practices in the same category as magic. At the same time, tactical religionists respond by re-consecrating places, spaces, bodies and objects, such as springs, trees and graveyards (p.17). In Chapter 7, I will appeal to the notions of tactical and strategic religion to describe how power relations influence boundary making and the social relations between followers of *Sufism*, *Salafism* and parental Islam.

In the present study, I will show that internal migrants from Giresun and Erzurum who affiliate with groups in the place of settlement elaborate symbolic boundaries by articulating the differences between their practices and beliefs. Through this method, each group seeks to validate its own Islam, positioning itself against others' religions. In addition, I will explore how boundaries are maintained between migrants and those left behind by examining the discourses that migrants and those in the hometown put forth about each other. Boundaries are constructed not only between migrants affiliated with different Islamic traditions, but also between 'here' and 'there'. These barriers between migrants and those who are left behind are established through migrants' continued connections with their places of origin (see Chapters 7 and 8). By paying attention to the voices of those left behind, this study will contribute to an under-developed area in the existing field of research on religion and migration in Turkey (Kaya, 2017).

In this project, the ethnographic research method is used to gather data, which involves observations and interviews. In particular, I utilise life histories (a type of in-depth interview method) in order to gain detailed information about the participants in the study. This method has been chosen because life histories enable us to examine migrants' relationships with places (for example teahouses, homes, hometown associations and *cemaats*), as well as their mobility between these places.[25] Existing research on internal migration and/or religion often disregards the fact that migrants can attach themselves to a place at a particular point in time, but can then move on later to another place. It is often assumed that Turkish internal migrants attain an unchanging fixity and that the places they inhabit are static (see Karpat, 1976; Günay, 1999; Kurtoğlu, 2005; Tezcan, 2011; Çelik, 2013; Şentürk, 2013). As Ehrkamp (2005) argues, however, 'places are neither simply containers that serve as platforms for the construction of subject positions and identities; nor are places static. Being is produced and reproduced in social processes and relations at different scales. Places are at the intersection of different spaces and moments in time' (p.349).

As such, I consider place-to-place relations, as well as migrants' experiences within these places. Existing studies provide a useful background to this issue, highlighting what 'links a place to places' (Rogaly, 2015, p.1), and examining the relationship between fixity and mobility (see McMorran, 2015, Rogaly, 2015). It has been suggested that fixity and mobility should be seen as mutually constitutive conditions that intermingle in nuanced ways in the everyday lives of individuals. Moreover, mobility, fixity and immobility are related to class, gender roles and nationality (McMorran, 2015; Rogaly, 2015). McMorran (2015) states that fixity involves emotional experiences and a feeling of being 'at home' (p.85). For him,

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[25] See Chapter 3 for a fuller explanation of the research methodology.

fixity also 'enables the fluidities of liquid modernity' (McMorran, 2015). In other words, if a physical dwelling offers fixity in time and space, these emotional conditions also enable movement (McMorran, 2015). Similarly, if a place does not produce fixity, this can lead to immobility. The relationship is complex, however, because being immobile can also provide the impetus to search for a new fixity or can produce fixity for mobility (see McMorran, 2015, p.84). For example, in the migration context, if one is isolated from one's colleagues in the workplace, then one may search for other contacts or may look to rediscover lost pre-migration contacts. Such ideas can help us understand migrants' motivations to move from one area to another after arriving in the place of settlement. The life history approach enables us to determine which circumstances and conditions make migrants fixed, mobile or immobile, as well as permitting the analysis of migrants' relationships with places (see Chapters 4 and 5).

1.4   Conclusion

This chapter provides the theoretical background to the current research project, indicating how various concepts can be utilised in the context of Turkish internal migration. As I have shown, previous literature indicates that the relationship between migration and religion is a product of the process of urbanisation, and is influenced by the differences between urban and rural cultures. Such literature explores migrants' lives in the local context, but overlooks the connections that exist between spaces, places and people. The limitations of these existing studies mean that knowledge about migrants' lives remains scant. In response to this problem, the present study employs the concepts of translocality in order to understand the role of religion in internal migration, and also draws on transnationalism and religion scholarship – particularly Levitt (2001, 2007) and Tweed (2006) for their insights into how religion

is intertwined with migration and enables migrants to move both across and between spaces and places, as well as to feel grounded in local settings.

Specifically, this thesis examines *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam as they are lived in social, public and private spaces. The 'everyday lived religion' framework is applied to enable an analysis of everyday practices, materials and spaces that are not necessarily religious but are also not separate from religion. These elements will be studied in order to gain an understanding of migrants' home-making processes, and the ways in which these are linked to feeling 'at home' or at a 'sacred home' in certain places. The production of a sense of place-belongingness is important here, as is the construction of boundaries between migrant groups and between 'here' (the present place) and 'there' (the hometown). In particular, this study gives attention to 'there' so that the role of 'the translocal family' in the lives of migrants and those who are left behind can be determined. I will emphasise the roots and routes of the three types of Islam under scrutiny in order to examine how geo-spatial history that goes beyond the region (the hometown) and even the nation (Turkey) shapes migrants' lives in their current times and spaces, as well as affecting family members in places of origin. In short, the connectivity between places, spaces, scales and people is examined alongside the emotions and feelings of the people in question in order to understand the interplay between religion and migration in the Turkish context.

The thesis proposes a conceptual framework that will combine some of the key theoretical and empirical insights from different research fields, applying them to questions about translocality and religion. Such research is imperative because, although transnational researchers have shown how the relationship of communities, leaders and patterns of circulation to religion helps to make migrants' lives transnational, scholars of translocality have not yet paid attention to religion and its

57

importance in the construction of migrants' everyday lives. Indeed, this study can be seen as providing a bridge between internal and transnational migration studies. It will foreground the roles of materials, practices and face-to-face interactions, thus enabling a detailed understanding of migrants' lives to be established and addressing a gap in the literature on this subject. Furthermore, this multi-sited research project also gives a voice to those left behind in rural areas so that a picture can be drawn of how family relations and religious lives change in both the hometown and the place of settlement because of internal migration.

Chapter 2: Placing Religion and Internal Migration in the Turkish Context

2.1   Introduction

Understanding internal migration from Giresun and Erzurum to Gebze (and internal migration in Turkey in general) requires the consideration of several important contextual factors. Primarily, internal migratory movements and demographic changes should be taken into account, as should the roles of the social, economic and agricultural institutional policies behind the patterns of, and motives for, internal migration. In addition, the relationship between religion and migration needs to be examined in detail, including aspects, such as the impact of migration on the religious landscape and the role of institutional norms and practices in shaping religious change (including the remapping of Islamic groups, the [re]emergence of *cemaats* and the creation of religious diversity in places of settlement). The present chapter thus offers a contextual examination of current understandings of religion and migration in Turkey, looking at existing studies of internal migration and also referencing the empirical research carried out for this project.

2.2   The descriptive characteristics of internal migration

2.2.1 Internal migration: statistical evidence

Researchers on internal migration in Turkey report that a significant number of people have moved internally, from one province to another, since 1945 (Çoban, 2013; Eroğlu *et al.,* 2016). The number of people who migrated between provinces between 1945 and 1950 has been estimated at 214,000, with 904,000 migrating between 1950 and 1955 (Akşit, 1988). Internal migration figures have increased dramatically, however, since the 1980s. As Chart 2.1 indicates, the number of internal migrants reached around 2.7 million in 1980, increasing to 4.7 million in 2000. However, since 2008, these figures have decreased once more, to 2.2 million in 2008 and 2.7 million

in 2015 (Türkstat, 2016a). This means that, recently, nearly 3% of the Turkish population has moved between provinces.

Chart 2.1: Migrant population across the provinces (1945–2015)
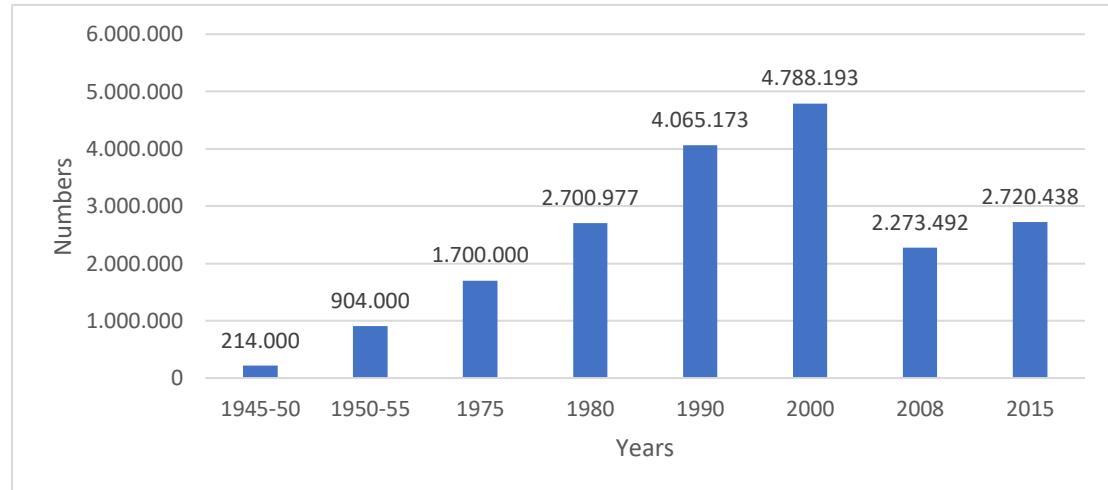
(Yavuz, 2016, p.290; Türkstat, 2016a)[26]

One of the key characteristics of internal migration in Turkey is that it has occurred from east to west. Graphic 2.1 below demonstrates that in 1965, the country's population was evenly distributed between western, central and eastern areas. This pattern remained more-or-less the same until the end of the 1970s. Since 1980, however, the west has become a place of migration, with the east turning into an area of emigration. Western areas of Turkey thus began to attract people from central and eastern parts, with the promise of a better economic and social existence being an important draw (Sak, 2014).

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[26] The figures from before 1980 are estimated (Yavuz, 2016).

Graphic 2.1: Population distribution over the years
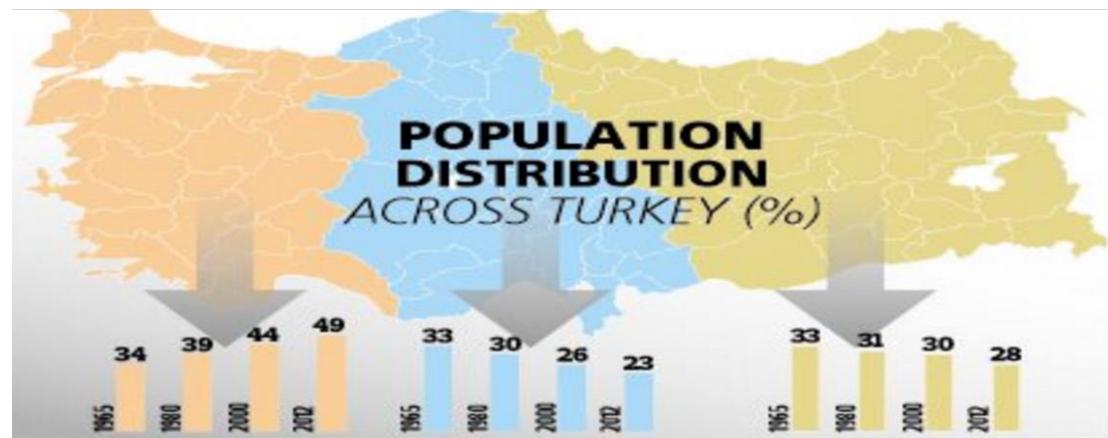
(Sak 2014, map divided by the author).

Another characteristic of internal migration is a flow away from rural areas and towards urban areas. Since 1927, the rural–urban population ratio has been transformed; Chart 2.2 indicates that the rural population decreased from 75.78% of the total population in 1927 to 8.7% of the total population in 2013, with the urban population rising to 91.3%.

Chart 2.2: Rural and urban populations in Turkey (1927-2013)
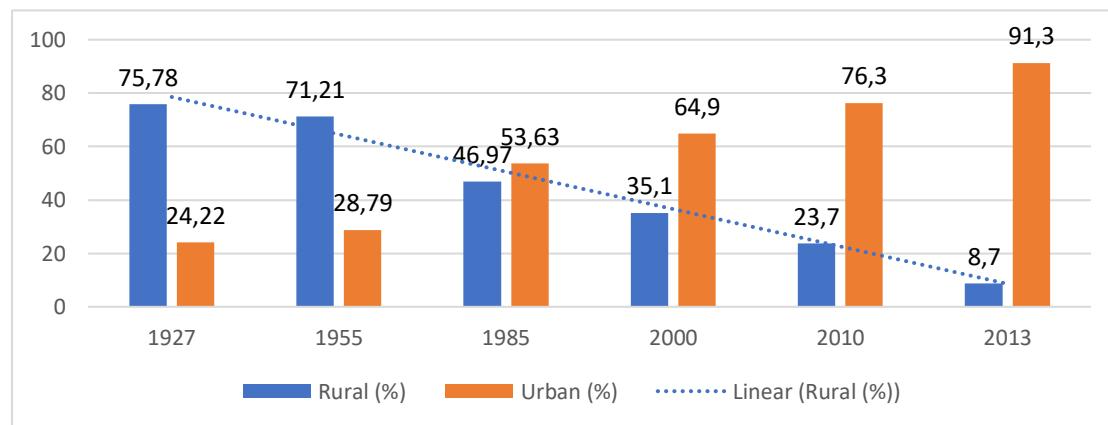
(Türkstat, 2013a)

In recent years (since the 1980s), researchers have found that the general pattern of migration has not been rural to urban; rather, it has followed an urban–urban pattern (Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008; Gedik, 1998). Indeed, the official statistics show that urban–urban migration has consistently been more common than rural–urban

migration (see Chart 2.3). The gap between these two migration trends has widened recently, with the former decreasing steadily and the latter increasing at the same time.

Chart 2.3: Proportion of the migrated population by residence (1976–2013)
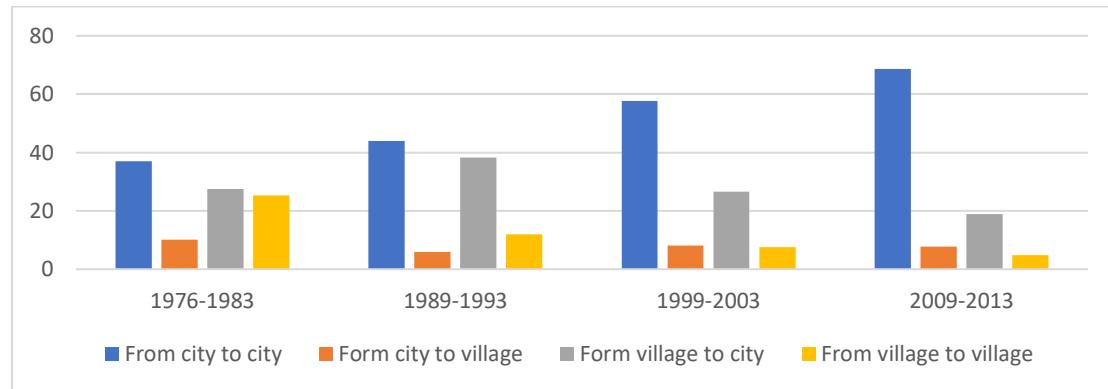
(Türkstat, 2013b)

In addition, the reasons for migrating have changed latterly. The key driving forces used to be the prospects of better work and education. Now, family-related migration has become an important reason for moving. Chart 2.4 shows that 'migration related to members of the household' was the most common reason for migration in 2000 and 2011. Furthermore, the percentages of those citing 'finding a job' and 'job assignation' as reasons for migration decreased, although the importance of the 'education' category has risen.

Chart 2.4: Sectors of the migrant population by reasons for migration
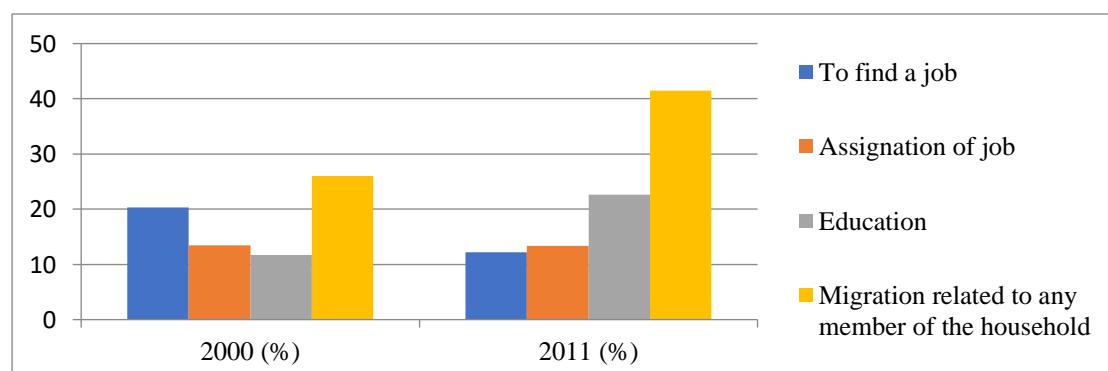
(Türkstat, 2011; Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008)

Moreover, researchers have argued that gender-related matters have contributed to changes in the reasons for migration (Arabacı, Hasgül and Serpen, 2016). Recently, numbers of migrant women have exceeded numbers of migrant men (Arabacı *et al.,* 2016, p.131). In 2013, the percentage of female migrants in Turkey was 51% of the total migrant population. Data collected in 2000 indicates that the percentage of migrant women moving for family-related reasons (such as marriage or reunification with family) was 53.2%, compared with 9.9% for job-related intentions (Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2008, p.9). Thus, it can be claimed that internal migration is not just related to work. Indeed, family-related factors have become more significant, due largely to the greater number of women migrating in recent times (Berker, 2011, p.206; Filiztekin and Gökhan, 2011, p.8).

In addition, an increase in the number of universities in urban districts (from 53 in 1992 to 183 in 2016) has also been a factor in the increasing importance of education as a factor in migration. As Erdilek suggests, universities contribute to changes in migration patterns, leading to increased movement from rural to urban areas and from urban to urban areas (cited in Emeksiz, 2011). Importantly, for this study, however, although the national statistics show that (on a descending scale) family, education and work are the most significant motives behind migration, the percentages differ somewhat in Gebze. As Tezcan (2011) identifies, the most significant reason for migration to Gebze is finding a job (62.5%), followed by marriage (19.8%) and then education (16.8%) (p.153).

In summary, a significant proportion of the population has moved from one location to another within Turkey since the 1980s. The general pattern of migration was from rural–urban areas before 1980. However, since then, the urban–urban pattern has become more common. Until 2010, people tended to migrate across

borders to find jobs and secure a better economic future; recently, however, education, family reunification, marriage and job assignation have become the most important reasons, with job searching becoming the fourth most common factor. The following paragraphs will provide statistical data on migration to Gebze from Giresun and Erzurum. Gebze is a district of the Kocaeli province in the Marmara region, Giresun is a province in the Black Sea region and Erzurum is a province in the Eastern Anatolian Region (see Map 2.2).

Map 2.2: Erzurum and Giresun provinces and the Gebze district

(Health Security in Turkey, n.d)

2.2.2 Statistical data on migration in Gebze, Giresun and Erzurum

Gebze is located at the easternmost end of the Marmara Sea, about 45 km east of Istanbul and 49 km west of central Kocaeli (Strategic Plan, 2010). The district is positioned in the industrial region and is located at the centre of three developed cities: Bursa, Istanbul and Kocaeli. Furthermore, Gebze is placed at an important land, sea, railway and airport transport junction (Ulukışla, 2005). As a consequence of its location, Gebze has been an attractive destination for domestic and foreign investors in industry, as well as for diverse groups of internal migrants.

Gebze had a population of just 30,000 until 1960. In the sixties, the migration trend began and, since 1980 in particular, migrants from Istanbul began to move to Gebze due to cheaper housing and the relocation of industries from Istanbul to Gebze (Strategic Plan, 2010). In addition, many migrants arrived from other provinces. As a result, as statistical data shows, the population grew to 521,000 by 2007. However, this population fell to 288,569 in 2008 when the Darica, Cayirova and Dilovasi districts were ceded from Gebze (History, 2010). Recently, the population of Gebze has risen once more, climbing to 350,000 in 2015 (See Chart 2.5).

Chart 2.5: Population of Gebze (1960–2015)
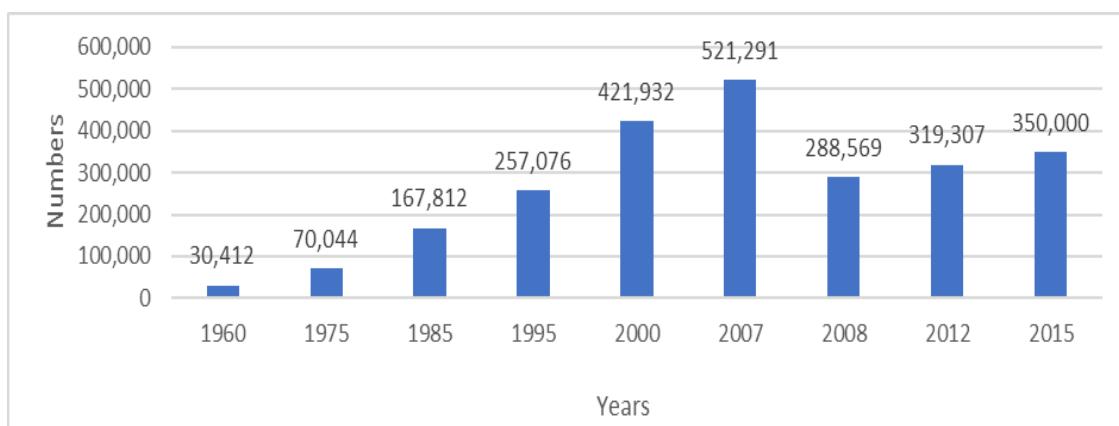
(Gebze Birth Registration Office, 2012)

Gebze became a popular destination for rural families from provinces in the South East, the East Anatolian and the East Black Sea regions of Turkey (Tezcan, 2011, p.129). Tezcan's survey of 1,019 migrants living in Gebze shows that almost half of them are from the Black Sea area (41%), with a further 21% hailing from the Eastern Anatolian region. Thirty-five per cent are from the Erzurum, Ardahan, Kars and Igdır provinces in the Eastern Anatolian region, whilst 10% come from the Giresun province in the Black Sea region (p.129). In addition to the internal migrants, 9% of the population is from Gebze and a further 10% consists of migrants from the Balkans (Strategic Plan, 2010). The number of people living in Gebze who were born in

65

Giresun was 34,381 in 2007, remaining at a fairly constant 34,411 in 2015. The number living in Gebze but born in Erzurum was 37,308 in 2007, decreasing to 10,826 in 2008, then rising to 13,183 in 2015.[27]

Giresun is a coastal province in the Black Sea region. The northern and southern parts of the province are characterised by distinct and separate forms of rural society, affected in part by geography – in this area, the North Anatolian Mountains (NAM) run parallel with the Black Sea coastline. In a study of migrants from a village in Giresun, DiCarlo (2008) reports wide variations in architectural styles, clothing, agricultural techniques, kinship terms and village settlement patterns between the northern and southern parts of the province. As she explains, the inhabitants of the two areas live in 'different worlds' because the mountains create extreme ecological contrasts (DiCarlo, 2008, p.21). Land in Giresun is usually planted in a terraced pattern and is cultivated by hand, as tractors and farm animals cannot be used on the steep gradients. Giresun is an agricultural province – in the northern part of the province, farmers produce hazelnuts and tea, while in the southern part, grain crops and farm cattle are raised. The economic activities, sources of income, the topography and weather conditions in the southern part of Giresun province are similar to those in Erzurum.

Erzurum is the highest province in Turkey, with mountain ranges and flatlands surrounding its plateau. The province is found in the Eastern Anatolia region. Erzurum has cold summers and a severe winter climate. Precipitation is generally snow in winter and rain in summer. The main economic activity is agriculture –

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[27] The main reason for the major differences in the numbers of migrants moving from Erzurum in Gebze, when compared with the previous year, is that Darica, Cayirova and Dilolavasi became districts in their own right, as mentioned above.

mainly husbandry and field crops, such as wheat, barley, animal feed and sunflowers (Erzurum İl Gıda Tarım ve Hayvancılık Müdürlüğü, 2014).

The universities in Erzurum and Giresun have around 100,000 students and 29,000 students, respectively. These universities provide a considerable source of income for people living in the centre of the province. Erzurum and Giresun have always been cities of emigration, however.

Chart 2.6: Rural and urban populations of Giresun and Erzurum (1965–2015)
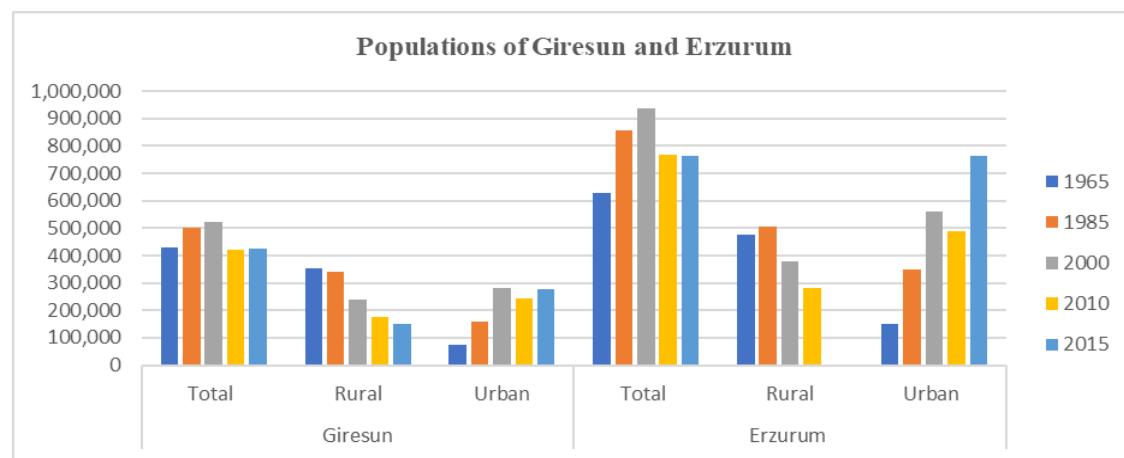
(Türkstat, 2016b)

Chart 2.6 shows that the populations in both provinces decreased sharply after 2000. After 2010, the population in Giresun began increasing slowly, while the population in Erzurum continued to decrease. The chart also reveals that the rural populations in Giresun and Erzurum have both decreased more recently. Despite the fluctuations indicated by the chart, both provinces have continued to be subject to migration since the 1960s. The statistics for net migration rates show that people from Erzurum and Giresun have been migrating to other provinces for a long period of time (see Chart 2.7).

Chart 2.7: Net migration rates for the Giresun and Erzurum provinces

Provincial net migration rate, 1975 –2015, Giresun (%)
Provincial net migration rate, 1975 –2015, Erzurum (%)
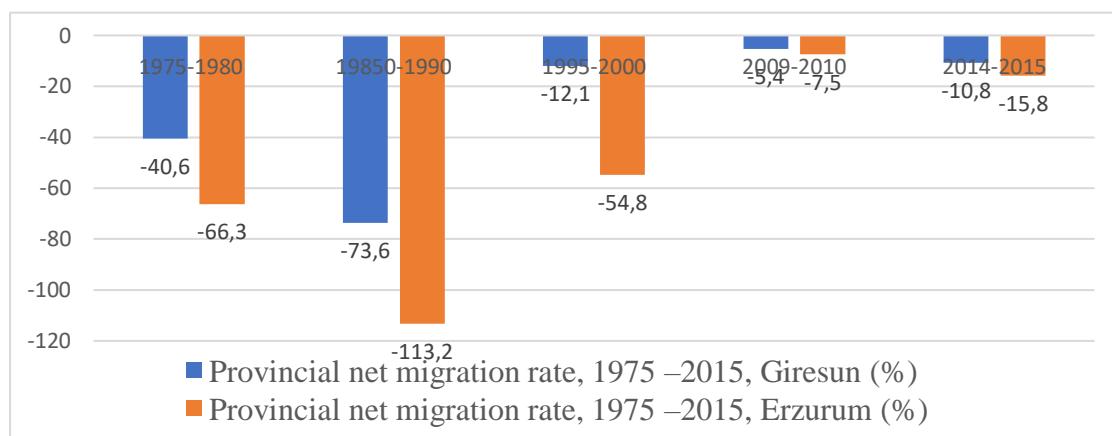
(Türkstat, 2015)

The statistics show that Erzurum and Giresun have been provinces of emigration since the 1970s. Rates of net migration were highest in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. The rate of net migration for Erzurum has always been greater than for Giresun. Previous research has analysed recent migration trends by examining and exploring the social networks and ties between former and potential migrants. For example, Erdilek suggests that 'migrants typically follow the paths forged by their predecessors' (cited in Emeksiz, 2011). She explains that Black Sea inhabitants migrate to Istanbul due to having acquaintances in the city – they rely on these connections when moving to new provinces. Following this model, in Chapter 4, I explore the motivations behind individuals' decisions to move to Gebze as a destination by focusing on the social relations between migrants and potential migrants.

I have explained the reasons why Gebze has become a magnet for migrants from diverse regions and communities, including its geographical location and industries. In addition, I have shown that Giresun and Erzurum have become two of the most common places of emigration for those moving to Gebze. The next section will consider how state policies have caused people to migrate across provinces.

2.3   The role of the state in migration movements and housing

2.3.1 Institutional policies and migration

The literature on immigration suggests that the movement of people cannot be viewed in isolated, subjective ways; it has always been strongly related to the movement of capital and commodities (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.77). In other words, migratory movements are primarily dominated by economic motives and expectations (Massey *et al.,* 1993).[28] These economic conditions are created by state policies. As the literature suggests, internal migration in Turkey has been caused by changes to macro-level policies in areas, such as agricultural and industrial development (Yavuz, 2003; Çoban, 2013; Şentürk, 2013). Understanding internal migration therefore also requires an exploration of the state's development policies.

Changes in development policies that have caused people to migrate across provinces – particularly from rural to urban areas – include: (1) encouragement to invest in the industrial sector, alongside a decrease in support for agriculture in the 1960s and the 1970s (Öztürk, 2012, p.51, Çoban, 2013, p.60, Şentürk, 2013, p.58); (2) developments in communication and investment in transportation (Çoban, 2013, p.62; Şentürk, 2013, p.74; Sirkeci, Şeker and Çağlar, 2015, p.121); and (3) the privatisation of State Owned Enterprises (referred to hereafter as SOEs), such as the Milk Industries Corporation (*Süt Endüstrisi Kurumu*, or *SEK*), the Meat and Fish Corporation (*Et-Balık Kurumu*, or *EBK*) and feed industries (*Yem Sanayi*) (Öztürk, 2012, p.91). The significance of these factors was also heightened by financial and economic crisis.[29] Such developments, changes to investment and privatisation

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[28] It should be noted that migratory movement can be a consequence of forced displacement due to conflict, climate/environmental changes or persecution.

[29] The roles of privatisation (Özkaya, 2009, p.271; Öztürk, 2012, p. 90), developments in communication and investment in transportation (Çoban, 2013), and economic crisis (Öztürk, 2012) in internal migration have been discussed widely in existing literature. Further development of these ideas falls beyond the remit of the current thesis.

strategies can be understood as institutional factors, which play a key role in people's decisions to move to industrialised districts.

Such factors lead to migration because industrialisation creates a demand for a new labour force and devalues agricultural activities. In turn, the socio-economic differences between regions and between rural and urban areas are increased, with a number of people becoming landless, and farmers being left unprotected against professional trading organisations and industrial organisations (Öztürk, 2012, p.122; Çoban, 2013, p.61).

Previous studies have suggested that Turkish economic policies have changed as a result of increasing engagement and collaboration with international organisations and unions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) in 1980, and the European Union (EU) since 1959 (but particularly after the 1990s – see Yavuz, 2003; Öztürk, 2012; Şentürk, 2013). There are clear reasons why these international relationships contribute to migration – for example, Turkey was asked by the World Bank to decrease its support for agricultural activities and to close down SOEs (Öztürk, 2012, p.91; Şentürk, 2013, p.71). Agreements made with the IMF, WB and the EU have also led to privatisation, thus leaving farmers open to competition from industrial corporations (Öztürk, 2012, p.122). Turkish researchers like Öztürk (2012) and Şentürk (2013) argue that these factors have caused rural farmers to migrate to new provinces since the 1990s.

The state has also created initiatives to limit migration – particularly the rural–urban route – or to encourage migrants to return to their rural origins. These measures include the Central Villages Projects (1994), the Returning to the Village Project (1995), the Returning to the Village and Rehabilitation Project (1999) and the Young

Farmer Project (2016).[30] In addition, the Government has expanded the social security

system, making it available to all citizens – a move which has included new

arrangements for healthcare (such as the green card entitlement to free state

healthcare services and an old-age pension). It has also begun to use the Social Aid

and Solidarity Foundations (*Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıfları,* or *SYDV*)

actively to provide farmers with financial aid, free/cheap fuel and fertilisation,

free/low-cost health insurance, and support for their children's education (Öztürk,

2012). Thus, by helping farmers agriculturally and financially, the Turkish state has

aimed to increase levels of animals and plant cultivation, and to providing

sustainability in the agricultural sector. Another goal here is to reduce the negative

outcomes of migration, such as decreasing agricultural production, deserted

agricultural land areas, and uncontrolled urbanisation. Ultimately, then, the

Government is seeking to end migration – or to reduce the number of migrants, at

least.

There are debates about whether these welfare policies can stop migration. One

line of argument suggests that such efforts will not be successful because the

migration trend has changed from a rural–urban to an urban–urban one (Güreşçi and

Aktürk, 2015, p.15). Another argument is that the social welfare programme is no

substitute for a systematic, properly organised system of social assistance and more

effective policies for employment creation (Hala and Özbudun, 2010, p.118 cited in

Şentürk, 2013, p.82). It is difficult to say at this moment in time whether or not these

social and economic policies can prevent migration or encourage migrants to return to

their rural origins. Chart 2.7 shows that the number of migrants from Giresun and

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[30] These are just some of the projects that have been put into place. In general, the Government has
stated recently that migration should either be stopped or controlled (Eroğlu, 2006).

Erzurum has declined considerably since 2010, and Chart 2.4 demonstrates that employment has become less of a reason for migration. So, while I could argue that these social policies have begun to reduce migration from rural to urban areas, it might be that the remaining rural population simply does not wish to migrate – perhaps the average age of these people is older, and they have no desire to leave home.

The review given here demonstrates that migration cannot be considered in isolated, subjective ways; it is shaped by the relationships between institutions, individuals and social relations, as Acker, Barry and Esseveld argue (1983, p.425). Here, I have shown that the state has played a significant role in internal migration in Turkey through their policies and institutions. I now turn to how the Turkish Government has responded to urbanisation, focusing in particular on settlement problems and the role of hometown associations.

2.3.2 Housing, hometown associations and the state

One consequence of internal migration to industrialised districts has been the construction of illegal settlements in Turkey. This is because there was no state or municipal building programme that could supply adequate housing for people with low incomes (Yavuz, 2003, p.83; Uzun, Çete and Palancıoğlu, 2010, p.204). Therefore, migrants who needed access to low-cost housing built *gecekondus* (squatter housing) on illegally occupied state land, without construction permits (Yavuz, 2003, p.83; Şentürk, 2013, p.13). The number of *gecekondus* has increased since the 1950s (Şentürk, 2013, p.14).

Figure 2.1: Typical *gecekondu* houses

The table below shows that the number of *gecekondus* has increased in parallel with the urbanisation rate (see Table 2.1). *Gecekondu* dwellers comprised 4.7% of Turkey's urban population in 1955, 16.4% in 1960, 22.9% in 1965, 26.1% in 1980 and 35% in 1995.

(Korkmaz, 2013, p.13)

Table 2.1: Urbanisation rate and estimated number of squats in Turkey

Years	Urbanisation rate (%)	Number of squats
1965	22	50,000
1980	45	1,150,000
1995	55	2,000,000
2002	62	2,200,000

(Uzun et al., 2010; Keleş, 2010)

In the beginning, the state did not have a clear approach regarding urban development and illegal-housing problems. However, as migration increased in the 1950s, the state gradually developed several ways to tackle such issues (Yavuz, 2003, p.83). The first plan was to demolish the existing illegal buildings and prevent the construction of new ones. The state passed two laws to this effect in 1949 and 1966 (Uzun *et al.,* 2010, p.205). The implementation of this plan was unsuccessful, however, due to populist political opposition.

The second idea was to legalise the settlements by passing amnesty laws in the 1980s. The state granted title deeds to squatters and permitted the construction of multi-floor apartments built before 1986. The dwellers transformed single-floor houses into multi-floor apartments or sold their plots to major construction companies

(Şentürk, 2013, p.75). As a result, *gecekondus* began to be considered an enrichment tool by dwellers, and the land became open to the market (Erman, 2001a). As Şentürk (2013) suggests, the introduction of liberalisation policies during the 1980s affected *gecekondu* appropriation and the *gecekondu* market (p.75). For Köktürk (2003), the legalising of policies did not prevent the generation of illegal settlements; instead, it encouraged people to construct new squats in the expectation of upcoming amnesty laws (cited in Uzun *et. al*., 2010, p.206). Therefore, the amnesty did not stop illegal settlements from being created; rather, it exacerbated the problem.

Recently, in 2003, the state adopted a new approach to illegal settlements on public land. The new project was called *zero gecekondu* and was implemented by local municipalities, in partnership with the Prime Ministry's Mass Housing Administration (*Toplu Konut Idaresi Baskanligi,* or *TOKİ*). The aim was to upgrade illegal settlements by demolishing existing *gecekondus* and constructing new residential units in the same areas or elsewhere (Uzun *et al.,* 2010, p.204). Thus, the state has given dwellers the opportunity to buy affordable housing via long-term payment plans. In addition, this project has prevented the construction of *gecekondus* as an enrichment tool (Uzun *et al.,* 2010, p.209). *Gecekondu* owners sign contracts with *TOKİ* and declare that they will pay the difference between the value of the newly constructed house and the slum over a 15-year period (Deliktaş, 2007 cited in Uzun *et al.,* 2010, p.207). However, researchers who are ideologically opposed to the current Government suggest that this project dislocates the urban poor to the distant places, while their former neighbourhoods are opened up for megaprojects targeting the wealthier classes (Erman, 2012, p.298).

Gecekondu neighbourhoods in Gebze, however, have not experienced the latest upgrading projects. This should be noted, as the literature on internal migration pays

attention to the transformation from single-floor *gecekondu* housing (see Figure 2.1) to multi-floor apartments (see Chapter 4) and, more recently, to apartment complexes (*TOKİ* houses). The three periods in *gecekondu* housing – pure *gecekondus*, multi-floor apartments and apartment complexes constructed by *TOKİ* – have had social, cultural and political consequences (Erman, 2001a, 2012, 2016). This thesis examines neighbourhoods that can be placed, both temporally and spatially speaking, in between the periods of the 'pure *gecekondu'* and the 'apartment complexes' constructed by *TOKI*.

2.3.2.1 Hometown associations in gecekondu areas

An understanding of Turkish internal migration must include a discussion of migrants' hometown associations (*derneks*). These associations can be described as an organisation based on the region or village of origin, which is established for the purposes of networking (Tezcan, 2011). They can take two forms: an association (*dernek*) or a foundation (*vakif*, a property held in trust). The main differences between the two include the following: (1) the committee at an association is elected and can be dismissed, while the leaders of a foundation can be comprised of one or more founding members, without any need for elections; and (2) a foundation has more advantages than an association regarding financial matters and actions, but establishing a foundation requires a large amount of capital and a defined purpose, whereas an association has no such requirements. There are far fewer foundations, therefore, then associations (Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005). There has been a steady rise in the number of hometown associations in Turkey, with considerable increases since the 2000s (416 in 1989, 1,922 in 1997, 3,325 in 2004 and 15,287 in 2016 – see Debis, 2017a).

The literature suggests that state policies are influential factors with respect to these associations. Turkey experienced a military coup in 1980 following violent confrontations between right- and left-wing movements in the 1960s and 70s. The leaders of the coup understood associations to be participants in politics and thus to be shaped by political ideologies (Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005; Kurtoğlu, 2005). It was suggested that associations encourage 'regionalism' and mobilise pre-nationalistic loyalties (to the rural hometown) that might undermine national solidarity, while also leading to a separatist movement within Turkey (Yavuz, 2003, p.84; Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005; Kurtoğlu, 2005; DiCarlo, 2008, p.89–90). As a result, some associations were closed down, while activities were suspended at others. In 1984, the military leaders allowed an election to take place, and a new conservative and liberal government was elected. This government introduced liberal policies and reduced the state's control over civil-societal organisations, thus strengthening the civil society (Narı, 1999). This political shift contributed to an increase in the number of functioning associations (DiCarlo, 2008).

Turkish literature on hometown associations indicates that they play a crucial role for migrants in *gecekondu* areas (Kurtoğlu, 2005; DiCarlo, 2008; Tezcan, 2011). They serve to promote regional identity, as well as reinforcing ties between emigrants from particular areas and between migrants and their original communities (DiCarlo, 2008). Moreover, these associations have practical functions related to 'housing, jobs, education and [they offer] a degree of security' (Yavuz, 2003, p.84; see also Şentürk, 2013), contributing to the migrants' integration into a new place (Kıray, 1982; Aytaç, 2005; see Chapter 6).

In addition to the hometown associations, various sectors of Islam have *cemaats*, which are religious associations. As Kasaba (1998) states, migrants

'gravitate toward networks based on places of origin, ethnicity or religious beliefs partly to maintain their ties with their villages, but more importantly as a means of integration into the city' (p.277 cited in Yavuz, 2003, p.84). Yavuz (2003) reports that before the internal migrants built schools, roads, and sewage systems, they came together to build mosques in their new neighbourhoods. Then, they established religious associations for the collection of funds and for voluntary work. These institutions enabled newcomers to get to know each other and to create a web of interactions (p.85). Before providing details about the religious associations and groups, and their roles in informing *cemaats* and institutions for migrants, it will be useful to look more closely at this point at religion in the context of migration and institutions.

2.4   Religion in the context of migration and institutions

Şerif Mardin, a prominent Turkish scholar of the sociology of religion, claims that 'Islam in Turkey is heterogonous and multidimensional and *cemaats* diverge[d] across regions and communities' (Mardin, 1977, p.29). The largest denomination of Islam practiced in Turkey is *Sunni* Islam. *Sunni* Islam in Turkey has been represented both by *cemaats* and the *Diyanet.* This means that there are two institutions in Turkey that have helped to construct the religious landscape. In addition, Şahin (2015) contends that Turkey's religious landscape has been influenced by both the state's regime and internal migration over the years (p.75). Therefore, the establishment of the *Diyanet* in 1924 and the emergence of *cemaats* in Turkey can be said to be products of institutional norms and practices, and/or of internal migration.[31] As such,

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[31] It could be argued that the *Diyanet* is a product of migration. For example, recently, the *Diyanet* has established a Department of Migration and Spiritual Support Services in order to develop solutions to the religious, cultural and social problems caused by internal and external migration (Diyanet Order E.66202, 2017).

the presence of Islam in Turkey is diverse and needs to be summarised in order for its relationship with internal migration to be elucidated.

2.4.1 Religious institutions

The *Diyanet,* a formal religious institution, was founded via Parliament Bill 479 on 3rd March 1924 (Onay, 2000). Since the majority of the Muslim population in Turkey is *Sunni*, the *Diyanet* has been designed according to *Sunni-Islamic* doctrine (Tarhanli, 1993 cited in Onay, 2000).[32] According to the 1982 state constitution, the *Diyanet* has been obliged to follow three principles: 1) to perform in line with the principle of secularism, 2) to remain apolitical and 3) to play a role in bringing about unity and national solidarity among the whole population (Kara, 2012, p.78–9). The responsibilities of the *Diyanet* include: 1) being involved with the administration of mosques and the appointment of *İmams* and preachers; 2) regulating all religious activities, such as beliefs, rituals and moral matters pertaining to Islam; and 3) informing society about religion (Onay, 2000, p.53).

In recent times, the *Diyanet* has become a powerful state institution in Turkey. The number of personnel has increased from 74,000 in 2003 to 117,370 in 2015 (Diyanet, 2015). The number of mosques in existence was 5,668 in 1927, which increased to 42,744 in 1971 and reached around 86,000 in 2015 (Diyanet, 2015). Similarly, the number of Qur'an courses rose from 3,119 in 2000 to 11,075 in 2012, reaching as high as 15,611 in 2015 (Diyanet, 2015). The *Diyanet* budget has also increased in the last few years so that it has become one of Turkey's largest state institutions (with a budget of 5.4 billion liras – nearly £1 million – in 2014 – see Altunok, 2016). The *Diyanet* has begun to shape the Turkish social sphere as the state

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[32] Minority religions (e.g. Christianity and Judaism) and sects (such as the *Alevis*) are not represented in the *Diyanet's* structure. Non-Muslim groups' rights were designated by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 and are protected as such. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed by Turkey as a peace agreement following the Turkish War of Independence.

recruits *İmams* to work as spiritual counsels in hospitals, schools, universities and prisons (Altunok, 2016). It can be argued that, in the near future, the *Diyanet* will play an increasingly important role in shaping not only the religious landscape, but also the social landscapes.

In addition to this formal religious institution, *cemaats* also exist in Turkey. As discussed, the word *cemaat* refers to a religious or ethnic group or community.[33] Research suggests that the term *cemaat* in Turkey began to be used in the 1950s (Silverstein, 2007, 2011; Ueno, 2018). It has been argued that the term was coined following the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, at which time *Sufi* orders were officially banned (Silverstein, 2007, 2011; Ueno, 2018). Since then, it has been a punishable crime in Turkey to be involved with a *Sufi* order; this form of Islam thus has negative connotations in the socio-political context of modern Turkey. As a consequence, both disciples and leaders of *Sufi*-oriented groups have avoided using '*Sufi*' or '*Sufi* order' (*tarikat*) to describe themselves (Silverstein, 2011; Alimen, 2018). In this sense, utilisation of the term *cemaat* is a tactic used against secular norms and practices.

Researchers argue, however, that *cemaats* arose from *Sufi* orders (Yükleyen, 2008).[34] As such, there is perceived to be a difference between a *Sufi* order and a *cemaat*. The former is said to belong to a mystical tradition based on personal relationships with *şeyhs* (leaders of *Sufi* orders) and focuses on purification of the soul. The latter, on the other hand, are concerned with non-religious arenas, such as

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[33] I have not found any literature on the relationship between the terms *cemaat* and *jama'a*, as used by 20th century Islamist movements in the Arab world. However, the researchers on 'Islamism', as an ideology, state that Islamism was inspired by Muhammed Abduh, Jamal-al-Din- Al-Afghani and Rashid Rida. Also, as I will discuss, *Salafi* ideology was brought to Turkey by Egyptian, Jordanian and Pakistani Islamists thinkers. Therefore, it is possible that there is a relationship between the Turkish *cemaat* and the Arabic *jama'a*. Such a research topic, however, is beyond the remit of this thesis.
[34] *Sufi* orders were first established in the 11th century (Başer and Öztürk, 2017).

economic, socio-cultural and political matters, and have arisen since the 1950s (particularly following the introduction of liberal policies in the 1980s – see Yükleyen, 2008; Başer and Öztürk, 2017; Efe, 2017; Alimen, 2018). Efe (2017) explains, for instance, that the relationship between *cemaats* and the non-religious field began in the 1950s and peaked in the 1980s. Additionally, the role of centre-right and conservative political parties (the Democrat Party in the 1950s, the Motherland Party in the 1980s/1990s and the Justice and Development Party since 2002) in the formation of and expansion of *cemaats* should not be ignored (I will return to this point later).

Given all of the above, the emergence of *cemaats* can be seen as a direct consequence of the impact of Turkish secularism and related non-religious interests. However, the relationship between *Sufi* orders and *cemaats* remains unclear. As Efe (2017) notes, today, *cemaats* are also used by those who do not have a relationship with a *Sufi* order. I will utilise the term *cemaat*, therefore, to not only refer to *Sufi* groups (including the Ismailağa, Menzil and Kadiri *cemaats* and their offshoots) but also to describe *Salafi*-oriented religious groups and followers of Islam of their parents. In other words, I will use the term *cemaat* to refer to any group of people who share material and non-material resources, and formed based on intimacy, friendship and empathy (See Yaşar, 2004; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013, Introduction). The following paragraphs will introduce *Sufi* and *Salafi cemaats* and their relationships with each other, as well as with the internal-migrant community.

Sufism, or mystical Islam, is called *tasavvuf* in Turkish. The term *Sufism* refers to the quest, in the Islamic context, for personal and spiritual contact with the divine reality (Allah) (Atay, 2012, p.16). *Sufism* is a form of Islam and is divided into different discourses and schools called *tarikats* (*Sufi* orders). The most active *Sufi*

orders in Turkey are the *Cerrahi, Halveti, Rufai, Nakşibendi* and *Kadiri* orders

(Konsensus, 2011). Among these, the *Kadiri* and *Nakşibendi* are the largest orders in

Turkey. The *Nakşibendi* order, established by Baha al-din Nakşibendi (1389), has

played an important role in the spread of Islam, being the largest order in Turkey and,

indeed, the world (Cornell and Kaya, 2015). The literature suggests that almost all of

the *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats* in Turkey hail from the *Nakşibendi* order, including the

Menzil and İsmailağa *cemaats*, which are discussed in this thesis (Çakır, 1993;

Yavuz, 2003; Cornell and Kaya, 2015).[35] The *Kadiri* order, inspired by the teachings

of Abdu'l Kadir Geylani (1077–1166), is the oldest of the orders.[36] The *Kadiri* and

Nakşibendi orders have both been followed by various *cemaats* in Turkey.

Sufi orders have deep roots in the history of Turkish culture, involving strong

community networks (Onay, 2000). They were influential civil-societal organisations

within the Ottoman Empire, 1299–1922) (Onay, 2000, p.42). Wolper (2003, cited in

Çizmeci, 2015) states that early *Sufi* buildings were characterised by certain activities,

including prayer, study, discussion, conversation with visitors, the accommodation of

travellers, the feeding of the poor and social networking (p.36). These activities led

Sufi orders to become influential actors in the social sphere during the Ottoman

period. Indeed, Ottoman rulers used them as an apparatus to consolidate their

authority over society and to bring new norms and practices to the public (Haksever,

2009, p.57; Kaya, 2012). In addition, during the 19th century, when the Ottomans lost

their power struggle with Europeans, *Sufi* orders promoted the moral and spiritual

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[35] The name of Menzil *cemaat* comes from *Menzil* village in the Adiyaman province. The *cemaat* was founded by Mehmed Rasid Erol (1930–2003). The leader of the İsmailağa *cemaat* is Mahmud Ustaosmanoglu, a former Imam working for the *Diyanet* at the İsmailağa mosque. The Kadiri *cemaat* in Gebze is affiliated with a *şeyh* in Trabzon, a province in the Black Sea Region. See Chapters 5, 6, and 7 for more details about the *cemaats* and the *Naksibendi* order.
[36] Abdu'l Kadir Geylani was born in Iran and is the order's spiritual leader. He, together with the founders of the *Kadiri* order, lived in 11th-century Baghdad.

rebirth of Islam, seeking to transform society and achieve political independence and an economic revival of the Muslim community (Yavuz, 2003).

Similarly, to the communal and social roles played by *Sufism and Sufi* buildings in the Ottoman period, from the 1980s onwards, members of *Sufi*-inspired *cemaats* began to establish institutions such as associations, foundations, private schools, printing houses and media (Yavuz, 2003, p.144). The number of associations increased considerably in the '80s and '90s, from about 200 in 1979 to 14,743 in 1995 (Taslaman, 2011, p.179). Since then, the number has slowly increased further, to about 18,009 in 2016 (Debis, 2017b). These associations have been used to perform *Sufi* practices and teach people how to live a *Sufi* lifestyle, in addition to guiding members on social and economic matters (Çizmeci, 2015, p.36).

Furthermore, some *cemaats* have established their own private hospitals, educational institutions and dormitories. Of late, they have begun to engage with both electronic and print media, thus having a broader reach in society, being able to transmit their messages further and build bridges with their followers (Taslaman, 2011; Somer, 2017). Taslaman (2011) suggests that people in Turkey use electronic and print media linked to *cemaats* more than they use media established by the state. Moreover, to confront secular norms and practices, *cemaats* have instrumentalised Islam to construct their own version of modernity, redefining discourses of modernity in areas such as human rights, the liberal market and personal autonomy (Yavuz, 2003, p.5) Thus, it can be argued that they have been influential social actors in shaping both Turkish and Ottoman society and have expanded their impact even further in recent times. In this way, *cemaats* challenge dominant understandings of Islam constructed by the state by creating alternative spaces and interpretations of Islam.

The term *cemaat* can also be applied to *Salafi* organisations in Turkey and to groups of people who belong to certain associations. The term *Salafi* refers to those who demand a return to the golden age of Islam and to the faith's primary texts (the Qur'an and *Hadis*). They aim to establish the correct creed, re-centre the primacy of the Qur'an and the *Sünnet* (the acts, sayings, and approval of the Prophet Muhammed) as religious reference points, and reinterpret Islamic sources, using these methods to remake social norms and confront societal challenges (see Tuğal, 2006, p.253; Hamid, 2016, p.16-18).[37] *Salafism* first appeared on the religious scene in post-Ottoman Turkey, in the 1920s. Gürpınar (2015) suggests that after the *medreses* (Islamic educational institutions) were closed in Turkey in 1924, students went to Egypt to receive religious education at Al-Azhar University but then returned to Turkey. These students brought back *Salafi* ideas from Egypt and thus influenced the Turkish religious landscape. It can be argued, therefore, that they were seeking a way to subvert the secular regime in Turkey. In addition, Çaha (2005) explains that the works of influential thinkers within *Salafi* Islam, including Sayyid Qutb, Hasan el–Banna, Mevdudi and Hamidullah, have been translated into Turkish since the 1970s. For Çaha (2005), these translated books were placed on library shelves and at the booksellers, and thus made *Salafi* ideas accessible in Turkey. Hammond (2017) adds that after the 1980s, self-styled *Salafi* preachers who trained in Saudi Arabia found a place in Turkey, opening a publishing house and spreading their message to Turkish people through electronic, print and social media. As *cemaats* do not have formal acceptance and resignation mechanisms, as discussed, the exact numbers of *Salafis* and *Sufis*, and the places where they are most influential, geographically speaking, are

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[37] It is important to mention that *Salafism* is not homogenous, but heterogeneous (Koca 2015; Hamid, 2016. See also Chapter 7).

unknown. However, observers have stated that the *Salafi* form of Islam has not been attractive to the masses in Turkey (Zubaida, 2000; Uğur, 2004, p.332; Rabasa and Larabee, 2006, xi; Öktem, 2010, p.22; Taslaman, 2011, p.184; Şentürk *et al.*, 2012, p.64. See also Chapter 7). It is known, though, that *Salafism* has gained some popularity amongst *gecekondu* dwellers (Eldivan, 2011).

There are several points to make here about *Sufi–Salafi* relationships. Existing literature reports that there has always been dispute between *Sufis* and *Salafis* (Knysh, 2007; Atay, 2012; Ambrosio, 2015; Ridgeon, 2015; Hamid, 2016).[38] *Salafis* attempt to purify and free Islam from cultural and national additions, such as folk customs and *Sufism*. They consider *Sufism* to be fabricated and see its practices (such as supplication to living/deceased pious men and visiting the graves/celebrating the birthdays of pious individuals) as infested with *shirk*, or polytheism (Knysh, 2007; Ambrosio, 2015; Hamid, 2016). Furthermore, they attack the origins of *Sufism* by pointing to Hindu, Greek and Christian theological influences (Valdinocci, 2015, p.163). On the other hand, *Sufis* accuse *Salafis* of being disrespectful to the Prophet and *şeyhs* (spiritual masters), and hostile towards matters related to spirituality (Valdinocci, 2015, p.163). They label *Salafism* as *Vahhabism*,[39] a term which has negative connotations for Turkish people as it suggests radical Islamic attitudes, acts and viewpoints (Atay, 2012). *Sufis* also criticise *Salafi* leaders, arguing that they lack positive qualities (Valdinocci, 2015, p.163; Hamid, 2016, p.70).

Such religious and emotional discourses can have concrete and behavioural implications. Knysh reports, for instance, that *Salafis* in the Northern Caucasus refuse to pray or eat with *Sufis*, to marry their daughters or attend their funerals. *Sufis*

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[38] On the epistemological and theological reasons for these disputes, please see Kaya's (2016) article entitled 'A Comparative Study: Epistemology and Theology of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ibn Taymiyya'.
[39] *Vahhabism*, founded in Saudia Arabia in the 19th century, is generally considered to be the strictest Islamic ideology and to have inspired contemporary radical Islamic movements (Crooke, 2017).

reciprocate by refusing to have any social interaction with *Salafis*. Such social and behavioural consequences related to the *Sufi–Salafi* conflict can be found in every Muslim country today (see Atay's [2012] research on Turkish migrants in London, Cantini's [2012] examination of students on a Jordanian university campus and Valdinocci's [2015] research on a *Sufi* group in Hyderabad, India).[40] These examples suggest that the relationship between *Sufis* and *Salafis* is tense, and that it can affect social relations considerably.

In Gebze, there are several *Sufi* and *Salafi* groups, such as the *Endülüs Eğitim, Kültür ve Yardimlaşma Derneği* (the Endülüs Education, Culture and Fraternity Foundation) and the *Beyan Eğitim ve Kültür Derneği* (The Beyan Knowledge and Culture Association).[41] The existence of these organisations indicate that *cemaats* provide alternative spaces for Turkish people, as I shall elaborate further later in the thesis. In Chapter 7, I will reconstruct the relationship between *Sufis* and *Salafis* in the context of migration to indicate how the moral and religious discourses articulated by them function to maintain spiritual and geographical boundaries.

The *Diyanet* and *Sufi-* and *Salafi-*oriented *cemaats* are religious institutions that shape the Turkish religious landscape. It should be pointed out that the *Diyanet* represents the country's official version of Islam, while *cemaats* represent parallel forms of Islam. For Dumont, 'official Islam' has a legal existence, while parallel Islam is not recognised by the state and thus has no legal existence (1988, p.164–5 cited in Atacan, 1990, p.14). In this way, the Turkish state attempts to control religious expressions and organisations completely through the *Diyanet*, which

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[40] Interestingly, I have not been able to find any ethnographic studies on the relationship between *Sufis* and *Salafis* in the Turkish context, even though both have been present in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods since the 1980s (see Eldivan, 2011).

[41] The Endülüs and Beyan religious associations in Gebze were established in 2005. These associations are discussed further in Chapter 7.

promotes a state-favoured understanding of Islam, and by prohibiting the

establishment of any religious organisation or groups (Taslaman, 2011). As such,

Turkish *cemaats* operate outside the Government-sanctioned religious sphere, thus

creating alternative religious, social, cultural and virtual spaces, teachings, norms and

practices (Taslaman, 2011). The following section will explore the relationships

between migration, migrants and the *cemaats*.

2.4.2 Islam in the Turkish migration context

The literature on Islam in a migration context has argued that internal migration has

been influential in determining the distribution of religion in Turkey (Günay and Ecer,

1999, p.276–278; Sarıkaya, 2001). Sarıkaya (2001) notes that *Sufi* Islam remained

present in rural areas, despite its practices, teachings and materials being banned in

1925. When rural–urban migration began in the 1950s, *Sufi* leaders and those engaged

with *Sufism* moved from rural areas to the industrialised districts. Accordingly, *Sufi*

Islamic practices and teachings also migrated to these areas – rural–urban migrants

were transmitters of *Sufi* Islam (Mardin, 2002). However, rural–urban migration also

led to the role of *Sufi* Islam in public life becoming diminished in rural areas, as

Günay and Ecer (1999, p.246) argue. Nonetheless, this form of religion has played a

significant part in shaping migrants' lives in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, as

mentioned in Chapter 1. Migration thus shapes the Turkish religious sphere, and

Sufism has become influential in urban areas where it was once forced underground.

Scholarship on this subject has examined the new form of *cemaat* that has

emerged in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods as a result (Tuğal, 2006; DiCarlo, 2008). For

example, DiCarlo (2008) reports that women who reside in the same neighbourhood

and have mostly emigrated from the same place participate in sermons organised by

cemaats (p.100–102). Similarly, White's (2002) research on a *gecekondu*

neighbourhood in Istanbul finds that women in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods participate in Islamic party meetings and have religious conversations. During my fieldwork, I was also informed women who have emigrated from particular areas and have settled in the same neighbourhood have come together for religious sermons since the 1980s. It can be suggested, then, that new religious communities have emerged as a result of migration in urban areas. Chapter 7 will explore a form of religious meeting for women, called the 'home sermon'.

Furthermore, it has also been found that the *Salafi* form of Islam is also present in *gecekondu* areas (Tuğal, 2006). Indeed, it has been argued that *gecekondus* are ideal places for *Salafi* movements and radical ideologies to flourish because of sociological factors, such as visible unemployment, feelings of unprotected, lack of self-confidence and inadequate government resources (Ergil, 1980). Moreover, in these areas, tradition and modernity, rurality and urbanity become co-present (Öz, 2014, p.200). Both sociological and geo-spatial factors can leave migrants feeling vulnerable and unprotected. These factors can drive individuals to develop *Salafi* identities (Eldivan, 2011, p.147). In Chapter 7, I resist the instrumentalist view and avoid deprivation theory, but it is important to note that research has shown that *gecekondu* neighbourhoods attract *Salafi* activity. Migration has thus shaped the Turkish religious landscape, relocating *Sufi* Islam from rural to urban areas and flourishing and settling *Salafi* Islam in *gecekondu* areas.

Researchers on internal migration have explored the reasons why *cemaats* have become popular among internal migrants. First of all, the state did not have a clear vision and plan regarding new patterns of urbanisation and migration in the 1950s and '60s (Yavuz, 2003). Secondly, *cemaats* have reached out to migrants and shaped their lives through their networks, institutions (via Qur'an courses and associations) and

the media. Thirdly, *cemaats* have reacted against the modern and secular way of life,

creating an Islamic way of life by reinterpreting Islam to suit the new urban context.

Fourthly, *cemaats* bring religion into play to bridge differences (ethnicity-, religion-

and origins-based) between identities, providing a set of symbols and norms through

which people can reform their everyday lives (Yavuz, 2003). It is important to note

that, while elites and secularists ignore and marginalise the ethnic and rural

identities/lifestyles of migrants, *cemaats* have reformulated these so-called

'backward' identities, articulating them through the lens of religion (see Tuğal, 2009).

Lastly, and importantly, *cemaats* provide migrants with a forum in which they can

fulfil their religious obligations (e.g. gaining knowledge about Islam) and also discuss

non-religious matters (Narlı, 1999; Tuğal, 2006).

A diverse range of religious institutions encounter each other within *gecekondu*

neighbourhoods, as indicated by the presence of *Salafi* and *Sufi* activities, and also

official *Diyanet* Islam.[42] This diversity in religious institutions and discourses leads to

the question of how different ideologies can coexist. Existing research has shown that

religious differences shape the social and kinship relationships between migrants

(Kaya, 1997; Atay, 2012; Shanneik, 2012; Hamid, 2016; Fadil, 2015). For example, it

has been argued that transnational migrants move from ethnic self-identification to

describing themselves primarily as Muslims (i.e. identifying themselves in relation to

their religious groups – see Kaya, 1997; Hamid, 2016). Atay's (2012) study of

Turkish migrants in London examines the relationships between migrants who

affiliate with *Salafi*-oriented groups and those who affiliate with *Sufi*-oriented groups.

His evidence suggests that both verbal and physical attacks occur between the

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[42] I could not find any research examining the *Diyanet's* importance in relation to migrants and migration. However, it is obvious that the mosques and Qur'an courses serve *Sunni* people in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods.

different groups. Kaya's (1997) work on Turkish migrants in Berlin indicates that Turkish religious communities lead to migrants identifying with their organisations, rather than with the place of origin. This leads them to separate themselves from other Turks: 'the separate religious groupings resemble archipelago islands which do not have surface connections to each other […]. They have formed their own cultural and religious islands in Germany' (p.126–7).[43] These existing studies show religious affiliations shape and reorganise social relations. In Chapter 7, I will explore the boundaries between *Sufis*, *Salafis* and followers of parental Islam[44] in the context of migration. The next section will delineate how *cemaats* re-emerged in Turkey, despite not having guaranteed legal rights/status in Turkey since the 1920s.

2.4.3 *Cemaats'* resistance of state secularism

In order to understand *cemaats'* resistance of state secularism, the ideology behind the creation of a secular state in the 1920s and its interaction with parallel Islam needs to be explored. This founding ideology behind the nation state in Turkey is also known as *Kemalism*.[45] The term refers to the principles behind the doctrine of society and state as formulated by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends: republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, laicism, revolutionism and reformism (Yavuz, 2003, p.31). In order to form a state based on these principles, *Kemalists* introduced institutional changes that aimed to create a rupture with the Ottoman and religious institutions of the past (Gülalp, 2005, p.363). For example, the caliphate, a symbolic

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[43] I have not given references to further literature here due to space limitations. For research into the non-Turkish context, please see Shanneik (2012) on Algerian women in Ireland who are affiliated with *Salafism* and the Muslim brotherhood, and Fadil (2015) on Moroccan migrants in Belgium.

[44] 'Parental Islam' refers to migrants who are not affiliated with any *cemaat* and frame their religious identities in terms of their parents' backgrounds and their ancestries.

[45] Today's usage of the term is broader than it was in the past; it includes individuals, non-governmental organisations (such as the Republican People's Party, the Large Business Association TUSIAD, parts of the media, centre-left unions, women's rights groups and large proportions of the *Alevi* community) and state bureaucrats who have declared their support for the principles put forth by Ataturk. *Kemalism* remains an influential ideology that is advocated by the aforementioned groups.

institution for the world's *Sunni* Muslims, was banned in 1924 (Göle, 1997, p.49). Islamic lifestyles, norms and values were considered to be obstacles to the achievement of contemporary civilisation. The founders excluded religion from public spheres, restricting it to private and personal life (Gülalp, 2005, p.361). Furthermore, the *Diyanet* was established to make Islam more standardised, circumscribed and compartmentalised (Tapper, 1991, p.2). It became an apparatus for the construction of a secular and nationalised state, used for bringing about national solidarity and unity among the whole population (Onay, 2000; Yavuz, 2003; Taslaman, 2011; Kara, 2012; Altunok, 2016).

The *Kemalists* believe that the strict hierarchal organisation associated with *Sufism* constitutes a threat to the authority of the state, as their disciples surrender their will to a leader's political, spiritual and social teachings and interests (Gawrych, 2013). They consider *Sufi* Islam's emphasis on the *ummah* (refers to the followers or people of the Prophet Muhammed) to undermine the *Kemalist*-imposed national identity. On December 13th, 1925, *Sufi* Islam (including its titles, clothes and practices) were banned, and *tekkes* (lodges) and *zaviyas* (small mosques where religious services and functions were performed) were closed down (Tapper, 1991, p.2; Yavuz, 2003; Çizmeci, 2015). Since then, it has been a punishable offence to be involved in a *Sufi* order, whether as a *şeyh* (spiritual master) or a devotee (Silverstein, 2007, p.39).[46]

The literature suggests that the *Kemalists* expected that Islam would eventually be abandoned, so they repressed religious expression and organisations to speed up the process. These expectations about secularisation and the decline of religion's

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[46] For more on the state's ideologies and oppression, see Saktanber (2002), Yavuz (2003), Silverstein (2007) and Taslaman (2011).

significance influenced policies made regarding official and parallel religious institutions. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, religion has not been abandoned. Instead, the followers of *Sufi* orders moved underground and practiced their practices. Also, institutions like *cemaats* have re-emerged as important religious spaces and have played significant roles in the social, religious and economic spheres (Saktanber, 2002; Kara, 2012). For Mardin (1973, p.183–4), the reason why *Kemalists* were not able to replace Islam with *Kemalist* ideology is that they sought top-down transformation and ignored the role of religion in social transformation, as well as the possibility that those who were ignored could achieve bottom-up mobilisation.

Furthermore, the *Kemalists* have considered the rural masses to be incompatible with secular reform, believing that it will take some time for them to become mature enough to understand the rationale behind it (Saktanber, 2002, p.147). As a consequence, mechanisms through which the suggested reforms could be adopted by the rural population were not developed. The *Kemalists* were also unsuccessful in developing an alternative to the value system and lifestyle that religion provides for rural masses. As Sunar and Toprak (1983) contend, 'the rural masses were left to their own traditional devices and they were politically untouched, ideologically deactivated and organisationally disjoined' (p.427). In other words, the state's founders' ignorance and their perspectives regarding religion and the rural masses produced a major vacuum. The religious groups remaining from the Ottoman era filled this vacuum by either continuing with their activities or moving to rural areas (Yavuz, 2003, p.56).

The literature on the topic makes links between *Kemalism*, *Sufism* and rural areas in order to explain the resurgence of *Sufi* Islam in Turkey (see Günay and Ecer,

1999; Yavuz, 2003; Kara, 2012). For Yavuz (2003), rural areas are considered to be 'the habitat for the preservation and production of traditional values and identities' (p.56). This is because the state was not able to close down *Sufi* lodges in rural areas of the eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey (Yavuz, 2003). The existing *Sufi* orders thus secretly continued their activities in these areas. In addition, *Sufi* leaders in urban areas, whose lodges were closed down, simply moved to rural areas in order to continue to transmit their teachings to the next generation (Günay and Ecer, 1999, p.246). As Chart 2.2 shows, the rural population was much greater than the urban population between 1920s and the 1950s. It can be claimed, therefore, that the majority of people in Turkey continued to be influenced by *Sufism*, and that the presence of *Sufi* orders in rural areas provided a challenged to *Kemalism* and its institutions.

For Kara, as the new state closed down *Sufi* lodges and made their activities illegal, a high number of Ottoman *ulema*[47] (religious scholars) and *Sufi şeyhs* (spiritual masters) across Turkey became unemployed. The founders of the state offered these people (professors and lecturers) retirement, regardless of their age and length of service. Also, those who had the necessary abilities were allowed to work in bureaucratic roles in institutions, such as the *Diyanet* (Kara, 2012, p.109). Those who worked for the *Diyanet*, however, did not necessarily obey the rules prescribed by the *Diyanet* and the state. They tended to continue to follow the Ottoman *medrese* (Islamic educational institutions) curriculum, teaching *Sufism* and transmitting it to

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[47] *Ulema* (singular: *alim*) literally means 'learned' ones. The term here connotes those who served to form an informal branch of Government during the Ottoman Empire, in which they took responsibilities in areas of law, education, primary religious services and Government bureaucracy (İpşirli, 2004).

the next generation, as well as offering Ottoman *icazets* (diplomas or certificates).[48]

They also used Ottoman Turkish in their writings and wore *cübbe* (long cloaks),

baggy trousers and turbans, even though these were banned in the 1920s (Kara, 2012,

p.109–10). It seems, therefore, that *ulema* and *Sufi şeyhs* infiltrated the *Diyanet*, thus

being able not only to survive, but also to transmit *Sufi* Islam and the Ottoman

curriculum to the next generation, even though the *Diyanet* was established to combat

Sufi Islam.

In addition to these developments, *cemaats* maintained tactics to resist the

policies of the state by using the diverse opportunities produced as a result of policy

shifts following the military *coup d'etat* in 1980.[49] The state introduced liberal

policies, focusing on the free market and allowing both private institutions to be

established and civil society to develop. In 1983, *cemaats* were provided with legal

grounds to form associations and foundations around social matters other than

religion (Yavuz, 2003; Alam, 2009, p.367). Since the 1980s, however, *cemaats* have

established associations through which print and electronic media have been used to

spread religious messages, as well as opening 'secular' institutions like schools and

hospitals. Since 2002, the Justice and Development Party's economic, foreign and

social policies have offered more opportunities for *cemaats* to expand their influence

in the economic, social and political arenas (see Alam, 2009; Sarkissian and Özler,

2013). Yavuz (2003) states that shift in state policies have opened up 'opportunity

spaces', which provide 'a forum of social interaction that creates new possibilities for

augmenting networks of shared meanings and associational life' (p.25). Existing

literature suggests that these opportunity spaces enable *cemaats* to resist policies of

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[48] *İcazet* literally means 'permission', 'approval' or 'validation'. It is used to refer to academic diplomas or certificates in Islamic education and training. The term is also used for permissions and approvals relating to proficiency in the arts and certain professions.
[49] The 1980 *coup d'etat* occurred as a result of the country's political and social divisions.

the state (Yavuz, 2003, p.24). These activities show that *cemaat*s create counterhegemonic spaces outside the control of the state, perpetuate alternative discourses, attempt to control social and cultural spaces, and construct collective and individual Islamic identities.

Furthermore, *cemaats* have been active in forming political parties and penetrating the state bureaucracy (Mardin, 1991a, p.129–132; Tapper, 1991, p.15). For Yavuz (2003), since the 1970s, *cemaats* have been seeking to attain political power either in order to improve the economic position of a segment of society or to transform it through the institutions of the state. For example, Mehmed Zahid Kotku (1897–1980), a *şeyh* and a founder of the Iskender pasa *cemaat,* encouraged members of his community to be politically active and to form political parties (Özgür, 2012, p.118). In the 1970s, a number of Kotku's followers, such as Necmettin Erbakan, Korkut Ozal, Recai Kutan and Recep Tayyip Erdogan (the current President of Turkey) became important figures within Turkish political spheres.[50] In this way, rigid and oppressive secular norms and practices have led to *cemaats* projecting Islam as what Tapper (1991) has expressed as 'a protest ideology and counter culture' (p.11). Thus, *cemaats* are involved in forming Turkish politics and shaping the state, which enables them to survive.

Sufi orders have always been politicised to a large extent. They were potential sites for resisting the Ottomans, for instance. The contemporary *Sufi*-oriented *cemaat* is similar to the Ottoman *Sufi* order, particularly in terms of its political roles and impact. The similarities include: 1) the taking up of positions in bureaucracy and the establishment of close relationships with rulers or governing parties (Mardin, 2005,

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[50] Necmettin Erbakan was the founder of the first Islamic political party (1969) and was Prime Minister between 1996 and 1997. Özal is a long-serving politician and the brother of Turgut Ozal, the eighth president. Kutan has been the chairman of the Virtue Party (1997–2001) and the Felicity Party (2001–present).

p.154); 2) the legitimation of state norms and reforms, and linking the state and society by reaching out to the public through their networks (Mardin, 2002; Yavuz and Koç, 2016); and 3) offering aid to those who seek upward mobility in state bureaucracy and other matters (Mardin 2002). Both the Ottoman *Sufi* orders and modern *cemaats* have resisted state interference whenever the state has sought to enforce strict control over them, ban their activities, close their places of worship or exile their leaders (Yavuz, 2003, p.23; Haksever, 2009, p.51). Such acts of resistance have taken the form of supporting opposition candidates and forming opposition parties (for instance, the *Nakşibendis* supported Necmeddin Erbakan in the 1970s, as discussed, and the *Bektaşis*[51] and the Committee of Union and Progress in the 1900s), as well as collaborating with foreign clubs and states (such as the *Babağan* order, a branch of the *Bektaşi* order and the freemasons) and even supporting/carrying out *coups d'etats* (the *Bektaşis* and *Nakşibendis* rose up against *Sultan*[52] Abdulhamid II in 1909; the Gülen movement,[53] now officially referred to as the Fethullah Gülen Terror Organisation [FETO], stood against the Justice and Development Party and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in 2016.[54] See Haksever, 2009, p.51; Yavuz and Koç, 2016; Atay, 2017).[55] The next section will explore the *Diyanet* and its relationship with the *cemaats*.

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[51] The *Bektaşi* order was established by Hacı Bektaşi Veli in 13th century in Turkey. The order was one of the oldest and largest religious order in the Ottoman period. It was the official Order of the Genessaries Corps, (an elite infantry unit in the Ottoman era, from the 14th century to 1826. See Öztürk, 2012).

[52] *Sultan* was a title used by the Ottomans to refer to a ruler ('Sultan', 2014).

[53] The leader of the group is M. Fethullah Gülen, living in Pennsylvania in the United States.

[54] Western observers are reluctant to accept the premise that Gülen directed the *coup* and thus do not recognise that the Gülen movement is a terrorist group, even though evidence has proven and witnesses have confirmed that the *coup* was orchestrated by followers of the Gülenists (see Yavuz and Koç, 2016).

[55] On the relationship between the state and Menzil *cemaat*, see Niyazi Usta's 'Menzil Naksiligi' (2006). On the relationship between the state and Ismailağa *cemaat*, see Efrel Aviv (2018), On the *Naksibendis*, the Ottomans and the Republic of Turkey, see Şerif Mardin's *Din ve Siyaset* (2002). Regarding the *Bektaşi* and the Ottomans, see A. C. Öztürk's 'Osmanlı'nın Son Döneminde Islahat ve Tarikatlar: Bektaşilik ve Nakşibendilik Örnegi' (2009).

2.4.4 The Diyanet and *cemaats*

Existing scholarship has argued that there is an on-going struggle between *cemaats* and the *Diyanet* for the control of religious spaces (Taslaman, 2011, p.189–220). The *Diyanet* as a state apparatus is used by political parties to invite the public to engage in acts that are supportive of the Government. The *Kemalist* governments of the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s asked the *Diyanet* to prepare reports and deliver sermons against *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats* at mosques (Kara, 2012; Taslaman, 2011;). As Kara (2012) states,

> From its establishment to the present day, the *Diyanet* has considered *cemaats* and popular Islam to be mere superstition, and has denigrated their followers and leaders. The *Diyanet* has prepared many texts to humiliate and condemn *Sufi şeyhs* (leaders of *cemaats*) and folk Islam […]. These reports depict *Sufi* Islam and orders as being as dangerous as Communism [in the 1980s]. (Kara, 2012, p.100, my translation).

There are clear examples of such condemnation. For example, a report was prepared against Said Nursi, a founder of the Nur movement, in 1964. In 1981, a similar report was compiled against the Süleymancı movement, another religious group (Kara, 2012, p.153–177).[56] Moreover, during the 28th February Military Coup in 1997, military leaders asked the *Diyanet* to deliver speeches and sermons against the *cemaats* from every platform. As Kara (2012) contends, 'during the process of 28 February, talking against the *Sufi* orders had become one of the principal duties of the *Diyanet'* (p.174).

Recently, the *Diyanet* has changed its response to *cemaats* and its methods for controlling the religious sphere. The *Diyanet* has stopped associating *cemaats* with superstition but has criticised their activities, which, it states, have moved from being religious to economic and political (Kara, 2012, p.167). For instance, in 2016, the

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[56] See Kara's book entitled *On Islam as An Issue in Republican Turkey* for more information about the historical relationships between the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*.

former president of the *Diyanet*, Ali Bardakoğlu, suggested that there should be boundaries between religion and commercialisation, and religion and politics (Sena, 2016).[57] In addition, the *Diyanet* has begun to work closely with those engaged with *Sufi* Islam. In 2010, Hasan Kamil Yılmaz, the chairman of the *Nakşibendi*-aligned Aziz Mahmud Hudayi Foundation, was appointed deputy chairman of the *Diyanet* (Cornell, 2015). It is a fact that most of students at *Imam* Hatip High Schools and Theology Departments at universities appointed by the *Diyanet* have been influenced and educated by *cemaats* during their years of education at these institutions. Therefore, the *Diyanet* has become increasingly tolerant towards *cemaats* or, rather, its attitude has changed from one of exclusion to one of inclusion, where *cemaats* are concerned, since this enables religious spaces to be controlled more easily.

In addition to this new relationship, the *Diyanet* has recently established Qur'an courses in urban and rural areas for all sectors of the population and all ages, including officials, children, men and women. These courses have flexible schedules and provide sermons for people whom the *Diyanet* has ignored for a long time, such as women and *gecekondu* dwellers. This engagement with *cemaats* and related activities indicates that the *Diyanet* has become a dominant and powerful institution, transforming its strategies for dealing with *cemaats* from aggressive ones to passive ones, in addition to striving to teach approved religion and protect the religious sphere from radicalism, superstitious tendencies and *cemaats* (Saktanber, 2002, p.151; Cornell and Kaya, 2015).[58]

In summary, *Kemalism* expelled religion – particularly *Sufi* Islam – from the socio-political centre and from public spaces, replacing it with itself. *Sufi* Islam in

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[57] Arguably, he uses 'religion' here to refer to *cemaats.*

[58] We must await further knowledge about the impact of these developments upon the Turkish religious landscape; the boundaries between the *Diyanet* and *cemaats* are still unclear and are outside the scope of this research.

Turkish history has resisted such state-imposed ideologies and practices by engaging in political, economic and social activities, which are maintained via associations and through print and electronic media. *Sufi* Islam has thus been successfully transformed, managing to survive in a new, flexible Turkish political, economic and social context. As Tapper (1991) argues, the state norms and practices were 'unable to produce a substitute for the divine laws of Islam […] and its ideology and values were inadequate, shallow and thin' (p.7). I can suggest that *Sufi* Islam and the *cemaats* have succeeded in transplanting the traditional into a contemporary Turkish context. As Mardin posits, they have been very much politically involved in the affairs of the world, while remaining concerned with spiritual renewal and purification (Mardin, 1983 cited in Tapper, 1991, p.15).

2.5   Conclusion

This chapter has provided significant background information for the current research project. It has been important to introduce the general characteristics of Turkish internal migration, demographic changes, the associations that migrants engage with the neighbourhoods in which migrants settle. The chapter has also offered an understanding of the roles of social, economic and agricultural institutional policies in patterns of internal migration and the motives behind moving, examining the establishment of associations and the building of houses in *gecekondu* areas. In addition, the chapter has delineated how the Turkish religious landscape has been shaped by the *Diyanet*, *cemaats*, and state norms and practices. From this discussion of the existing literature, it is clear that rural–urban migration has had a strong impact on the Turkish religious landscape, having shaped the religious lives of migrants and the reestablished the existence of *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats*, and brought different Islamic identities face-to-face and create tensions. Additionally, *Salafi*-oriented *cemaats* have

become an attractive option for migrants. New religious meetings, such as home sermons, have emerged in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. Finally, and no less importantly, it has been useful for us to understand how *cemaats* were reborn and have reconstructed themselves according to the demands of contemporary economic, social and political policies, and have recently become powerful not only as religious, but also as political and social, institutions. Interestingly, the *Sufi* orders of the Ottoman period and the *cemaats* in modern Turkey have both become politicised and have been potential sites for resisting the state since the Ottoman period. It can be argued, therefore, that *Sufi* orders and contemporary *cemaats* have had similar social and political roles and impacts.

In this study of migration and religion in the migration and institutional contexts, the goal is to examine the lives of migrants and the role of religion within these lives. I will explore migration across the provinces by focusing on social relations (see Chapter 4) and migrants' grounding experiences in a neighbourhood of Gebze (see Chapter 5). I will analyse the roles of hometown associations and *cemaats* in migrants' lives (see Chapter 6). Moreover, as a diverse range of Islamic traditions has been discussed here, I will consider the boundaries between migrants of the different types of Islam found in areas of urban settlement (*Sufi*, *Salafi*, parental) and between migrants and those who are left-behind (see Chapter 7). Finally, the impact of migrants' experiences on the religious lives and social relations of those in their communities of origin will also be assessed (see Chapter 8). The next chapter will explain the methodology utilised in this thesis in detail.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this research is to examine the interplay between internal migration and religion. I will explore the reconfiguration of spaces of belonging and of boundaries between migrants (boundaries within communities of migrants, as well as boundaries between the place of settlement and the hometown). The impact of migration and translocal activities on non-migrants' religious lives (relatives/kin in the hometown) will also be considered. These research foci will be addressed through an analysis of practices, materials, face-to-face interactions, narratives, expressions and discourses. This chapter discusses the methodological framework adopted to meet the aforementioned analysis. It will be organised into three sections: (1) a description of ethnographic multi-sited research; (2) the methodological design (participant selection methods, field access methods and sampling decisions); and (3) relevant academic debates and approaches (including the credibility of the study, the insider/outsider debate, ethical issues encountered in the field, and data analysis via the deductive and inductive approaches).

3.2 Ethnographic multi-sited research

This study uses the ethnographic method to understand spaces of belonging and boundary construction, and to determine the social and religious impact of migration. An understanding can be gained here via a variety of data-collection methods, including interviews and observations. Ethnography involves the utilisation of multiple methods, such as interviews, observations, document/artefact collection, picture taking and the gathering of audio-visual materials (Herbert, 2000, p.552; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3; Eberle and Meader, 2011 p.54; Gobo, 2011, p.15).

The ethnographic method is employed in this study for several reasons. Firstly, the focus of the research includes an examination of the complex interactions between places, migrants and home making (face-to-face interactions, photographs, clothes and sermons). Ethnography, as the existing literature suggests, enables us to interpret patterns of interaction between people, places, social structures and materials, as well as facilitating an examination of emotional and embodied experiences (Herbert, 2000, p.554; Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.19). Secondly, this study requires the establishment of a close relationship between the researcher and the research context to understand the dynamics of the home, home making, boundary construction, religious lives in Gebze, Giresun and Erzurum. Ethnography, as the literature suggests, enables an open relationship to exist between the researcher, the research context and the participants; there is a lack of a fixed order, and no preconceived ideas are imposed (Herbert, 2000, p.552). In short, the ethnographic approach is useful for this study because it permits multiple data-collection methods, including general observations and participation in participants' lives, thus permitting insights to be gained into patterns of interaction. As such, the ways in which people construct spaces of belonging and boundaries can begin to be seen, and the impact of migration can begin to be established.

Levitt (2007) suggests that 'to understand the role of religion in the migration process and the interaction of migration and religion, we have to look at what is happening both in the place of settlement and in the place of origin' (p.29). This is because migrants and those who are left behind are involved in translocal activities, including co-presence (virtual and physical forms, as it is discussed in the thesis introduction). The multi-sited research undertaken for this project took place in Gebze and the Giresun and Erzurum districts, between January and July 2015. Multi-sited

ethnographic research, such as this 'pursues links, relationships and connections, follows unpredictable trajectories, and traces cultural formations in its pursuit of explanations beyond borders' (Marcus, 1995, p.105; O'Reilly, 2009). In other words, 'multi-sited research invokes a sense of voyage, where the ethnographer traces clues by travelling along pathways, spatially, temporally, virtually, or bodily' (Ina Maria, 2002). I have focused on the circulation of objects, practices, values and ideas, examining the movement of, and relations between, migrants and non-migrants who live in Gebze and the Giresun and Erzurum provinces of Turkey. This approach was taken in order to determine how migration influences both religion and kinship in each place. Such aims require multi-sited research to be conducted.

A methodology of this kind also has its limitations, however (Hage, 2005). Multi-sited research is criticised for the underlying assumption that it provides a holistic account of the phenomena under examination; it is difficult for time-constrained researchers to develop an in-depth analysis of all fields (Falzon, 2009). For example, in the current study, detailed analyses of the Giresun and Erzurum areas could not be conducted due to restrictions on finances and time. In addition, there is a risk of going into too much detail and losing sight of the study aim (p.95). Therefore, I have opted, in this study, to avoid going into much detail about religious and social lives in Giresun and Erzurum when examining religious and social factors which are related to migration, migrant/non-migrant social relations, circulations and transformations.

3.3 Methods: Interviews and observations

3.3.1 Life histories and semi-structured interviews

The life history – a type of in-depth interview method – was the approach selected for data gathering. Life histories encourage and stimulate interviewees to tell stories

about significant events in their lives (Bauer, 1996). As Ricoeur (1995) states, 'in order to make sense of the pastiche of one's life as a human being, "we need a narrative [story] to live by. Without a story, a person's life is merely a random sequence of unrelated events"' (p.1 cited in Wong, 2014, p.307). Goodson and Sikes (2001) suggest that life history interviewing offers researchers a number of benefits. This method recognises that people's lives are not compartmentalised into different areas; rather, they are shaped by shared connections, experiences and meanings. Where migrants are concerned, these points of convergence may include facets of the place of origin and the destination. In addition, the life history research method enables the relationship between a person's life and the social and historical context to be examined. For migrant groups, studying life histories can help to show how migrants negotiate their identities and make sense of the roles and rules that make up the social worlds that they experience and inhabit (Goodson and Sikes, 2001).

I conducted twenty-eight life history interviews in Gebze. The interviews took between two and five hours each. The longer interviews were conducted over more than one day. After the first seven interviews had taken place, I realised that they were taking a long time, and so some of the interview questions were changed or removed (some of the original questions had four or five sub-questions) (see Appendix 4). The interviews took places at private homes, teahouses, *cemaats*, hometown associations and public parks. Although I planned at first to have eight-to-twelve participants, I increased the number in order to achieve a balance of people representing various groups (Erzurumians and Giresunians, people representing different Islamic traditions, such as *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam; people representing different associations [hometown associations and *cemaats*]; and people of different genders) and to gain a sense of the experiences of various sectors of society regarding

103

migration and religion. The participants in Gebze were selected in accordance with certain predetermined criteria: (1) the participants should identify themselves as migrants or *gurbetçi* living away from their places of origin, and (2) they should be first-generation migrants so that they could articulate their migration journey and their religious lives before migration.

Initially, I recruited participants through my own personal contacts. I have made several visits to my sister in Gebze since 2006. During my visits, I contacted *cemaat* members and representatives, and also participated in sermons and practices organised by the *cemaats*. I established good relations with three people: a blue-collar worker, a restaurant owner and a jewellery-store assistant (all male and all members of *cemaats*). These acquaintances and their experiences of living in Gebze provided an initial springboard, helping me to find further potential participants.

Participants were recruited using the snowball sampling technique, in which one person refers another and that person refers still another, and so on (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.112). As the interview questions were sensitive and building an immediate 'rapport' with, and gaining trust from, informants was difficult, I chose this recruitment technique.[59] I asked my acquaintances to participate in the interviews and, after they agreed and took part, I asked them to suggest other potential participants (members of the same *cemaat* as them or a different one).

Initially, I had difficulties with recruiting women because Muslim women do not talk to unrelated males (see Chapter 8). Muslim men and women are discouraged from spending time together in private spaces if they are not related to each other. This problem has been raised repeatedly in previous research (Küçükcan, 1999;

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[59] Building a rapport involves establishing a trusting relationship with participants and the community so that they feel secure in sharing sensitive, rich information with the researcher, to the extent that they feel assured that the information gathered and reported will be presented accurately and dependably (Kawulich, 2005).

Dessing, 2013). I asked my acquaintances whether it was appropriate to invite women to do interviews in person and they all agreed that women – and particularly those affiliated with *cemaats* – would not talk to unrelated males. I asked my sister, therefore, if she could suggest potential female participants to me. She contacted six of her friends, who agreed to participate in the presence of my sister. The interviews took place at their homes, sometimes with their husbands and children present. As discussed in existing literature, it must be borne in mind that respondents may provide different answers if others are present than they would if they were alone (Yeo *et al.,* 2014, p.208). I sought, therefore, to ensure that, as far as possible, the answers given were the opinions of the individuals being interviewed; if a third person attempted to become involved in the conversation, I responded as little as possible to that person's interjections. However, it must be acknowledged that presence of others still influences the respondent.

The life histories allowed me to learn how migrants' lives are shaped by their place of origin (Giresun or Erzurum), their present location (Gebze) and their expectations regarding the future. Furthermore, they enabled me to understand how, where and when religion and migration interact with each other. It became clear that non-religious and religious elements have dialectical relationships. I elaborate further on the contributions that the life history method makes to this study in the final chapter (the conclusion to the thesis).

After conducting the interviews, I asked the male participants if they could help me to meet the *vekils* [representative] from the *cemaats* that they belong to and the presidents of their hometown associations that they visit daily. I then conducted semi-structured interviews with the *vekils* from two *cemaats* in Gebze (Menzil and Ismailağa) and the presidents of three hometown associations (see Appendix 3). The

semi-structured interview technique allows participants to be more spontaneous and free flowing (Esterberg, 2002). These interviews helped me to understand the motivations behind the construction of spaces for migrant communities and the impact of these communities on migrants. These participants (with the exception of the *vekil* from the Kadiri *cemaat*) were willing to take part in semi-structured interviews. They consisted of one-hour interviews, which were conducted once I felt that they found me to be a person who 'can be trusted to be discreet in handling information within the setting and who will honor their promises of anonymity in publications' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.56).

The semi-structured interviews helped me to comprehend the background information behind the communities, such as their histories, leadership, practices, values, translocal activities and relationships with other institutions, such as the state. I was able to consider how and why *vekils* and leaders construct homes and 'sacred homes', as well as how they engage with migrants in Gebze and people/areas beyond. In this multi-sited research project, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the migrants' relatives and friends in the districts of Erzurum and Giresun. I visited the Aziziye, İspir, Çat and Pasinler districts of Erzurum and the Güce, Tirebolu, Espiye and Keşap districts of Giresun. I selected these districts either because my participants had emigrated from there (and therefore their friends and relatives, who they suggested as potential participants, lived there) or because the non-migrants in these districts offered to be interviewed. In total, I conducted twenty-four interviews in these areas: fourteen with non-migrants in Erzurum and ten with non-migrants in Giresun. The interviews in Giresun and Erzurum took place in private homes and teahouses. Among the participants were four return migrants living in Giresun (three male and one female).

This part of the study gave me the opportunity to appreciate how migration influences the religious lives of those left behind and how non-migrants perceive migrants' religious lives. I was also able to gain an insight into returnees' experiences in Giresun and into how religious lives in rural areas are constructed.

The interview process involved several steps. I began by introducing myself to the participants and informing them about the research. I asked them to read the consent form and the information sheet in Turkish (see Appendix 5). I prepared consent forms for each of the target groups in advance (three in total). I also compiled five different interview questionnaires (for the *vekils*, presidents, *cemaat* members, hometown associations members and those who remain behind). Before beginning the interviews, I asked the participants to read the consent and information forms, and asked if they understood them. Most of them asked me to summarise the information given, which I did so, verbally. I then asked them to sign the consent forms. Each participant was given a copy of the consent form to keep. The interviews were conducted in person and were recorded for transcription purposes. They were conducted in Turkish and transcribed in Turkish. The Turkish interview accounts used in the thesis were then translated into English. For the sake of anonymity, I use pseudonyms for participants and for the associations.

3.3.2 Participant observations

'Participant observation' refers to first-hand involvement in the social world chosen for study. The researcher is both a participant and an observer, to varying degrees. Observers immerse themselves in the setting in order to see, hear and begin to experience reality as the participants do (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.140). The literature points out that participant observation is useful for understanding the physical, social and religious contexts in which participants live – that is, the

107

relationships among and between people, the contexts, ideas and events, and people's behaviours and activities (what they do, how frequently, and with whom – see Mack *et al.,* 2005, p.1).

During the fieldwork at community centres, such as hometown and *cemaats'* associations, I used an overt participant observation technique so that members knew my purpose. I spent time at the associations with the male participants who were interviewed. Here, I adopted the role of 'participant-as-observer', which involves observation and participation through the establishment of contacts and relationships with participants (Küçükcan, 1996, p.36). As Knott (2010) articulates, 'many religious people have sought to research and write about their own religion *as if* they were observers, with objectivity and critical distance' (p.252). The aim of a researcher who writes about his/her own religion is 'to provide an entrée into [the] religion, its beliefs, and practices for outsiders' (Knott, 2010, p.252). My reason for taking such an approach was to get close to particular activities, everyday experiences, settings and people. I thus gained an insight into what was meaningful and important to people in these associations (Emerson, 1995, p.1–2 cited in Küçükcan, 1996, p.28). I discuss the insider/outsider debate, along with my positionality in the field, later in this chapter.

In addition to conducting observations, I also carried out unstructured interviews with the males who had participated in the semi-structured interviews in order to capture their feelings regarding every day and religious experiences, and the practices and objects at *cemaat* centres and hometown associations. The reasons for selecting males only were as follows: (1) men and women are separated when they attend sermons at *cemaat* centres and I felt that it was inappropriate to ask for permission to conduct observations in the female section, (2) hometown associations

are for male migrants only; I did not see any females in attendance. During the fieldwork (with permission), I took photographs of materials and practices in order to complement the observation and interview data. In addition, all the interviews and sermons that took place at *cemaat* centres were recorded (again, with permission).

During the observations, I made use of an interview guide, since I was interviewing various people in different settings and visiting a variety of communities in Gebze. I had a set of questions that was expanded or modified during the course of each interview or conversation (Küçükcan, 1996, p.30). The questions and data were therefore co-constructed with the observations. I asked questions about the objects, clothes and practices that were performed and/or used at the associations.

The combination of interviews and observations (looking, hearing, smelling, touching and/or being involved in activities) is recommended highly in scholarly literature, as the two methods complement each other. Dessing (2013) argues that if researchers gather data through interviews, they can ignore how religion is put to use in settings. Therefore, researchers should be aware of the importance of participant observation for understanding how religion is put to use in settings other than interviews (p.48). Moreover, scholars of religion warn that researchers can focus too closely on the observation of practices, artefacts and materials, ignoring other important elements, such as experiential and narrative data (Riis and Woodhead, 2010, p.3). As Orsi contends,

> A focus on what people do, and the objects with which they interact, to the exclusion of what they say risks losing an important dimension. Thus, topics like prayer and religious experience –though central to religion – are forgotten and God gets no mention – a very common and serious failure in studies of religion (Orsi, 2005 cited in Dessing, 2013, p.48).

In my research, as mentioned above, I gathered data using multiple methods. I focused not only on practices, materials and artefacts but also on the narratives,

perspectives and feelings of the research participants regarding religion and migration. In addition, data was collected through conducting observations at religious settings, taking photographs, examining clothes and taking part in face-to-face interactions. The emphasis on practices, objects and interactions did not constitute an examination of the visual and material aspects of participants' everyday religious lives and their spaces; rather, the aim was to enrich the data collected via interviews and combine the data gathered by observations and interviews.

The question of how I gained access to *cemaat* centres and hometown association centres should be addressed. Initially, I asked my contacts who were interviewed to help me to meet the *cemaat vekils* ('representatives') and *şeyhs* ('leaders'), and the presidents of the hometown associations. Once I had gained the *vekils'* and presidents' permission to enter the centres, it was easy to conduct fieldwork in these places (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.49). This is because the *vekils* and presidents of the communities were the 'gatekeepers'. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state, '"gatekeepers"' have power to open up or block off access, or […] consider themselves and are considered by others to have the authority to grant or refuse access.' (p.50).

Once I had reached the gatekeepers of the communities, I introduced myself as a researcher and informed them about the reasons for my research. Existing literature suggests that researchers should show gatekeepers all the relevant documentation and explain the research purposes to them (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.53–57). In my experience, however, documents rendered people unwilling to participate in the research. As such, I often offered to summarise the documents (or the people in question asked me to do this). In this way, I minimised the formalities, trying to be informal. I was careful, however, to explain the confidentiality procedures

surrounding the research and to show them all the relevant paperwork. I also asked

the participants to read and sign the paperwork. I attended and recorded sermons at

the *cemaat* centres and conducted unstructured interviews with former participants

about what I saw, heard and felt, with their consent. Where the presidents of the

hometown associations were concerned, the process was easier because I selected

associations for emigrants from Giresun, where I am also from. They wanted to help

with my research due to *hemşehri* bonds.

During my five months of fieldwork in Gebze, I took field notes, which are

defined as the written records for observations, including all the notes, ideas and

emotional reflections that are created during the fieldwork process (O'Reilly, 2009).

To facilitate the writing of the field notes, I created a checklist to help me remember

what I was meant to observe: (1) the space, (2) practices, (3) verbal interactions, (4)

appearances, (5) events and (6) the time. In addition, interviews were labelled with

the respondents' information, with the date and the time of the interview being noted,

and with related field notes being attached (Davies, 2008, p.233–234).

The observations and unstructured interviews took place in Gebze, Giresun and

Erzurum. In Gebze, I attended more than thirty sermons and events at *cemaats*, and

visited the hometown associations frequently. I also spent time with migrants at

teahouses and on the street. I walked around Gebze to observe how people perform

their regional identities and express their religious identities, and how affiliations

shape their backyards. I observed the fruits and vegetables grown in the backyards,

and the religious symbols and texts attached to houses and cars.

The participant observations and the unstructured interviews were conducted

with the purpose of understanding migrants' interactions, feelings and experiences in

relation to their social and physical environments. They took place at associations and

teahouses, and in neighbourhoods. I focused on objects, practices and face-to-face interactions. These methods were useful as they enabled me to appreciate the motivations and desires behind the making of spaces of belonging and the feeling of belonging, as well as the boundaries that exist between migrant groups.

3.4 Limitations

There are some difficulties and limitations to address, where this study is concerned. Some of these are similar to those faced in all qualitative research projects, such as finding participants, time and travel limitations, and transcription issues. Other problems are specific to this study. For example, I found that conducting interviews with people was sometimes difficult because of the length of time taken to conduct life history interviews (often two hours plus, in this case). At times, we had to arrange a second time and space in which to complete the interviews. This in itself was not a huge problem, but some of the informants failed to attend the second interview, and they did not respond to my calls to rearrange.

In addition, the number of female participants (N:8) was small, compared with the number of males (N:42, excluding *vekils* and presidents) (see Appendix 3). This was due to religious and cultural reasons, which prevented me from inviting women to participate in the research. As Saktanber (2002), a female scholar, suggests, because of Islamic rules regarding sex segregation, 'men would probably not be allowed to be close contact with Islamist women […] and it would be impossible for them to conduct participant observations by attending certain women's activities' (p.98).[60] To overcome this problem, as mentioned earlier, I asked my sister to help me to find female participants from amongst her acquaintances. This raises a further

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[60] This suggests that, according to Islam, contact between men and women who do not know each other should be limited (Saktanber, 2002, p. 98). Islamic rules regarding sex segregation will be discussed in Chapter 8.

issue, however, because my sister's friends are all from Giresun. As a result, emigrant women from Erzurum and other provinces were excluded from this study. In addition, I was unable to observe any women's religious gatherings, such as the home sermons organised by emigrant women.[61] Although these are open meetings, they are for women who reside in the neighbourhood – and, usually, most of the women come from the same hometown. Instead, I asked my female participants to relate the activities, feelings and actions related to the home sermon.

Another issue related to gender differences is that I wanted to focus on the rituals that internal migrants bring from their places of origin (including transitory rites related to birth, the circumcision of boys, healing practices, death rites, wedding rituals, birthday parties and religious holidays). I was not able to participate in these rituals, however, since they are performed mostly by women. I had hoped to observe how such rituals help internal migrants to sustain ties with their places of origin, to maintain a geographical identity and to reconfigure a sense of community. After being unable to observe these rituals, I decided to recruit male participants who are affiliated with *Sufi*, *Salafi* or parental Islam instead.

Turkish readers will observe that, in the main, my research consists of data provided by members of the İsmailağa *cemaat*.[62] This is because members of other *cemaats* (particularly the Kadiri *cemaat*) mainly refused to participate in the research. The reason might be that the interviews involved sensitive topics, such as the participants' pre-migration religious and non-religious lives, their *cemaat* affiliations, the decision to follow a *şeyh* (spiritual master), their emotions/feelings and their everyday religious lives. As Lee (1993) stresses, 'it is difficult to avoid the fear of

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[61] For more on the home sermon, see Chapter 7.
[62] See Chapter 6 for information about the İsmailağa *cemaat*.

being a stranger, the fear of rejection when seeking personal details about people's lives, and the fear of violating the normative standards of those being studied' (p.121). I was able to interview just one male and one female affiliated with the Kadiri *cemaat*. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 thus draw mainly on data provided by members of the İsmailağa *cemaat*, with some supplementary information being given by a few followers of parental Islam, *Salafi* Islam and the Menzil *cemaat*.

The use of the snowball technique for data collection had some drawbacks. Migrants living in Gebze could not always suggest appropriate relatives living in Giresun and Erzurum provinces to participate in the project, for two reasons. Firstly, emigrants from Erzurum tended to have moved as a whole family, so there was no one left to participate as a 'left-behind' family member. Where emigrants from Giresun were concerned, their relatives often lived in far-away places; I did not have the time or means to visit them. In future research, specific villages should be selected, instead of whole provinces, so that an in-depth, geographically focused understanding of the roles of migration and religion for those left behind can be obtained.

Finally, I had planned to explore non-migrants' individual feelings about migration, their attitudes towards migrants, and their perceptions of urban areas and the religious lives of migrants. As some of the interviews of non-migrants took place at teahouses, other customers were also in attendance at the interviews. I could not ask the participants about their individual feelings and perceptions, therefore, because it would have been difficult for them to express their true thoughts in the presence of others. As a result, I asked mainly general questions regarding migration, migrants, translocal activities related to migration and the effects of migration upon their social and religious lives. Chapter 8 was written using the limited data that I had, with the

emphasis being placed upon the impact of migration, including the reconfiguration of the family, boundaries and kinship relations.[63]

3.5 Issues

3.5.1 Trustworthiness

Scholarly trustworthiness is related to whether or not research is valid and reliable. In order to achieve validity and reliability, I used the following strategies: prolonged engagement with participants, 'persistent observation in the field', 'searching for disconfirming evidence' (the process through which researchers comb the data for evidence that is consistent with, or disconfirms, the themes) and triangulation (gathering data via multiple sources, theoretical lenses, participants and methods) (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.40). I also sought to gather rich descriptive data (describing the settings, the participants and the themes behind this qualitative study in detail – see Cresswell and Miller, 2000, p.128–129) in order to enhance the trustworthiness of this research.

As researchers cannot study a subject in a completely isolated way, they should be aware of the socio-cultural positions that they inhabit and how their value systems may affect the research process (including research design, research problems, data collection and data analysis). The factors can influence research results, as Davies contends (2008, p.4). Researchers should self-disclose their assumptions, beliefs and biases, and explain how they shape the research process and its interpretations (Creswell and Miller, 2000; Ortlipp, 2008). This is called reflexivity – the turning back of researchers to inform their audiences about their perspectives, as well as to manage their subjectivities. Being reflexive helps to control the effects of the researcher upon the research situation (Davies, 2008, p.4).

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[63] See Appendix 1 for a summary of the data sources, descriptions and aims.

To overcome problems related to my role as a researcher, I made sure that all the participants and people at the field sites were informed about the details of the study and my role as a researcher. Also, my own knowledge of the religion and power relations in the society was very helpful in overcoming many potential pitfalls, such as potential difficulties with researcher/researched relations. In addition, I have informed the readers about the reasons for choosing or ignoring particular concepts, settings, communities and participants. I have disclosed my identity – including my religious affiliation – in full, as well as explaining about my background and my emotions related to specific cases. Finally, during the data-gathering process, I asked for clarification in order to delve more deeply into the meanings of the participants. This was achieved by conducting interviews over more than one day. The trustworthiness of the research will be discussed further in the section on my hybrid insider/outsider positionality below.

3.5.2 Insider/outsider position

One of the major discussions in social research is the insider/outsider status of the researcher including fieldwork. Kikumura sums this up as follows:

> On the one hand, advocates for the outsider perspective generally argue that access to authentic knowledge is more obtainable because of the objectivity and scientific detachment with which one can approach one's investigation as a non-member of the group. On the other hand, proponents of the insider perspective claim that group membership provides special insight into matters (otherwise obscure to others) based on one's knowledge of the language and one's intuitive sensitivity and empathy and understanding of the culture and its people (Kikumura, 1986, p.2).

Today, many social scientists agree that 'while there may be several benefits of conducting research as an insider, there are also several benefits of conducting research as an outsider too' (Archer, 2002, p.111 cited in Moosavi, 2011, p.82).

116

A similar debate can be found among scholars who study religion. Here, the terms 'emic' and 'etic' are key. The 'etic' approach refers to outsider accounts (objective and secular views, for example), while the 'emic' approach refers to insider (subjective) data. In other words,

> The emic approach is informants' [insiders] attempt to produce as faithfully as possible…the informant's own descriptions. The etic perspective is the observers' [outsider's] subsequent attempt to take the descriptive information they have already gathered and to organize, systematize, compare […] that information in terms of a system of their own making (McCutcheon, 1999, p.17 cited in Ferber, 2006, p.176).

Rudolph Otto and Mircea Eliade make a strong argument for the emic approach, stating that 'any other approach results in reductionism and undermines the religion being investigated' (cited in Ferber, 2006, p.176). According to emic-focused scholars, religion is an area that is not easily accessible to the outsider (Ferber, 2006). In addition, it has been argued that the inner meaning of religion unfolds through participation only (McLeod *et al.,* 1999, p.3 cited in Knott, 2010).

On the other side of the argument, etic-focused scholars contend that the emic approach is the 'disguise under which believers smuggle their [religious] commitment into their work as scholars' (Pals, 1986, p.31). For them, researchers should not aim to get inside the experience and meaning of religious phenomena, but should build upon the benefits of critical distance in order to explain religion from the outside (Hufford, 1995 cited in Knott, 2010). More recently, researchers have recognised that the two approaches can complement one another (Morris *et al.,* 1999). While emic researchers can offer information about a religion or group that is inaccessible to outsider researchers (Knott, 2010), etic scholars can link religion to economics, politics, gender and other social constructions that insiders may not consider very relevant to that culture/religion (Morris *et al.,* 1999).

When it comes to positioning myself in relation to my research and the question of whether the participants perceived me as an insider or an outsider in the field, the answer is complex. This issue was negotiated throughout the research process. On one hand, the participants considered me an insider because we had a shared background (including aspects, such as religion and ethnicity) as well as a shared geo-spatial history and dialect (particularly where emigrants from Giresun were concerned). I have also been educated in religion (from secondary-school to bachelor-degree level) and worked as an *Imam* for the *Diyanet* for two years. These experiences offer me an insight into the meanings of my research participants' religious lives and practices, and their lives in general.

On the other hand, there were aspects that made me an outsider. Firstly, my education in the United Kingdom made them perceive me as an outsider, discouraging participants from taking part in the research and influencing their responses in the early stages of my field research. Secondly, although I have received religious education and worked as an *Imam*, I have never belonged to a *cemaat*. My lack of experience and familiarity with these settings and their practices made me an outsider, in terms of Rabe's (2003) assertion that knowledge about particular groups and settings makes researchers either insiders or outsiders.

As this case shows, it is difficult to say whether I am an insider or outsider in this study because drawing a boundary between the insider and outsider positions is complicated (Moosavi, 2011, p.83). As Davies (2008) emphasises, 'it is hard to imagine an individual who is so unreflective that s/he consistently feels a complete insider in any situation, even with his/her own family' (p.221). The problems connected with being an outsider or an insider should be addressed further here. It should be noted that the insider and outsider positions are fluid because a researcher

118

might be an outsider in relation to a particular group initially, but s/he might come to be perceived as an insider as s/he spends more time with the group. Rabe (2003) suggests that this is true when using participant observation as a research method, as was the case in this study.

These factors influenced potential participants' reactions towards me. I was seen as being in a comparatively privileged position because of my educational background. History also became a factor because historical conflicts between the Ottoman and British Empires remains a factor in Turkish people's perceptions of those from the UK. For some, this created a dilemma: should they accept me because I am Turkish or reject me for my British connections? Some even thought I might be a spy for the Turkish or the British Government. When I heard or felt that the participants were creating boundaries by using these labels, I stopped trying to conduct interviews with them for a time and waited until we had developed more of a rapport and a feeling of trust before continuing.

There were advantages to being perceived as an insider and an outsider, as other scholars have also found (Mirza, 1998, p.92 cited in Moosavi, 2011). For example, being a partial insider made it easier to gain access to participants and to gain their trust. It was also easier to understand the terminology that they used, to relate to their experiences and to know how to behave with them. I also empowered participants to feel like they were the experts, who were teaching me about their practices and *cemaats,* although I was already familiar with these aspects, to an extent. Acting as both an insider and outsider, and the movement back and forth, opened up access to many types of information – 'those which are available to outsiders, those which are available to those within the community (insiders) and those which become available

119

to the researcher through reflexive participation in the research process' (Pearson, 2002 cited in Knott, 2010).

There were also disadvantages to this fluid insider/outsider status. When the participants perceived me as an insider, it meant that they did not always think that the questions were important – they sometimes attempted to skip questions, saying, 'You know this'. To overcome this issue, I repeated the question later or rephrased it in order to increase the likelihood of obtaining an answer. The participants were also cautious when disclosing sensitive information because I was part-insider, part-outsider; they often asked me to ensure that I would not repeat the information to anybody else. I reassured them that the data would be kept confidential and anonymous. Some of the participants felt that I would criticize them when they were answering questions about their religious lives. They perceived me as someone who is knowledgeable about Islam because I introduced myself as a divinity graduate. When this caused a problem, I was sure to stress that I am a student living in England, who is therefore removed from the context and has not lived in Giresun for some time.

3.5.3 Ethics

The essence of good ethical research is treating study participants well (Webster, Lewis and Brown, 2014, p.80). According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), 'ethical research practice is grounded in the moral principles of respect for person, beneficence, and justice' (p.47). Firstly, I showed respect for the research participants by using consent forms, through which participants were informed: (1) about the purpose of the research, (2) that their participation was voluntary, (3) about the extent of their involvement in the study (interviews and observations), (4) about the study duration and scope, (5) that their voices would be recorded with their permission, (6) that they could withdraw at any time up to a set date and (7) that the data obtained

from them would be kept confidential and anonymous (the data was stored securely and only I was able to access it).

Secondly, in terms of the principle of beneficence, which suggests that the researcher should ensure that participants are not harmed by participating in the study (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.47), I made sure that the informants were not upset by their participation. During one of the interviews, a female participant began to cry when talking about her reasons for migration because marriage and migration were not her decisions. I stopped recording and asked her whether she would like to carry on with the interview, asking if she would like me to: (1) switch off the audio recorder, (2) stop for a break or (3) talk with her about her feelings. After a brief pause, she chose to carry on with the interview.

Thirdly, regarding the principle of justice – and especially distributive justice, which concerns the fair distribution of the benefits and burdens of the research – I made sure that every participant was treated equally, with special attention being given to addressing past societal injustices (Marshall and Rossman, 2011, p.47). For example, I did not misuse participants who were educationally and economically disadvantaged for the advancement of knowledge (Ethics Issues and Principles, 2006).

Furthermore, according to Davies (2008), there are two sets of difficulties that researchers face in deciding how to present their research to potential participants. The first is related to the 'technical question of how to present their research in a manner that is meaningful to their particular audience of participants' and the second concerns 'the effect on the research of any such disclosure' (Davies, 2008, p.55). To overcome these issues, my information sheet and consent form were written in Turkish, and the interviews were conducted in Turkish, in non-academic language

that was easy to understand (see Appendixes 4 and 5). The participants were also given the opportunity to ask questions about the research and the information given to them. In terms of 'disclosure information' (Davies, 2008, p.55), I gave the participants general details about the research, instead of elaborating on the specific aims and research questions because I was aware that these details might change in line with the responses gained.

During the data-gathering stage, I also paid attention to the religious lives and values of the participants. In addition, throughout the analysis and interpretation process, ethical issues were considered carefully. I avoided false statements and misinterpretations by trying to be a faithful as possible to my participants and their responses and stories, seeking to obtain in-depth, accurate understandings of their practices and experiences.

3.5.4 Data analysis

The data was analysed via thematic analysis (TA hereafter). TA is a method used to identify, analyse and report on themes within a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The analysis process was reflexive, in that I actively engaged in interpreting the data through the lens of my cultural/religious background and social position, as well as in relation to certain theoretical assumptions (Braun, 2017). The analysis was also flexible, being open to evolution and change (Braun, 2017).

Themes and codes were generated through a combined inductive (directly from the data) and deductive approach (on the basis of theory and previous research on the topic) (Bryman, 2012, p.19). At the beginning of the research process, I began my study by using deductive approach, in accordance with pre-existing theories and literature on transnational migrants and religion. I discovered, however, that an inductive approach was needed to help examine certain findings because the data

confronts and/or calls new theoretical approaches (Schutt, 2006, p.46). The following paragraphs will explain the dialogue between the deductive and inductive approaches, as well as expanding on the process used by Braun and Clarke (2006), which has been adopted in the analysis of the data set for the present study.

Data analysis commences with the researcher familiarising him/herself with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the case of my research, the familiarisation process involved the transcription, reading and translation of transcripts. I transcribed the whole data set, including interviews, field notes, sermons and events, and imported it into the NVivo software selected for use in this study. I also read the entire data set (including the Turkish transcripts and field notes) in NVivo until I became familiar with the material.

The data imported to NVivo was in Turkish. I have translated the quotations that have been used in the thesis myself. I was sure not to translate the quotations until I was clear about my interpretations of their meanings. Keeping them in Turkish for as long as possible and interpreting the meanings from the Turkish helped me to expand my understanding of these meanings (see Van Nes *et al*., 2010). When I faced difficulties with translating them, I undertook the following strategies. I asked other bilingual Turkish students studying at Lancaster University to check my interpretations to ensure that the meanings could be communicated as clearly as possible. In addition, I used both the Turkish and the English translation for certain terms, placing the English in brackets. The idea here is that Turkish readers will understand the context more easily if they can see my translation and the original word. As my study is about Turkish internal migration, it is likely that most of those reading it will be Turkish speakers or will be familiar with the topics of Turkish internal and external migration. Finally, I provided both a literal translation and an

explanation of my understanding of any ambiguous terms and phrases. These strategies were undertaken with a view to reducing the loss of meaning in translation, thereby enhancing the validity of the study and the analysis (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg, 2010). It must be noted, however, that some meanings may still have been obscured by the translation process because 'concepts in one language may be understood differently in another language' (Van Nes, 2010, p.313).

During the familiarisation stage, I gained some idea of what was interesting and relevant in the data and began to note down initial patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I began to generate codes deductively from the data in NVivo, using defined categories of analysis related to my research questions and based on specific theoretical aspects (particularly theories of transnational migration and religion, such as Tweed's [2006] notions of 'dwelling' and 'crossing', Levitt's [2007] definitions of 'transnationalism' and religion, [2007]; and Dessing *et al.'s* [2013] concept of 'everyday lived Islam'). These categories included 'body', 'home', 'community', 'media', 'the impact of secular norms and practices on individual everyday lived religion' and 'the impact of migration on those who are left behind'. There was a mismatch, however, between my data and the theory of transnationalism. My research participants discussed issues including social relationships, interactions, associations, making spaces and boundaries, which were different from the key topics identified in transnational studies (which tend to focus on the mobile aspects of migrants' lives, such as boundary crossing, networks and routes. See Chapter 1). This suggests that my study cannot set out to prove existing theories (Glaser, 1978). At the end of this stage, I coded for as many potential themes/patterns as possible, until all the data was collated and coded.

I began to search for themes by re-reading the data, reorganising the codes and identifying themes/patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006). At this stage, themes were generated from the data, such as 'migration experiences and the formation of translocal space', 'home: between here, there and elsewhere', 'the continuity and discontinuity of parental religion' and 'translocal lives'. I began to read existing literature on translocality (Brickell and Datta, 2011), place-making (Hage, 1997; Blunt and Dowling, 2006; Fortier, 2006), and the relationships between migrant groups/between migrants and those who are left behind (Fechter, 2001; Wise, 2011; Atay, 2012). Categories of analysis related to the literature were identified, including 'the production of spaces', 'locality', 'situatedness', 'connectedness', and 'migrants' interactions with other migrants and people in places of origin'. The codes were reorganised into these categories, and the categories were organised into themes and sub-themes (Braun and Clarke 2006). This process shows that the themes within data were identified in both an inductive ('bottom up') way and a theoretical ('top down') way (Braun and Clark, 2006). It also indicates that the codes and themes were created reflexively, and evolved and changed throughout the process.

I began to write the chapters by focusing on broader patterns within the data (see Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.19–20). I reviewed the coded data extracts for each theme to consider whether they appeared to form a coherent pattern (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The evidence shows that religious and non-religious spaces and interactions, as well as emotional, embodied, material and non-material practices, were constitutive elements for examining the interaction between religion and internal migration. It was also evident that attention needed to be paid to participants' religious practices in rural areas, age, gender, time of arrival and pre-migration religious lives.

During this phase, themes and sub-themes were reviewed and refined further (Braun and Clark, 2006, p.20). Broad themes were broken down into smaller ones; for example, 'migration experiences and the formation of translocal space' was split into three themes: (1) 'migratory experiences', under which were the following sub-nodes/themes: 'reasons and decisions' and 'being a *gurbetçi'* [one far away from home]); (2) 'grounding oneself in a squatter neighbourhood', under which were the following sub-themes: 'the transition period' and 'the re-grounding period'; (3) and 'migrants' associations: home-making and feeling "at home"'. The refinement process reduced the data to a more manageable set of significant themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p.392). For example, 'continuity and discontinuity in parental Islam' was refined to 'the boundaries between Islamic identities', under which there were the following sub-themes: 'between us and them' and 'between here and there'. Finally, I refined the themes once more after reading literature on translocality (as mentioned above). For instance, 'translocal lives' became 'translocal family', under which there were three sub-themes: 'care and obligation through translocal connections', 'the changing religious lives of migrants' families' and 'boundaries and kinship relations'.

Some themes were collapsed into each other when the codes linked to other themes. For example, the theme 'home: between here, there and elsewhere' was collapsed and used as a sub-theme under 'connectedness'. Other themes were removed, where there was not enough data to support the theme or to help to meet the research aims (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The themes 'the Menzil *cemaat*: a global *cemaat*' and 'the impact of secular norms and practices on individual everyday lived religion' were removed because of a lack of data to support a response to the research aims. At the end of this stage, the themes had been identified, renamed and fitted

126

together, and the data was thus presented meaningfully (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.20–22).

It should be noted that the methods that I chose, the participants I selected, and the literature that I engaged with influenced the analysis process. For example, the life histories showed that migrants' grounding in Gebze is temporary, and thus enabled two sub-themes to emerge: 'transition' and 're-grounding'. The interviews with leaders of associations and visitors/members (alongside literature such as Fortier, 2006) led me to consider the role of leaders in making a community a home, as well as the experiences and perceptions of visitors to community associations. As such, two sub-themes emerged under 'home': 'home-making' and 'feeling at home'. Conducting multi-sited ethnographic research enabled me to identify ties between migrant and those left behind, as well as to examine the transformation of religion in places of origin and the opinions of migrants and those left behind towards each other.

I have explained how my research employs T.A. to identify, analyse and report on patterns within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). I have engaged actively in the data-gathering and analysing process, which has led to themes evolving, changing and being renamed (Clarke, 2017). Combining the deductive (led by existing literature) and inductive (led by the data) approaches has led to a richer analysis process, and the final themes identified will enable the interplay between migration and religion to be explored thoroughly. As will be shown, the reconfiguration of spaces of belonging (chapters 5 and 6), the maintenance of spiritual and geographical boundaries (Chapter 7) and the translocal family (Chapter 8) will be central to the discussion, as well as the reasons and decisions behind migration, and the post-migration experience (Chapter 4).

I used NVivo software to facilitate the coding of the transcripts. Thus, I was able to organise my data, managing and synthesising my ideas (Wiltshier, 2011). I categorised the participants as migrants and non-migrants. The migrant category was sub-divided as follows: (1) migrants who affiliate with religious groups, (2) migrants who affiliate with hometown associations, (3) leaders (such as *vekils* [representative] or presidents) and (4) female migrants. The non-migrant category was sub-divided into two groups: those who live in Erzurum and those who live in Giresun. I created nodes for each group, which were related to the research questions and theoretical tools. I coded the data by hand but used the software to design and manage the data, as well as to enable searches to be made within specific codes for people, spaces, practices and materials.

3.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the methodological approach adopted for the study and have explained the different stages involved in the research process. The overall approach adopted was a qualitative ethnographic one. I have argued that an understanding of the interplay between migrants and religion requires a multi-sited research process, which can capture the experiences and perspectives of migrants and non-migrants before and after migration, and details about the religious lives of migrants and non-migrants 'here' and 'there'. This chapter has also elucidated my positionality within the research and has explained my approach towards the participants. Furthermore, my combined deductive and inductive T.A. data-analysis approach has been elaborated.

In this study, multiple methods were used to examine areas, such as migrants' home-making practices, the achievement of a sense of belonging, boundary making and translocal family relations. In the following chapters, the participants' words,

practices, materials and face-to-face interactions will be examined via interview and

observation data. The next chapter will present four life histories, exploring the

reasons, decisions and emotions connected with migrating to, and living in, Gebze.

Chapter 4: Migration to Gebze: Associated Reasons and Conditions

4.1 Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 explore the historical background to migration from Giresun and Erzurum to Gebze, including the reasons, decisions and experiences of migrants, as well as the process of becoming established and grounded in Gebze. Chapter 4 will explore the reasons behind migration and cover migrants' immediate experiences on arrival. In addition, by using the Turkish concept of *gurbet* ('away from home'), the chapter will consider how experiences (including a sense of displacement and a feeling of longing for a home) and conditions (for example, social and economic hardship) constitute migrant life. Chapter 5 will examine how migrants ground themselves in the new destination, looking at migrants' *gurbet* experiences, including interactions and encounters with both former migrants and religious leaders in the new location. The life histories of three men and one woman are studied in order to extrapolate on each of the aforementioned ideas.

Chapters 4 and 5 are introduced together here because they are closely related to each other. For one, I examine the life histories of the same participants across the two chapters. Additionally, the main themes of Chapter 4, (migrants' experiences and their emotional responses to these experiences) contribute to migrants' feelings of groundedness in the physical location in Gebze, a facet of migration that will be examined in Chapter 5. In other words, Chapters 4 and 5 complement each other because the social and emotional consequences of migration become the reasons behind the location of a space and a set of relationships. The decision to divide the material into two separate chapters was made due to the complexities of the issues circulating here – the variety of research objects means that in-depth examination is

required. I will present the life histories of all four of the migrants being examined in the current chapter.

The reasons behind migration and the decisions that it involves will be examined via several approaches, such as 'push–pull' and 'the network'. The 'push–pull' model concerns the directions of the currents of migration (Ravenstein, 1885). 'Push' factors are defined as the reasons that drive people out of their places of origin, such as fragmentation of land holdings, a lack of employment, the rapid mechanisation of agriculture, low levels of agricultural productivity and an absence of educational institutions. Such 'rural push factors' lead migrants to seek success in urban areas (Evcil, 2009). 'Pull' factors attract people to an area due to the perceived opportunities for migrants to achieve their economic expectations, such as new job opportunities, better living standards, the chance to gain upward economic mobility, educational facilities, health benefits and investment opportunities (Küçükcan, 1999; Evcil, 2009; Çoban, 2013). Here, the push–pull model will be used to explore the economic factors behind internal migration.

The push–pull model can also be used to explain marital migration. For example, research into *gecekondu* areas (squatter housing) in Turkey has shown that women often migrate for reasons associated with marriage. Frequently, marriage decisions are not made by women themselves but by their fathers, and so migration tends not to be their own choice (Erman, 2001b; Şentürk, 2013). In this way, women's parents and their husbands' families/economic conditions 'push' them to new destinations. This indicates that gender differences lead to divergent experiences of migration.

The push–pull model has been criticised by scholars because it ignores migrants' desires and actions, seeing individual choice merely as a response to

economic, state and environmental pressure (Burrel, 2008, p.23). For this reason, as explained in Chapter 1, I also employ the network approach in order to identify the causes of migration. The process begins with migrant networks, which are 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect the movers, former movers and non-movers in origin and destination through social ties' (Skop *et al.,* 2016, p.398). These networks can evolve, accumulate and generate movement. A number of recent studies on Turkish (im)migrants (for example, Küçükcan, 1999; Abadan-Unat, 2002, p.18; Şentürk, 2013, p.74) have shown that the interpersonal ties – between family members or *hemşehris* (fellow countrymen), for example – function to make migration easier for new arrivals. Former migrants provide potential migrants with information about areas, accommodation and job opportunities before migration takes place. The network approach suggests that migrants choose their places of migration based on areas where they already have links. This chapter will explore that kinship and family relations have roles in migrants' decisions to move to Gebze.

Researchers on the network approach have argued that webs of social connections lead to chain migration (Skop *et al.,* 2016, p.398). Şentürk (2013) describes Turkish chain migration as a chronological process that begins with the migration of young males to a particular place. These males then provide their families with information and if the families feel that the new place could offer them prosperity, they may migrate to the same area. Eventually, the wider family and others from the same village might also follow (Tezcan, 2011, p.55; Şentürk, 2013, p.74).

Now that the relevant literature regarding the internal migration process has been introduced, I will turn to the 'push–pull' model and the network approach, which will help us to explain the reasons behind migration and the migrants' destination

choices. In addition, the following analysis examines the life histories of four migrants: Adile, Adnan, Akar and Ali. Adile's story has been selected as it is representative of the experiences of migration that were related to me by six different women. Adnan was chosen because his tale represents the experience of emigrating from Giresun and becoming affiliated with the religious community in Gebze. Akar represents those who have emigrated from Erzurum. Finally, Ali's life history has been selected because it demonstrates that some migrants do not develop new social relations – instead, they maintain *hemşehri* relationships because of factors like work-related restrictions, age and the time of arrival in the place of settlement.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines the turning points in the four migrants' life histories. The second considers the reasons behind, and decisions related to, migration. The third section examines the migration experience in terms of the Turkish concept of *gurbet* ('living away from home'), an idea which will be used to describe the conditions and emotions related to migration, as it is mentioned in the thesis introduction.

4.2 Life histories

Adile

Adile is from Yağlıdere, a district in Giresun. She graduated from the Qur'an course in 1997, at the age of 14. At that time, her uncle introduced her to a man, who owned a small textile factory and an apartment in Beylikbağı (a neighbourhood in Gebze). This man came from a rich family that was well known in the area. Adile's father, who had cancer and was in a poor economic state, wanted her to marry the man due to his prosperity. She married him in 1997, emigrating from Yağlıdere to the Beylikbağı neighbourhood.

> I came here because of marriage. I got married at 14 years old. I was too young. My parents did not ask if I would like to get married. Otherwise, why would I have got married at 14? I don't think that anyone wants to marry at such an age.

When she migrated to Gebze to live with her husband, she moved in with her husband's family. As she was a young bride, Adile's life was controlled strictly by her husband, under the orders of her mother-in-law – conditions which led to feelings of loneliness and foreignness:

> When we came here, we lived in my husband brother's house. I looked after their children. That's why he married me. My husband's family was so strict. They did not allow me to go outside. My sister-in-law monitored me and reported to the others [if I did something wrong]. The environment bothered me. If I wanted to go outside and do anything, I had to go and do it with my husband [.…] At that time, if someone had said to me 'you can return to your village', I would have returned. There [in the hometown], life was more comfortable than life is here. We were free. Here [in Beylikbağı], I did not know anyone. I didn't know the area. I couldn't go anywhere. It made those years problematic.

During that time, she contacted her parents in Giresun frequently via telephone to mitigate her negative emotions and conditions.

Adile and Aslı met in Adile's backyard. Aslı is also an emigrant from Giresun and is therefore Adile's *hemşehri*.

> When the weather was good, we sat in the backyards of the houses. I went out there with the children. I listened to the women. They were knitting. Aslı was there. I learnt that she had emigrated from Giresun. Our houses were very close together. I visited her. Then we became friends [....] She visited me when I went through difficult times [with my husband and his parents].

Later, they met frequently at the local school, at the bazaar and in the town centre:

> We went to pick up our children from school together. We went to the bazaar together. We went into the town centre together. If I was going somewhere – back to my hometown, for example – I would entrust my children to her. And when she travelled back to our hometown, I looked after her children. We started to call each other every day. Even when one of us was visiting the hometown, we rang each other every day to talk. We are so close. We get together on Monday, Tuesday and Friday. When we go

anywhere, we go together.

It is clear that the backyard is an important point of connection – it allowed Adile to

become friends with Aslı. They have become best friends not only because of their

shared regional identity, but also due to other common experiences:

> Our children started school the same year. We have the same lifestyle. We both had a pre-arranged marriage. Our husbands are older than us and have different personalities from us. As we are alike in so many respects, we see ourselves in each other.

Adile does not trust 'others'; she trusts emigrant women from Giresun only: 'I am not

friends with anyone other than Giresunians. [This is] because others make me feel

unsafe. I do not trust them […] There are women from Sivas and Erzurum. I do not

know them. Some of them wanted to visit my home, but I did not invite them; I

cannot trust them'.

In 2010, she became affiliated with the Menzil *cemaat*. Aslı asked her to attend

a *sohbet*, which she did. The *hemşehricilik*[64] (townsmanship) between the women was

not the only reason, however, for Adile joining the *cemaat*. Indeed, her pre-migration

religious education in Giresun and her experiences with her husband's family in

Gebze also played a role:

> Aslı influenced my religious life. She introduced me to the *cemaat*. Actually, there were other reasons [for engaging with a *cemaat*]. [I think] this was due to an instinct rather than a reason. I was not free [as] my husband and his family did not allow me to go outside. If I grew independent, it might be different. Perhaps I thought that if I affiliated with a *cemaat*, my husband's family could not say anything [about it].

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[64] *Hemşehricilik* is the adjective form of *hemşehri*, a term that refers to the relationship between two people who come from same place of origin in the context of a place away from home. *Hemşehricilik* is used in relation to the condition of being from the same locality/belonging to the same geographical location, as well as in reference to the social identifiers arising from the relationship between two *hemşehris* (Öksüz, 2012).

Today, Adile is a leader of eight women – a so-called '*petek başkanı*'[65] ('honeycomb president'). The women in this 'honeycomb' live in the Beylikbağı area and are all affiliated with the Menzil *cemaat*: 'We meet every Monday. I read books to them and lead the *zikir*[66] (remembrance of Allah)'. Adile and Aslı also attend 'home sermons', which are organised by migrant women living in their neighbourhood.[67]

Adnan

Adnan was born in Giresun in 1981. He attended the Qur'an course for two years, acquiring basic religious knowledge and learning how to read the Qur'an in Arabic. Adnan emigrated from his village after graduating from high school. He wanted to find a job in which he would benefit from public health insurance.[68] He decided to migrate to Gebze specifically because his sister and aunt were living there. He lived at his aunt's house for two years. Adnan found a job in the factory where his cousin worked, with his cousin's help. Adnan's aunt also made suggestions about what he should wear and how he should behave in public. She helped to diminish his feeling of loneliness: 'I did not feel lonely because my aunt was here'.

However, the work environment made him feel foreign and isolated:

> This place [the neighbourhood] felt foreign. I was free there [in Giresun]. We could do whatever we wanted to do. Here, I saw people going to work in the morning by bus and on foot. I had a difficult time at the factory. It

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[65] *Petek* literally means 'honeycomb'. Here, it is utilised to refer to a group consisting of eight female individuals. *Başkan* can be translated as 'president' or 'leader'. Adile is the *başkan*, or leader, of this group, and is responsible for guiding the women, leading practices and giving a sermon every week.

[66] *Zikir* can be translated literally as 'remembrance'. The term is utilised by the participants to refer to the remembrance of Allah and his messenger by repeatedly reciting the names and qualities of Allah, Qur'anic passages and supplicatory prayers. *Zikir* can be performed individually or collectively, and in silence or out loud.

[67] On the 'home sermon', see Chapter 7.

[68] In Turkey, formally employed people can benefit from health insurance and security if their employers pay for them. One's parents, children and spouse can also benefit from public health insurance. Insurance can also be paid for privately, but most villagers and labourers are not financially capable of doing this. Payments can be made monthly, making it more affordable, but the insurance is still out of reach for most *gecekondu* residents (Şentürk, 2013, p.167).

was so difficult. I didn't know anyone. Not having familiar people around was difficult. My sleeping pattern broke down [because of the shift work system]. At work, everyone joked together, but I felt so foreign. I am also a shy person. I felt foreign in the environment. I did not know the streets; if I went out, I might get lost. I did not know how to find a job.

Later, Adnan made friends with people from his hometown (*hemşehris*) and would meet with them at teahouses. However, the *hemşehri* network did not make him content: 'I was in a search of things that could remove my [feeling of] emptiness. We played cards at the teahouse and talked. This did not work. I was searching for something else'.

Adnan lived in the Kadir Bakkal neighbourhood. After he arrived in the area, he would often walk for 45 minutes to meet with his *hemşehris* living in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood:

I walked to Beylikbağı in order to see them and have conversations with them. They were my friends from back home. The owner of the coffee shop was my *hemşehri*. [Therefore] the customers were our villagers [....] We played cards and talked to each other.

Aside from visiting teahouses, Adnan also took part in Friday prayers at the Yellow Mosque (*Sarı Cami*) in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood in order to be with his *hemşehris*. In 2005, one of his friends asked him to perform his Friday prayers at the Green Mosque:

One of my friends said that you should come to the Green Mosque. To make my friend happy, I went along. I listened to the *sohbet* [*sermon*] and the Friday speech [*hutbe*]. I said 'Alas!' ['*Eyvah*!'] I have been going to the Yellow Mosque in vain! I should be coming here!' I realised that this was what I had been looking for.

He became a follower of Muhterem *hoca*[69] and began to feel a sense of belonging to the *cemaat*:

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[69] *Hoca* is a title used for various professionals in the fields of trade, finance, education and bureaucracy. The title *hoca* is commonly used to refer scholars in the field of religion, religious leaders, imams, those who lead prayers at mosques, and preachers and teachers at middle and high

It was to do with Muhterem *hoca*. The *hoca* paid attention to the Prophet's way of life [his actions and his words]. He was trying to live in the same way as the Prophet's companions. I felt that I should follow him. I liked the *hoca*.

[Is your attachment to the *hoca* related your workplace experiences and your feeling of foreignness?] No! Like I said, I had already been looking for something like this. I don't know; I felt that I received a sort of spiritual *feyiz*[70] [favour and bounty] from him and I felt *muhabbet*[71] [love] for him. Sometimes, I shared my earthly and spiritual problems with him. In this way, I bonded with him completely.

The engagement with the religious group influenced Adnan's everyday life and daily interactions. He stopped going to the teahouses to meet with his *hemşehris*:

I am not friends with most of my previous friends anymore. I have invited them to attend the sermons. However, they do not listen to me. They still play cards and remain the same [not religious].

Adnan attends *sohbets* every Saturday and is an assistant manager at the *cemaat* association. For him, the *cemaat* is his life and his future:

The *cemaat* means everything. It is the reason for my life here. It is the most effective thing to have influenced my life. It is the most valuable thing and the most beautiful thing.

Akar

Akar, who was born in Erzurum in 1980, grew up in a conservative family with his seven siblings. In 2004, he decided to emigrate from Erzurum to Gebze because of his family's lack of economic capital. He selected Gebze as a destination due to his five siblings living there:

We were not doing well economically. My father said, 'I can meet your daily expenses, but I can't make any guarantees for your future life after marriage'. I decided to emigrate from Erzurum. I came to Gebze. [Why

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school (DİA, 1998). In this chapter, *hoca* is utilised to refer to those who are considered to be *şeyhs* ('leaders') or *vekils* ('representatives') of *cemaats*.

[70] *Feyiz* refers to favour, bounty, unbounded liberality and healing given by Allah. In *Sufism*, the term refers to knowledge, generosity and clemency pouring down on *Sufis'* hearts as a result of performing practices (Eraydin, 1995).

[71] *Muhabbet* literally means 'love'. The term is used in *Sufism* and is utilised by the study participants to refer to certain sentiments (such as love or fondness) that are produced as a result of relationships between followers and *şeyhs*. In everyday usage in Turkey, the term *muhabbet* is also used to refer to friendly conversation and companionship.

Gebze?] The biggest reason was that my brothers lived here. I had a springboard.

When Akar arrived in Gebze in 2004, he lived at his oldest brother's house until he got married in 2005. It can be said that his migration was not as challenging as Adile's. This is because: (1) most of his siblings were already living in Gebze, (2) his bond with his parents was already weak – he had moved away from home during high school, and (3) his father did not display any fondness for his children; Akar's father felt that his children should stand on their own two feet. As Akar said, 'I did not have any difficulties. This was a result of not being attached to my parents.'

In 2007, Akar reached a turning point in life: he began to think and decided to make changes:

> The wrongs that I committed begin to increase exponentially. I did not feel comfortable. I was also part of a new couple, and my wife understood my uneasiness [he married in 2005]. She became unhappy. This was increasing my feeling of unassuradness [*huzursuzluk*[72]]. [In addition,] I was drinking alcohol and using cannabis. Later, I made more mistakes. The religion I had learnt and the religious lives I experienced [he was referring to his parents' religious lives and norms and his three years studying at the Qur'an course] and the mistakes [committed in Gebze] were all in conflict. When these conflicts reached their summit, I began to search for a new life.

Akar affiliated with a *cemaat* after his brother suggested that he should do so. He feels that affiliating with a *cemaat* helped him to confront his problems and become a better Muslim:

> I began performing daily religious practices. My brother told me, 'you cannot keep this up. You need to get support from *Sufism* to continue'. This is because *Sufism* offers discipline – religious life becomes systematic, enjoyable and liveable.

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[72] *Huzursuzluk* is a Turkish negative abstract noun and is difficult to translate into English. However, an explanation of Turkish suffixes can help point readers towards a possible translation. *Huzur* means 'assured'. In Turkish, the -luk suffix is often added to the -suz suffix (which means 'without; lacking in') to form a negative abstract noun. Therefore, *huzursuzluk* is the negative abstract form of 'assured' and can be translated as 'unassuradness'.

However, Akar left the *cemaat* when he realised that it was not authentic enough for him – he felt that it commodified religion: 'I have no desire to be involved with places that are secular, commodified and institutionalised. They ask people to do marketing; to sell magazines. These things do not suit me.'

Ali

Ali emigrated with his parents from Dereli, a district in Giresun, to Beylikbağı in Gebze in 1972. Their reasons for emigrating and for choosing Gebze are the same as Adnan's and Akar's. Although his life history is not very dissimilar to theirs, different aspects of Ali's experience will be emphasised here. Although Ali has been in Gebze for more than forty years, he continues to socialise in the same spaces and with the same people:

> I spend most of my time with these people [friends at the hometown association for people from the Yurt area]. They are our people, culturally and regionally. I live in Ulus [a neighbourhood in Gebze] but I come here to see them. Eighty per cent of the people you see here were my friends back in our village. I come here to talk them and drink tea.

Over the years, Ali has not been able to socialise with 'others' (those who have emigrated from different cities), or to engage with different social or religious networks (such as political parties, *cemaats* and labour associations); he maintains his friendships via the hometown association for the people from Yurt. This is because of a lack of time and the exhaustion caused by his job. Ali has now retired from his job, however (as of 2008), and he spends most of his time at this hometown association and at teahouses.

4.3   Leaving Giresun and Erzurum

This section explores the migrants' reasons for leaving Giresun and Erzurum, and for selecting Gebze as a destination. The push–pull model and the network approach are used to explain the motives for migration. In the cases of the interviewees above,

migration occurred due to a lack of land (Adnan), few employment opportunities (Akar), and poor-quality schools in Giresun and Erzurum (as stated by the three male informants). These factors 'pushed' the migrants out of Giresun and Erzurum, leading them to seek a place that would provide a better future. They migrated to Gebze, one of Turkey's most industrialised districts, because of employment and education opportunities, including the high wages offered in the industrial and service sectors, and the ability to gain health insurance. Previous literature has also uncovered similar results. For example, Doğan and Kabadayı (2015) have found that urban areas become centres of attraction due to better living conditions in terms of education, job opportunities, income, health care, housing and security (p.1; see also Çoban, 2013, p.59). These factors 'pull' migrant men to Gebze. Certain statistics can be given to support this notion. Tezcan's (2011) survey of 1,019 migrants living in Gebze shows that the majority migrate to find a job (62.5%) and to receive a better education (16.8%) (p.153). In other words, access to education and jobs affect the migration decisions of Giresunian and Erzurumian men.

In addition, 20% of the participants in Tezcan's study came to Gebze through marriage (all of the participants in this group were women). It has been found that women in Turkey tend to migrate to *gecekondu* areas with their husbands or to join their husbands and in-laws in the city (Erman, 2001b).[73] Out of seven migrant women interviewed for my study, six moved to Gebze because they married men who were already established in the area (the seventh woman moved with her parents). It can be said, therefore, that migrant women are dependent on their husbands, when it comes

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[73] It should be noted that women in Turkey do not migrate solely for marriage-related reasons. When looking at destinations like *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (such as Beylikbağı), however, women do tend to arrive due to their husbands, rather than for jobs or other future prospects. It has been found that some women migrate to city centres for financial reasons. For example, Çınar (1994) conducted an extensive survey of women working from home in Istanbul, which showed that more than 71% migrated to improve their incomes (only 11% migrated for marriage).

to the selection of a new destination. This shows that women are 'pushed' by their parents and by a lack of economic opportunities, which causes them to marry (Adile, for example, did not choose marriage; her parents made the decision). Therefore, husbands and their workplaces 'pull' women from their hometowns. Often, then, the reasons for women migrating to Gebze differ from those for men.

Adnan, Ali and Akar selected Gebze as a destination because they had family members or relatives there. This suggests that translocal ties and activities connect migrants in Gebze with their relatives in Erzurum and Giresun. Akar's migration process offers an insight into how family networks create migration motives. Akar says, 'My father was angry with my eldest brother because he migrated to Gebze without asking permission. A year later, my brother visited us. My father saw that he was economically stable. Then, he has encouraged my other brothers to emigrate from Erzurum'. This excerpt indicates that potential migrants and their parents gain information about the city and its job opportunities from their relatives. Access to this information reduces anxiety, as well as increasing feelings of security and protection, as Kaya (2016) suggests in his research on Syrian migrants in Istanbul (p.16). By extension, it can be presumed that such information also reduces the risk of becoming homeless or being unemployed after migration. For migrant men, family networks thus play an important role in determining migration destinations and even providing reasons for migration, as well offering as a sense of security.

The life histories show that family networks connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants with each other in both the place of origin and the destination. These connections lead to chain migration, in which migrants' relatives and *hemşehris* leave their villages or regions and move to the new neighbourhood. This chain migration creates segmented districts, in which neighbourhoods are defined

along regional lines. Gebze is an example of such a segmented district. Emigrants from Giresun have settled in neighbourhoods like Beylikbağı, Ulus and Yavuz Selim, while emigrants from Erzurum have moved to Istasyon.[74] In this way, geographical proximity plays a role in the social interactions that occur in such neighbourhoods, which is important to understand the role of place in shaping migrants' lives histories (see Chapter 5). In the next section, I will explore the conditions and emotions that migrants experience by focusing on the concept of *gurbet*.

4.4   Being a *gurbetçi in gurbet*

In the introductory chapter, I explained that the term *gurbetçi* is used to refer to internal migrants. The term *gurbetçi* is derived from *gurbet*, a word which refers to a place away from home. Most research on *gurbet* defines the term in relation to Turkish culture only (see Kaya, 2007; Alkın, 2012; Issa, 2017). However, Gezen's (2012) research on Turkish German literary works and music and Naldemirci's (2013) study of older Turkish migrants in Sweden contextualise the term and provide useful insights into the notion of being a *gurbetçi*. Both researchers present the concept of *gurbet* as consisting of two interrelated stages. In the first stage, the migrants express a sense of rupture, displacement and separation, which includes emotional dimensions (feelings of foreignness, alienation and loneliness) and material/physical dimensions (economic and social hardship, institutional discrimination), as well as nostalgia or longing for the hometown (Gezen, 2012; Naldemirci, 2013). In the second stage, however, migrants find spaces of belonging in *gurbet* by interacting with other migrants, embracing the institutions available (Naldemirci, 2013), or combining host and home cultures and places (Gezen, 2012). Furthermore, both Gezen and

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[74] I attempted to look at the statistical data about settlers in these neighbourhoods and their origins. I was unable to extract the data, however, from the Turkish Statistical Institute.

Naldemirci's studies indicate that the first and second stages are related to each other. For Gezen (2012), 'the condition of *gurbet* is a transitional phase en route to finding and arriving at home' (p.99). Naldemirci (2013) suggests that the first stage is a product of a strong 'homing desire' created by the emotional dimension of migration (p.41).[75] Drawing on these studies, the following paragraphs will further conceptualise the idea of being a *gurbetçi*.

Research on *gurbet* has indicated that a sense of separation from the hometown and its people contributes to one's sense of being in *gurbet* (see Gezen, 2012; Naldemirci, 2013; Vural, 2018). Gezen's (2012) research reveals that the early stage of *gurbet* is expressed by Turkish-German artists as a feeling of separation from one's origins. Naldemirci's (2013) study of Turkish migrants in Sweden adds that *gurbet* is associated with a loss of social support and the networks available in the hometown. It can be suggested, then, that *gurbet* (and being a *gurbetçi*) is constituted by a feeling of distance from family, friends, home and one's culture. The point which I wish to examine further is whether a sense of rupture from the religious life of one's parents contributes to being a *gurbetçi*.

Research into *gurbet* has indicated that the place of settlement and its associated factors produce a sense of *gurbet*. As Zirh (2012) suggests, *gurbet* designates any place that is not homely. Alkın's (2013, p.621–2) study of Turkish films about Turkish migrants in Germany, finds that *gurbetçis* are depicted as facing unemployment, suffering both economic and social problems. In Gezen's (2012) research, literary works depict the early years of migration as being associated with feelings of loneliness, hopelessness and desperation due to the inhumane conditions

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[75] As explained in Chapter 1, the concept of a 'homing desire' is eloborated upon further by Fortier (2000, p. 163), who draws on Brah (1996, 180).

faced by Turkish migrants in Germany, who are labelled as 'foreigners' and 'outsiders'. Furthermore, Gezen (2012, p.93) notes that migrants compare and contrast their places of origin (rural areas within Turkey) with the places where they are in *gurbet* (urban centres in Germany, in this case). These findings raise questions about how differences between urban and rural areas can influence the experience of *gurbet*, a point which is directly relevant to the present study as my participants are rural-urban migrants. In rural areas in Turkey, life is regulated by the rhythms of nature, whereas in urban areas, linear industrial time is followed, and time is money, as I shall explore further later in the chapter.

The aspect of *gurbet* associated with a feeling of longing for what has been left behind and lost, including nostalgia and homesickness, is also worth further consideration (Gezen, 2012; Naldemirci, 2013). Gezen (2012) finds that a longing for the hometown is central to a sense of living in a *gurbet*, adding that *gurbetçis* maintain contact with family members via communication tools, as well as creating social relations with other emigrants from their homeland/hometown (see also Naldemirci, 2013). Such forms of communication enable experiences of *gurbet* to be managed in the context of new places and conditions (Gezen, 2012). It might be argued, then, that communication with those left behind and with fellow emigrants from the place of origin enables migrants to construct a home away from home. For these reasons, I will examine if and how interactions and contact with former migrants and family members back home help migrants to deal with their feelings of longing for home in the internal-migration context.

Further, Gezen (2012) and Naldemirci (2013) also argue that the emotional dimension of *gurbet* (including a sense of separation, a longing for the hometown; feelings of alienation, foreignness, isolation, malaise and sorrow) motivates the desire

to find 'home' or be 'at home'. Gezen (2012) suggests that 'the notion of *gurbet* is revaluated and transformed from a disadvantegous to an enriching condition, which becomes an impetus to make home in *gurbet*' (to write or sing about one's experiences, in the case of her research. See p.128). In addition, Naldemirci (2013) argues that '*gurbetlik* [the state of being a *gurbetçi*] is not only about a dweller in a new environment that is materially and socially different from the home but also consists of a desire to construct affective ties with new people, a longing, an endeavour to feel at home' (p.43). In this sense, the social relationships, interactions, institutions and practices that migrants maintain or perform help them to overcome condition of *gurbet* and to create spaces of belonging. It should be noted, nonetheless, that *gurbetçi* do not leave their hometowns behind when they adopt new spaces and relationships; instead, they (re)construct relationships and spaces in ways that enable the hometown to be evoked (Gezen, 2012). Therefore, *gurbetçi* can be seen as those seeking a place in which to ground themselves and make their homes without leaving the hometown behind. I endeavour, therefore, to establish whether and how the conditions that migrants face and the emotions that they feel motivate them to reconfigure their spaces of belonging and become grounded in *gurbet* by maintaining both former and new social relationships (see chapters 5 and 6).

The term *gurbet* is significant for my analysis because it is part of the language of my participants, even though they did not actively use it in the interviews to describe themselves.[76] In Chapter 3, I explained that my analysis will employ both an inductive (data-driven) and a deductive (existing-literature and theory-driven) approach. Therefore, my analysis derives not only from existing research on *gurbet*, but also from the interview data. Methodologically speaking, this study has used life

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[76] I will exemplify how some participants used the term, *gurbet*, in Chapter 6 and 7.

histories as data, which has allowed me to see that migrants' experiences are shaped by connections, experiences and meanings, and also the processes, place-related factors, social relations and institutions in migrants' lives (as discussed in Chapter 3). The concept of *gurbet* has been harnessed in order to explore the migrants' subjectivities and their experiences, starting from their arrival and moving through to the maintenance of social relations or the embrace of new institutions. Use of the term *gurbet* has enabled me to emphasise the spatio-temporal aspect of internal migration – the idea that migrants' experiences are produced through negotiations between the past, present and future, and 'here' and 'there', especially in the early years after migration. Chapters 5 and 6 will consider how the place of settlement can become a space of belonging for a *gurbetci*, enabling him/her to feel grounded and 'at home'. In the following paragraphs, however, I will turn to the issue of *gurbet* in relation to my study data.

The emotional dimension of *gurbet* is related to migrants' conditions, such as unemployment, work and relationships. For example, Adile's husband and members of her husband's family constrained her spatial movement as they did not allow her to leave the neighbourhood by herself. Therefore, these conditions isolated her from other migrants, including her *hemşehris*. For Adnan, who usually work long shifts for the minimum wage, socialising with his friends is no longer a priority. These examples show that new conditions and institutions have induced new arrangements within the lives of Adnan and Adile. As a result, Adnan and Adile have experienced constraint, alienation and loneliness, thus making them *gurbetçis*.

In addition, changes in migrants' conditions and locations provide another way in which they become *gurbetçis*. Adnan graduated from the electrics department at his vocational high school in Giresun. He was raised in a rural area. When he arrived in

Gebze, he began to work at a laundry, washing and organising clothes. This change generated a feeling of foreignness. Adnan struggled with divergent understandings of time; back home, life was regulated by the rhythms of nature, whereas in Gebze, linear industrial time was followed, and time was money. In rural areas, time is controlled by nature and by the villagers, but in Gebze, 'others' control time. Changes in location and position thus contribute to being a *gurbetçi* and experiencing feelings of foreignness and loneliness.

Furthermore, Gezen (2012), Alkın (2013) and Naldemirci (2013) suggest, among others, that being in *gurbet* is associated with being deprived of caring relationships, displacement and uprootedness, as well as with feeling of nostalgia: longing for what has been left behind and lost. During the interviews, Adnan and Adile compared the new location with their hometowns. Gebze was associated with immobility, restriction and foreignness, whereas the hometown was perceived as a source of freedom and comfort. In the early stages of migration, the hometown and the lives of family members remained central to Adnan and Adile's existence. Their celebration of the past and of the hometown was driven by their experiences of *gurbet*. As Berger (1972) indicates, a fear of the present leads to the mystification of the past (p.11). Rushdie adds that this, in turn, leads to the construction of imaginary homelands:

> It is my present that is foreign, and […] the past is home, albeit a lost home in a lost city in the mists of lost time […Therefore] we will, in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands (Rushdie, 1991, p.9).

It might be said that the past and the hometown are strategic tools for Adnan and Adile. As Ganguly (1992) suggests, 'celebration of the past and of the hometown allow the destructiveness of the present (which is defined by restrictions, a lack of

148

recognition, exclusion/exploitation, a feeling of being unaccepted and foreignness) to be absorbed' (p.40). Moreover, it helps one to regain a sense of self that is not dependent on criteria handed down by others, as the past can be claimed as one's own (Ganguly, 1992, p.40).

In Adile's life history, it is revealed that she called her parents frequently after migration, indicating that she was homesick. Research has shown that telephone communication with family members functions as a type of companionship and consolation for migrants, helping them to deal with their homesickness (Li, 2014, p.114), and to overcome feelings of despair and solitude (Erder, 1996; Kıray, 1998). Once Adile became pregnant, her longing for home grew, which accords with Thomson's (2005) finding that homesickness is often felt most acutely by women when expecting a baby (p.124). Nostalgia is also a significant emotion that allows connections between 'here' and 'there', past and present to be established. Such emphasised the past enables migrants to cope with the experiences and conditions related to *gurbet*, as well as the resulting emotions.

In the life histories of the migrant men, homesickness and longing for the hometown are not expressed in the same way as they are by Adile. For her, feelings of displacement create a sense of longing for the hometown and family – and could even precipitate a return to the hometown.[77] Thomson (2005) finds that men in general do not state that they feel homesick (p.124-5).

In addition, creating a rupture between the religious lives of one's parents and oneself also contributes to the feeling of being in *gurbet*. My data shows that migrants can feel *huzursuz* ('unassured' or 'unhappy') after living in the place of settlement for

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[77] The migrant women whom I interviewed, including Adile, mostly planned to return to their hometowns. One of the female respondents actually returned upon her arrival in Gebze, and stayed at home for three months.

some time. For example, Akar states that he felt *huzursuz* after living in Gebze for three years. He adds that he began to search for a new life as a response to that emotion. For him, this sense of disturbance was generated by the incompatibility between his religious identity (shaped in Erzurum) and his behaviours (forbidden by Allah) before and after migration. Before moving, Akar had taken a Qur'an course (he was sent by his family for three years). He found that he could not memorise the whole Qur'an, however, and he left the course. During his high-school years, Akar began to absent himself from the family home and the associated culture through actions, such as staying at a hotel with his girlfriend. In addition, after moving to Gebze, Akar began to use drugs and drink alcohol. These experiences resulted in feeling *huzursuz* ('unassured'), as mentioned above. Akar's story suggests that: (1) migrants' past lives (pre-migration) remain influential and (2) the rupture between the migrant and the past, including the religious lives of their parents, contributes to the migrant's *gurbetçi* status.[78] Akar's recollection of the past in the hometown and his feeling of disturbance do not mean that religion leads him to long for the past; instead, religion connects the past with the present, and enables him to construct a better life in which the conditions associated with being a *gurbetçi* can be overcome. This shows that being in *gurbet* can be associated with a separation not only from the home and from certain people, but also from religion. These experiences and feelings encourage migrants to change and to search for spaces of belonging.[79]

Finally, it has been suggested that migrants are assumed that '*gurbetçi* is not only about a dweller in a new environment that is materially and socially different from the home but also consists of a desire to construct affective ties with new people,

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[78] Akar does not describe himself as a *gurbetçi*. Instead, I used the term *gurbet* to explain his migratory experiences and to relate these experiences to his or other migrants' experiences, such as grounding and finding a home (see Chapters 5 and 6).

[79] These matters will be explored in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

a longing, an endeavour to feel at home' (Naldemirci, 2013, p.43). The life histories of Adnan, Akar and Adile show that they were 'searching' – they felt 'emptiness' and were 'waiting for someone to invite them somewhere' (to join a religious group, for example). These admissions indicate migrants' 'longing for belonging' (Ilcan, 2002, p.7); they search for new forms of being in the present in order to combat loneliness and foreignness, and feel attached to the destination. Interestingly, the sense of longing is geared towards finding a future home in Gebze, not returning to a past home. In other words, the migrants work prospectively, rather than retrospectively. This suggests that the condition of *gurbet* does not only invoke suffering and a longing for what has been left behind; it also generates a wish to ground oneself in the new location, which will be explored in Chapter 5 and to make and feel at home in Chapter 6.

4.5   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the reasons behind migration, the conditions that migrants face and the emotions that migrants in Gebze feel. I have argued that rural 'push' and urban 'pull' factors are useful when examining motivations for migration. However, this approach has not provided insights into migrants' individual decisions to move. Migrants select their places of migration according to the locations of relatives and *hemşehris* because the monetary and emotional costs of migration are reduced when moving to a community of likeminded people. Therefore, the network approach is useful when trying to understand individual's motivations and decisions to migrate. It has been revealed that migrant women tend to be inactive in the decision to migrate; their husbands and parents shape their patterns of migration. These findings support previous qualitative studies on reasons for migration to *gecekondu* areas (Şentürk, 2013, Tezcan, 2013, Erman, 2001b). The present study explores the interplay between

religion and migration, but I have not found that religion plays a role in the actual decision to migrate to Gebze.

The chapter has also established that the Turkish concept *gurbet, gurbetçi* and *gurbetlik* are useful for examining migrants' experiences and emotional responses to migration. Few researchers have referred to these terms, even though they are used commonly in everyday Turkish (see Çağlar, 1994; Kaya, 2007; Gezen, 2012; Alkın, 2013; Naldemirci, 2013). This chapter has shown that *gurbetçi* feel longing for the hometown, isolation, loneliness, foreignness and alienation, and they have a desire to find a new self, a new space and new relationships. This desire is due to factors, such as spatial and temporal separation from home, and unexpected conditions in the place of settlement (for example, at one's husband's house). These findings support previous qualitative studies on *gurbet* – particularly Gezen's (2012) conceptualisation of *gurbet* and its different phases, and Naldemirci's (2013) linking of *gurbet* with the concept of a 'homing desire'. However, to date, religion has not been used in migration research to understand the concept of *gurbet*. This chapter shows that a rupture with one's religious past – a past shaped before migration – also contributes to being a *gurbetçi*.

It can be suggested that the condition of *gurbet* and its associated emotions not only invoke suffering and a longing for what has been left; they also become the impetus for locating a space in which one can redefine oneself and search for a new, stable home and set of relationships, as will be shown in chapters 5 and 6. The following chapter will ask how migrant men and women establish and ground themselves in Gebze by examining social relations in Gebze.

Chapter 5: Grounding oneself in a Squatter Neighbourhood

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores migrants' grounding experiences in the new destination, looking at their interactions and encounters with former migrants and religious leaders. The previous chapter explored the condition of *gurbet* and its associated emotions, which drive migrants to search for new spaces of belonging, as well as to re-establish former social relationships or create new relations. This chapter will continue to address how these social relations, face-to-face interactions and places ground migrants in places in Gebze. The life histories of Adile, Adnan, Akar and Ali (presented in Chapter 4) are examined in order to understand migrants' grounding experiences.

In Chapter 1, I suggested that a focus on grounding experiences is necessary in order to grasp the nuances of migrants' lives. Many migration scholars concentrate on the mobile aspects of migrants' lives, emphasising flows, networks and exchanges across borders (see Morley, 2000, p.202; Ahmed *et al.,* 2003; Verne, 2012, p.4; Fortier, 2013, p.66). In the first chapter, it was argued that an understanding of the grounding experiences of migrants can be interpreted by looking at the emotional, embodied, material and quotidian experiences of migrants in the place of settlement (and, more specifically, in spaces that provide migrants with a mental connection to the hometown, thus allowing a sense of attachment to the new place to be forged). It was posited that interactions, materials and practices that lead to positive notions of place facilitate grounding in the new destination (see Brickell and Datta, 2011; Hall and Datta, 2011; Wise, 2011).

The theoretical aspect of this chapter is based on an engagement with recent scholarship on grounding. The existing literature on this subject concentrates on

places like domestic houses, teahouses, restaurants, work places and community centres (Ehrkamp, 2005; Cheng, 2010; Bilecen, 2015; Brightwell, 2013). The practices, materials (such as food) and social interactions (events and gatherings) found in these places are examined by scholars including Ehrkamp (2005), Cheng (2010) and Brightwell (2013). An analysis of the triangle constituted by the body, practices/materials and places leads these researchers to conclude that certain places become spaces that are meaningful, thus producing feelings of belonging, comfort, familiarity and security. It is in these places that identities are expressed and explored (Hall and Datta, 2011, p.70). Furthermore, boundaries are drawn and a mental connection to the hometown is established through memories and senses (without involving actual translocal practices or ties – see Brightwell, 2013, p.233).[80] These elements produce a feeling of being grounded for migrants.

This chapter focuses on the role of face-to-face interactions in the grounding experiences of migrants. In particular, interactions between new migrants and former migrants (such as migrants' relatives and *hemşehris* [fellow villagers]), and new migrants and religious leaders (*vekils* and *şeyhs*) will be examined. The locations in question will be residential houses, teahouses, mosques, hometown/religious associations (for migrant men) and backyards/bazaars (for women). The aim is to establish how these locations help to ground migrants in Gebze.

Interactions are defined by Rummel (1976) as 'the acts, actions [and] practices of two or more people mutually oriented towards each other' (online).[81] In other words, social interactions emerge from the 'mutual orientation' between two people. For Turner (1988), a social interaction is a 'situation where the behaviours of one

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[80] The sense of attachment to the hometown involves distance, nostalgia and memories, as Fortier (2000, p.62) suggests.
[81] https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TCH.CHAP10.HTM (accessed 15 December 2016).

actor are consciously reorganised by, and influence the behaviours of another actor and vice versa' (p.13-4). Such interactions take place to enable information sharing, decision making, idea/solution generation, problem resolution and socialising opportunities (Oseland *et al.,* 2011). It can be suggested, therefore, that interactions produce, and are produced by, people's behaviours, desires and actions, and the functions thereof.

In this chapter, migrants' interactions with three different groups of people will be examined: (1) *hemşehris*, (2) relatives and (3) *cemaat* leaders. *Hemşehri* relations exist between emigrants from the same place and take place in towns of settlement (Tezcan, 2011, p.51). The adjectival form is *hemşehricilik*, a term which refers to the situation where two people come from the same locality, emphasising the relationship between two people who have a sense of belonging to the same locality (Gedik, 2011, p.195). *Hemşehricilik* is formed between those who share local histories, as well as having a similar physical appearance and dialect (Kurtoğlu, 2005, online). This relationship is a product of imagination, being based on memories about one's origins, which are maintained because they provide intimations of home and feelings of intimacy (Tezcan, 2011, p.52).

In addition, migrants forge relationships with relatives who have already migrated. The Turkish term for 'kin' is *akraba*, which originates from the Arabic root *qaruba*, meaning 'to be near'. Similarly, 'kinship' is *akrabalık*, which hails from the Arabic word *qurba*, which can be translated as 'relation', 'relationship' or 'kinship' (White, 1994, p.121). In this chapter, the term *akraba* will be used in its most embracing sense, denoting relatives and family members who are related by blood and marriage, such as aunts/uncles or siblings who live in Gebze.[82]

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[82] I am aware that genealogical and biological relations do not always create kinship.

Finally, many migrants experience face-to-face interactions with *vekils*.[83] This is an area which I will explore in order to consider why migrants decide to become followers of *cemaats*. The literature on *Sufi* orders suggests that 'the close relation between the master and disciple […] results in experiences of spiritual unity, faith healing, and many other phenomena', as mentioned by Schimmel (1986, p.366; see also Mardin, 1990, p.26; Atay, 2012, p.23). Mardin (1990) argues that these relations enhance disciples' knowledge and ethical capacity (p.28).

The three aforementioned types of interaction have been selected due to their important roles in shaping people's movement, their sense of grounding and their life histories. The interactions produce a feeling of being grounded for several reasons. For one, they connect migrants across and between spaces, places and scales, and connectedness is a component of grounding (see Chapter 1). As stated above, Tezcan (2011) argues that *hemşehricilik* occurs due to shared geo-spatial histories, physical appearances and dialects (p.53).[84] Indeed, it has been suggested that dialects resonate with one's autobiographical sphere (Antonsich, 2010, p.648). Similarly, Urry (2002) contends that conversations involve people's past histories (p.29).

Furthermore, the literature on *Sufism* suggests that *Sufis* see *şeyhs* (spiritual master) as mediating between themselves and the exemplary prophetic presence (Saktanber, 2002, p.169; Atay, 2012, p.49). As Green suggests,

> In embodying the charisma and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammed in the physical presence of a living master with whom one could speak and

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[83] The term is used by my study participants to refer to someone who is the sole mediator between the *şeyh* (*cemaat* leader) and the *cemaat* (Küçükcan, 1999, p. 205). In this study, *vekil* is used to refer to a person designated as the representative of a *cemaat* by a *şeyh*. *Vekils* are responsible for giving *sohbets* in Gebze, as well as regulating the economic and educational affairs of the institutions that belong to the *cemaats*.

[84] Personally, I have not observed the ways in which physical appearance signifies one's origins and identity. However, in Turkey, dialect is a key signifier of one's hometown and class. For example, during my fieldwork, one of my participants asked me, 'Are you from the Black Sea [*Karadenizli misin*]? Is your father a farmer?' He then added, 'You should speak in a dialect that is compatible with your level of education'. It was an embarrassing moment for me!

whose hand one could clasp in a pledge of initiation, and in providing shrines for pilgrimages that were infinitely closer than Mecca, the local representatives of the *Sufi* brotherhoods were able to bridge the distance of time, space and culture that separated the Muslims of the Middle ages from the distant age and homeland of the Prophet (Green, 2012, p.87).

This indicates that the *şeyh* is the sole spiritual and physical mediator between his followers and the Prophet Muhammed, as well as between present and past, both here and in Mecca/Medina and hereafter. It can be argued, therefore, that the face-to-face interactions with one's *hemşehris* or a *Sufi şeyh* can connect migrants with the past – with imagined and remembered homes. This past may be the hometown or *asr-al saadat* – the age in which the Prophet Muhammed lived, in the 7th century.[85] In addition, the movement across times and spaces creates links with real and imagined futures (including the idea of 'hereafter'). Connections with *hemşehris*, relatives and religious leaders thus enable emotional and physical links to be forged with 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'.

Mental connections with the past, present and future can produce positive emotions and feelings, as both memory and the imaginary can be associated with comfort and safety (as discussed in Chapter 1). They can signify one's feeling of groundedness in a new destination. For example, it has been argued that familiar language generates a 'warm sensation', which can be seen as element of intimacy (Ignatief, 1994, p.7 cited in Antonsich, 2010, p.648). As stated previously, interactions with religious leaders facilitate spiritual intimacy, unity, healing and purification. Such emotions are felt by migrants and become attached to these places, thus constituting 'place-belongingness' (Antonsich, 2010, p.646) or what I term 'grounding'. Similarly, as Mankekar (2005) argues, belonging and identity are not merely 'general' feelings and ideas; they are grounded in bodily experiences

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[85] *Asr-al saadat* is also used sometimes to refer to the times in which the Prophet's well-known successors and their followers lived (Özaydın, 1991).

(memories and sensory reminders) and particular places (cited in Brightwell, 2013, p.232). To extend, local places can be understood not only in terms of their physicality, such as buildings, but also via the bodily experiences of the places that migrants carry with them and the impressions that places in destination have on them. When interpreting grounding and local attachment in the migration context, then, these bodily experiences (memories, emotions and imaginations) need to be considered.

It should be added that former migrants play a role in enabling migrants to feel grounded. Previous research into Turkish (im)migrants indicates that *hemşehricilik* (townsmanship) and kinship relations play important roles in all stages of migration (Küçükcan, 1999; Kaya, 2007; Şentürk, 2013). In particular, just after migration, former migrants are there to welcome newcomers, providing spaces of intimacy and feelings of familiarity, as well as helping arrivals to find employment, accommodation, and local institutions, such as hospitals and schools (Kurtoğlu, 2005). Through such networks, the costs and risks associated with migration are lessened for newcomers (see Kurtoğlu, 2005; Şentürk, 2013). As McMorran (2015) argues, people in the place of settlement offer assistance and emotional support to new arrivals, thus enabling them to feel at home. By extension, it can be said that the feeling of being cared for, including emotional and material support, fosters migrants' feelings of groundedness in a new destination.

Migration research has emphasised the role of place in both shaping interactions and creating feelings of groundedness. Gibson (1986) suggests that the features, properties and conditions of an environment encourage agents to encounter others. Moreover, Can (2012) argues that the 'proximity,' 'legitimacy,' 'accessibility' and 'functionality' of spaces affect levels of sociability (p.36). Simmel (1950) defines

sociability as the play form of 'sociation' – that is, the joyful experience that comes out of people's interactions in society (cited in Jovchelovitch and Hernandez, 2012, p.22). The existing literature contends that sociability fosters one's sense of attachment to the new destination (Ehrkamp, 2005; Brightwell, 2013) and thus produces a sense of being grounded.

In addition, interactions are influenced by the type of space (private, public or communal) – and even a threshold or an in-between space can have an important function here (Can, 2012, p.38). In this study, geographical proximity is considered to be an important aspect of the *hemşehri* relationship as the residents of each particular neighbourhood tend to have emigrated from the same area. Therefore, residing in the same neighbourhood facilitates social interactions between migrants. I will examine the idea of the 'threshold' or 'in-between space' later in the study.

Greeno (1994) states that migrants are agents, who act upon their desire to interact in order to have the experience of feeling at home. Individuals' decisions to visit places and meet with others are influenced by the positive emotions that are associated with such actions and places, such as safety, spiritual power/healing and belongingness. Places thus become 'space[s] of intimacy' in which migrants exchange intimations of home and feel 'at home': attached to/rooted in a particular place (Antonsich, 2010, p.647; Fortier, 2006, p.76).[86] The key point here is that both people (as active agents) and places (with their physical, social and mental aspects) engender interactions (Can, 2012).

These ideas have been examined previously in research on Turkish internal and external migrants. Aytaç (2005) has found that teahouses provide Turkish internal migrant men with social spaces in which they can discuss day-to-day problems and

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[86] The concepts of 'home' and 'feeling at home' will be explored in Chapter 6.

their hometowns. Here, migrant men mix with other local residents with similar backgrounds and identities, thus experiencing solidarity (Aytaç, 2005). Ehrkamp (2005) examines Turkish immigrants in Germany, arguing that the Turkish neighbourhood in Duisburg allows migrants to reveal their identities and forge local attachments. These findings indicate that particular places encourage migrants to interact, thus helping them to become grounded in the new destination.

Another important point, as Levitt (2007) contends, is that migrants' everyday lives are influenced not just by the destination, but also by the place of origin (p.2). For example, Ehrkamp (2005) looks at the production of places through transnational consumption, mass media, migrants' investment and the establishment of communal places (such as mosques and teahouses). She contends that the mobile aspect contributes to migrants' sense of local attachment, allowing them to feel safe and comfortable (Ehrkamp, 2005). Religion and migration scholars have posited that 'religions travel through migrants, but also with them' (Vásquez, 2009 cited in Knott, 2016, p.76). Knott contends that religions thus 'become key resources in the conduct of practices that ease the journey, arrival and settlement of migrants (Knott, 2016, p.76). Following such research, I will pay attention to the pre-migration religious education of migrants and the lives of migrants' parents in places of origin in order to assess the influence of religion on settlers in Gebze.

The present chapter explores the grounding of internal migrants by examining their life histories. One of the key concepts here is that one can feel grounded in a place at a particular point in time but move later to another place and also become grounded there. My discussion of the subject is divided, therefore, into two periods: the transition period and the re-grounding period. There is no clear-cut division between these two periods, but this spatio-temporal categorisation underlines the fact

that, in the early years of migration, migrants tend to develop kin and *hemşehri* relationships in particular places, before creating new social relations/affiliations in future years. The division will enable me to show that migrants ground themselves in one place before using social contacts to move to other places. Moreover, as I will demonstrate, migrants tend not to return to these former places and contacts once they have moved forward.

The term 'transition' refers to a space of 'becoming, development and movement' (Grosz, 2001, p.92). The places with which migrants engage during the transition period can thus be considered temporal and spatial thresholds. A 'threshold' here might also be called a 'zone of passage' – it is an area that opens up new social spaces in the migrant's destination (Boccagni and Brighenti, 2015, p.3). Spatially speaking, these thresholds serve to broaden newcomers' networks. Where the temporal aspect is concerned, migrants might use certain places in different ways at different times. For example, a new relationship might be forged that is not necessarily linked with one's roots, which causes a boundary to be developed between the new place and the former place (and its people). The re-grounding period can be said to refer, in spatial terms, to one's destination and, in a temporal sense, to 'finding oneself' or to 'finding what one was looking for.'[87] As such, grounding and transition can be understood to have both temporal and spatial meanings, which give insights into how migrants become settled in their new neighbourhoods and why they might move between places.

When discussing the roles of place-to-place relations and face-to-face interactions, contextualisation is also required. As explained in Chapter 1, the notions

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[87] This definition is drawn from the data obtained from the study participants (see the discussion of the migrants' life histories in this chapter and in Chapter 4).

of mobility and fixity are used in this thesis to determine what 'links a place to places' (Rogaly, 2015, p.1). Fixity (which, here, refers to the feeling of being grounded) and mobility have a dialectical relationship, producing each other (Rogaly, 2015, p.528). As McMorran (2015) argues, 'mobility and fixity should not be seen as opposites, but as mutually constitutive conditions' (p.83). In addition, the same place can produce mobility, immobility or fixity for different people (McMorran, 2015). The fixity–mobility dialectic can be explored by studying migrants' face-to face interactions in various places and the emotions and feelings that are produced (including groundedness). This will help us to see how gender, class, age and pre-migration religious life influence migrants' relationships with places and the settlement process.[88]

Feelings of groundedness are not only constituted through one's desire, face-to-face interactions or relationships, local settings, and pre-migration religious lives; they are also related to the feeling of being a *gurbetçi* and its associated conditions (see Chapter 4). As Gezen (2012) argues, the feeling of being far away from one's place of origin can be overcome and re-evaluated, which leads migrants to reconfigure the location of settlement as a space of belonging or find a new 'home', creating new relations and affiliations. This chapter will build upon the arguments made about the sense of *gurbet* in the previous chapter, exploring how perceptions of *gurbet* and the emotions associated with the condition shape (and, indeed, are shaped by) the feeling of groundedness.

The following section will provide an overview of the research setting, giving information about Beylikbağı, Ulus, Yavuz Selim and Hürriyet – the *gecekondu*

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[88] Rogaly (2015) and McMorran (2015) note that gender and class play a part in producing mobility, immobility and fixity.

neighbourhoods where the places mentioned in the migrants' life histories are located. In addition, the process of becoming grounded in a neighbourhood will also be examined via an analysis of the turning points in the informants' life histories.[89] This will be achieved by defining the transition and re-grounding periods in the migrants' lives.

5.1.1 Research setting

> My aunt lived here [Beylikbağı]. When my aunt bought some land, my parents said to her, 'Buy some land for us, too'. My father built the basic structure of the *gecekondu* house before we moved here. We sold our cows and sheep when we migrated to Gebze. We built the *gecekondu* house with that money. We worked for someone else during the day and then we came and built our house at night. Our neighbourhood was shocked: we built all night, and they told us that we could not see to build it. We lived there together (Ali).

Ali describes the construction of a *gecekondu* house in the 1970s. He explains that his aunt helped his family to procure land (which actually belonged to the state)[90] and that the house was built by the family. Ali's story shows that migrants from particular places tend to cluster together in the same neighbourhood, building houses with the help of their relatives and *hemşehris*. This is how *gecekondu* neighbourhoods (such as Beylikbağı and Ulus in the Gebze district are created. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 2, many of these *gecekondu* neighbourhoods have been upgraded in recent years – in the Ulus, Beylikbağı, Yavuz Selim, Hürriyet and Mimar Sinan areas of Gebze, many of the *gecekondu* houses have been turned into multi-storey properties. Several of the informants described how this process had taken place since the 1990s – as Ali explains, 'Each time one of my brothers got married, we built an extra floor'. In addition, as stated in Chapter 2, institutional norms, such as amnesty laws, have

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[89] 'Turning point' here refers to movement from one place to another and between different local places in the neighbourhood.

[90] One might wonder how, if the land belonged to the state, the migrants came to buy it. One of the interviewees explained that, in some cases, former migrants sold land that they had claimed as their own at some point in the past.

also had a role in transforming the construction of the houses in *gecekondu* areas.

More information can be gleaned about these neighbourhoods from the life histories of Adnan and Adile. In Adnan's story, teahouses and mosques are cited as being important as they are a rich source of contact for migrants, allowing social encounters to take place. In an informal interview with a migrant named Yakup, who migrated to Gebze from Sivas in the 1970s, I was told that although migrants use state land to build *gecekondu* houses, they always leave room for the construction of a mosque. This indicates that migrants keep religion in mind when moving to a new area. In addition, Tezcan (2011) argues that teahouses constitute an informal type of rural organisation, where villagers come together and discuss the distribution of the labour force, the cost of crops and new business opportunities. From my conversation with Yakup, I posit that the same can be said of mosques because they provide a meeting point for people from particular areas. The mosques and teahouses that exist in *gecekondu* areas thus reflect the social and rural dynamics of migrant communities, and also enable new migrants to create networks.

Adile's story indicates that women occupy spaces, such as houses, backyards, doorsteps and bazaars. Şentürk (2013) suggests that women in a *gecekondu* area in Ankara mostly use the backyard and the doorstep of the house to gather with their neighbours and relatives. Here, they do chores, hang up washing, staple wool, help each other and socialise (p.67–8). In this way, the doorstep is the equivalent of the teahouse for *gecekondu* women. During my fieldwork, I found that women sit in their backyards and on their doorsteps when the weather is warm. Here, they are able to watch their children playing on the street. These places can be considered to be private spaces, in a way, because they exclude men, despite that they remain public

because they are outside. It can be concluded, therefore, that these spaces inhabited by women are not purely public or private, but something in between – they are 'an interface, public/private boundary, betwixt and threshold' (Can, 2012, p.4). It is a point where the boundary between inside and outside can be crossed, allowing a range of movements and social encounters to become possible (Can, 2012, p.73). Aslı, an emigrant woman from Giresun, told me, 'We do not walk on the road in front of teahouses because they (men) can stare at us and it makes us feel annoyed'. It can be argued, therefore, that when migrant women go outside into spaces where physical boundaries are not controlled, they create their own spaces so as to avoid exposing their bodies to men. Thus, gendered spaces are produced in the streets, shaping women's experiences of the neighbourhood.

All of the male informants discussed in this chapter mention hometown associations and *cemaats* in their life histories. As stated in Chapter 1, hometown associations consist of groups of *hemşehris*, and are established for social and mutual-aid purposes. These associations organise charitable events and festivals contribute to people's development by trying to improve the economic position of the home community (Çağlar, 2006, p.1–2). In their overview of hometown associations in Turkey, scholars point out that there are two models for associations (Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005). The first type of association is the 'regional association', which are established by small businessmen, politicians and people of high social standing. These types of associations are mostly located in Istanbul and Ankara. They guide state investment into their regions of origin and represent a group's interests at a national level (Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005). The second type of association is the 'village association', the members of which originate from a defined geographical area. They tend to live in the area in which the association is located. The activities of

these associations include picnics, café visits, *gece* (a term which refers to an evening event), and activities related to mutual aid and assistance (Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005). These village associations are usually part of a larger association (DiCarlo, 2008). Despite this link with regional associations, village associations still have their own norms and events, and are not guided solely by regional activities. In a physical and a social sense, these associations can be considered similar to teahouses because both are used by *hemşehri* communities – people who share geospatial histories and cultures.

Cemaats are a little more complicated, in the sense that the term refers literally to a religious or ethnic community sharing common religious values, practices, rituals and objects, guided by a leader. *Cemaats* carry out their activities across Turkey at associations, via Qur'an courses, and through both electronic and print media. In their life histories, however, when discussing *cemaats*, the informants tend to focus on the physical buildings of the *cemaat* associations, where they meet with *vekils* (representatives). These associations can be seen as nodes in the web of translocal connections that the cemaats have developed across Turkey. For this reason, in this chapter, I will focus on the buildings themselves, where the migrants engage with *vekils* (or *hocas*).[91]

So far, I have described the places mentioned in the informants' life histories, thus giving information about the neighbourhood. The migrants engage in face-to-face interactions at these places. The following paragraphs will explore how the places under scrutiny become spaces through face-to-face interactions, which provide feelings of belonging and familiarity. Secondly, the ways in which social relations

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[91] Here, I do not give details about the practices and materials associated with *cemaats*. These elements will be explored in Chapter 6.

provide wider contact with, or, conversely, limit one's interactions with, the rest of

society will be considered. Thirdly, the translocalisation of the migrants' lives through

memories invoked by interactions will also be discussed. Finally, relationships

between places beyond social relations will be explored.

5.2   The transition period: Creating spaces of sociality and intimacy

> On April 7th, 2015, I was sitting at a teahouse in the Beylikbağı
> neighbourhood. Anıl and his friends came to the teahouse and began
> talking about Anıl's decision to leave his job. His friends were
> criticising the way in which he left. When he quit, he did not tell
> anybody. One of the men said, 'You should not have left your job the
> way you did'. Another man advised Anıl to apologise to his boss and
> return to his job. Someone else said, 'I can ask my boss to give you a
> job [at the textile company] where I work' (field note, 27/3/2015).

I have chosen this excerpt to illustrate migrants' interactions with their *hemşehris*.

Although this is an interaction at a teahouse, I use it as an example of an interaction

that might also take place in a backyard, at a mosque or at a home. Teahouses,

backyards, mosques and homes are social spaces where migrants gather to be co-

present with their *hemşehris* or relatives. As the excerpt shows, these spaces

encourage migrants to encounter each other and produce sociability, enabling the

creation of joyful experiences (Simmel and Hughes, 1949). Also, as Dubetsky (1976)

suggests, *hemşehris* understand each other's characters better because of geographical

proximity in *gecekondu* areas (p.444). In other words, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the

geographical proximity of both places and people facilitates interrelations. Such

features of the neighbourhood become transition spaces that produce sociability and

provide pleasure during the transition stage of migration.

Indeed, teahouses, homes and backyards are not just social spaces that allow

immigrants to interact with each other; they also become spaces of intimacy. This is

because former migrants, *hemşehris* and relatives display their feelings here, giving

167

assistance to others and caring for newcomers. Adnan explains how he and his aunt had conversations about finding jobs, wearing appropriate clothes, speaking correctly and acting acceptably. He expresses a positive, affective tie with his aunt's house because she provided him with hospitability, showed intimacy and helped him when he migrated. In addition, *hemşehris* care about each other, as the above excerpt about Anıl's *hemşehris* shows. Similarly, Adile's life history indicates that Aslı visited her, befriended her and listened to her daily issues, before helping her to explore the neighbourhood further. In this way, former migrants show caring attitudes towards new migrants and produce intimacy with them, thus enabling the new migrants to become grounded in the place of settlement during the transition period.

Adnan explains how he used to walk for 45 minutes to meet his *hemşehris* at the teahouse and to perform Friday prayers at a particular mosque. The life histories demonstrate that migrants have a desire to be with their *hemşehris* or relatives at certain types of places (including mosques, teahouses and backyards). There appear to be two reasons behind the desire for these interactions. Firstly, they enable migrants to combat feelings of solitude and a sense of *gurbet* – meeting others mitigates the negativity associated with migrants' conditions and their emotional consequences. Secondly, interactions allow migrants to 'find themselves', as *hemşehris*' geographical origins are the same (Fortier, 2006, p.63). In these spaces, *hemşehris* and relatives accept and give recognition to one another. This is important for a migrant/*gurbetçi*, who tends to feel 'not respected, despised, expelled, dispersed and withered' (Pazarkaya, 1979, p.64).

Importantly, *hemşehris* and relatives from the same areas will also share a dialect. The shared language triggers memories, thus allowing home to be recalled and imagined. migrants who come to the aforementioned places (which have the same

functions in rural areas) in order to have face-to-face interactions are presumably looking for spaces, therefore, in which they can reconnect with home and be 'at home'. To simplify, connectedness between 'here' and 'there', past and present produces meanings and feelings, such as familiarity, comfort, warmth and a sense of belonging (Ignatief, 1995, p.7). As a consequence, migrants attach feelings to these places, thus creating 'place-belongingness' (Antonsich, 2010, p.646). In this way, *gurbet* is transformed; foreign places are converted into spaces of intimacy through meeting with others and establishing common/collective ground.

It should also be noted that migrant men and women like Adile befriend and socialise with their *hemşehris* and relatives during the transition period because they do not trust 'others'. Existing literature indicates that trust can be created through face-to-face interactions (see Urry, 2002, p.59) or via commonalities and familiarities (see Tilly, 2007). As Charsley (2007) argues, migrants tend to trust those who are known and familiar to us and who share commonalities, such as regionality, ethnicity and religion. In addition, as I have argued, *hemşehricilik* (townsmanship) is not just a product of common geographical roots; it is also produced via face-to-face interactions. Adile trusts Aslı because her personality is familiar and known. However, others are not trustworthy because they are unknown. This indicates that *hemşehri* and kinship relations can provide wider networks for migrants (see Zhou, 2004. I will return this point later). At the same time, however, they can also produce immobility, in the sense that Adile shuns emigrant women from Erzurum, thus maintaining a limited social circle that is defined by geography. As Tilly (2007) posits, if you live within a constricted network, you are confined to a limited range of opportunities (p.15).

The transition period is a stage of becoming and movement. This period opens up new social spaces and leads to the creation of new affiliations. For example, for Adile, the backyard was a key site in the transition period because it was where she met Aslı. Through Aslı, she became affiliated with a *cemaat*, and she began to visit the bazaar and the town centre. Akar and Adnan affiliated with their *cemaats* through their relatives and *hemşehris*. It can be said, therefore, that relatives and *hemşehris* provide *gurbetçis* with wider networks and opportunities to create new affiliations. In this way, *gurbetçis* attempt to overcome a sense of *gurbet*, including feelings of separation, alienation and isolation. Thus, they are able to maintain new social relations and engage with new local places. *Gurbetçis* have created spaces of grounding in various parts of the city. However, these social relations, interactions (including interactions with *hemşehris* and relatives) and social spaces still reflect social and rural dynamics. Therefore, it can be argued that, in the transition period, *gurbetçis* forge a sense of groundedness in local places in Gebze without abandoning their familial, religious and cultural ties with places of origin. The next section will explore the role of these interactions in encountering with religious leaders and *hemşehris* in the later years of migrants and explain how the latter encounters shape the *gurbetçis'* feeling of groundedness in Gebze.

5.3   The re-grounding period: Affiliation with associations

5.3.1 Affiliation with *cemaat* associations

Hasan: After you affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*, did you still meet with your friends who were not affiliated with the *cemaat*?

Baki: There was a thing called *hicret* [the journey of the Prophet Muhammed and his companions from Mecca to Medina in 622]. That is to say, we made *hicret* to move from bad things to good things; away from bad friends and bad environments. I would not say that they are bad. However, there is a verse in the Qur'an. It says, your friends are Allah and his messenger, and those who perform prayers [*namaz*], give to charity [*zekat*] [....] Look! Allah

170

> gives us his blessing [*nimetlendiriyor*]. He feeds us and gives us health. [However,] look at the man who can get water from a flint [achieve the impossible] but is not thankful for Allah's blessing [....] I tried to tell them [about religion], but they would not listen to me. You know it [being thankful and being a true Muslim] is destined by Allah. We emigrate from them. We say we cannot be [with them] there.

Baki is an emigrant from Erzurum living in the Ulus neighbourhood. He is affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*. Baki makes a connection here between his old life and his former friends. He left his friends behind after trying and failing to persuade them of the benefits of a new path. The same context appears in Adnan's life history, in which changes are linked to place – that is, the abandonment of teahouses and a change of mosque. Baki and Adnan's life histories are useful for understanding the shift from the transition period to the re-grounding period. During the transition period, migrants' social relations and spaces show that their identities can be caught between 'here' and 'there', and between two cultures. In the re-grounding period, however, affiliations with *cemaats* can transform migrants' identities and everyday lives. If self-identification is about more than one's origins, then *cemaats/cemaat* leaders and other new links made in Gebze are also significant. It must be said that I am not suggesting that for those who affiliation with a *cemaat,* the hometown is not the primary or significant ground for continuity, solidarity and identity; rather, as Stengers (2003) contends, 'change is constituted through adding to the old and producing new articulations' (p.264). Adnan, Akar and Adile's life histories show that their closest friends are still their *hemşehris*; they have affiliated with their *cemaats* through these social relations. In the re-grounding period, however, new affiliations with *şeyhs*[92] or *vekils* exist alongside other interactions in particular social spaces.[93]

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[92] The *şeyh* of Kadiri *cemaat* resides in Gebze, guide religious practices, give sermons every Saturday evening and responds to his followers' religious and worldly questions.

[93] This section does not explore *cemaat* associations and their practices and materials, or the co-presence of members. These matters are handled in Chapter 6.

Adnan explains what is involved in his sense of affiliation with a *cemaat*. For him, the main reason for affiliating with the Kadiri *cemaat* was the *hoca* (referring to his *şeyh*). He was drawn to his lifestyle, *feyiz* ('spiritual favour and bounty') and *muhabbet* ('love' or 'fondness'). In Chapter 7, I will examine how those affiliated with *cemaats* identify themselves with these organisations (linking themselves to a particular *şeyh*, rather than naming the *cemaat* itself). The point I wish to emphasise here, however, is that face-to-face interactions with the Muhterem *hoca* (referring to the Kadiri *şeyh*) produce spiritual abundance, intimacy and fondness. The *hoca* listened to Adnan's daily and spiritual problems. In this way, the *hoca*'s emotional work and caring attitude can be said to have provided a space of grounding for Adnan. This, in turn, produces a feeling of belonging to the *hoca* and a *cemaat*. *Hocas* and *cemaats* can become the most valuable things, therefore, in a migrant's life, as Adnan states.

In his story, Adnan links the *hoca* with the Prophet Muhammed. Baki also interprets his 'emigration' from his old friends in Gebze as being similar to the Prophet's emigration from Mecca to Medina. These two examples indicate that *cemaats* offer a spatio-temporal horizon to migrants. A Muslim bases his or her life on the figure of the Prophet Muhammed. The *şeyh* provides followers with an example of the life of the Prophet through his *sohbets* (sermons) or his physical being (for similar findings, see Saktanber, 2002; Atay, 2012; see also Chapter 6). It can be claimed that the practices and representations associated with *cemaats* are symbolic mnemonics for the Prophet and his way of life. In encountering a *şeyh*, which, in turn, produced a sense of affiliation with the *şeyh*. In addition, in terms of *hicret* (journey of Prophet and his companians from Mecca to Medina), when Baki links his migration to the Prophet's migration, he is connecting the present with an imagined

past – and with Mecca. By doing so, as Atacan (1993) states, 'the Muslim im/migrants believe that the act of migration has strengthened their faith' (p.57). Furthermore, Baki describes the *cemaat* as 'good', while his old friends and places are 'bad'. The links between 'here' and 'there', present and past thus demonstrate the new spatial, temporal, social and moral horizon approached by Adnan and Baki. These links serve to justify their affinity with a *şeyh* and their new mental allegiances.

Up to this point, I have examined how re-grounding experiences (such as becoming a follower of a *şeyh*) are influenced by co-presence with the *hoca*. However, pre-migration religious lives can also influence these experiences. Adnan, Adile and Akar state that their pre-migration religious lives had an impact on their decision to affiliate with a *cemaat*. This idea can be understood further if one examines the informants' religious education in their places of origin. Adile attended the Qur'an course for one year, while Adnan attended for two years and Akar attended for three years. Qur'an courses teach basic knowledge about Islam, but they also allow attendees to 'live' Islam: it becomes an important part of their families' daily lives. Akar describes how he was aware of Islam – and of *Sufi* Islam in particular – in his hometown because his father invited his friends to their house to perform *Sufi* practices and listen to *sohbets*. Indeed, Akar refers to his parents' house as a *dergah* (*Sufi* 'lodge').[94] The connection between the migrants' affiliations and their pre-migration religious teachings/experiences explains the sense of 'looking for something' found in the migrants' stories. Religion satisfied the need for Adnan and Adile, as well as settling Akar's feelings of disturbance. In other words, the religion that they brought with them from their place of origin has contributed to their sense of

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[94] Chapter 2 explained that *Sufi* spaces of practice were closed in 1925 and their practices were banned. In the years that followed, *Sufis* moved underground, practising their rituals in their private homes in order not to be disturbed by state security forces (Çizmeci, 2015).

affiliation with a *cemaat*. What this evidence indicates is that the grounding process cannot be examined without considering factors related to both the hometown and the destination.

Grounding can be seen as a complex negotiation because it involves not only a mental reconnection with home, but also interactions with the host society. Adile states, 'Perhaps I thought that if I affiliated with a *cemaat*, my husband's family could not say anything'. It is clear that she makes a connection between her decision to affiliate with a *cemaat* and her immobility at home. *Cemaat* associations can be understood, therefore, as places where one can escape from immobility – from *gurbet*. For Adile, her everyday life also came to include mobility as a result of joining the *cemaat*. In addition, she has become a 'honeycomb president' (a leader of eight women who are affiliated with the *cemaat*) due to gaining knowledge about Islam and performing daily religious practices. Now, she goes shopping alone or with Aslı. This social and spatial mobility shows that both *hemşehricilik* (townsmanship) and *cemaat* affiliation have transformed Adile's position within her husband's family and his sense of constrainment. She has become an agent in her own migration process – and one who is independent from her husband.

When Adnan and Baki mention leaving their friends behind, it is linked to changes in place (leaving tea houses and certain mosques). Thus, symbolic boundaries are constructed between new and old, and true religion and 'others'. Researchers on Turkish religious communities discuss such boundary formation, explaining how religious groups shape migrants' lives, enabling them to define what is 'real Islam' (Kaya, 1997; Küçükcan, 1999; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013).[95] For Baki and Adnan, true Muslims perform daily practices and give to charity, and they have to be thankful

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[95] Chapter 7 will explore the symbolic boundaries between religious communities.

174

for Allah and affiliate with a *cemaat*. If they are not true Muslims – if they sit at teahouses and waste time – they are excluded and ignored. Another consequence of affiliation with *cemaat*, then, is that one's origins cease to be the main source of interaction and identity formation.

Interactions with a *şeyh* or *vekil* can produce fixity for migrants like Adnan. Although the demands placed upon *cemaat* followers might produce mobility, however, they may also make followers feel disappointment. Akar, a civil servant, left his *cemaat* due to it not being authentic enough for him. The *cemaat* demanded work from its followers, such as selling magazines, which has led him criticise the *cemaat*. For him, this demand to work renders the *cemaat* inauthentic, in a religious sense. He states that, 'The work might be considered valuable by others [such as labourers], but for me [a civil servant], I am busy all day with accounting and with people. Instead of demanding such work, they should demand help with cleaning'. Akar's search for authenticity can be interpreted as a response to modernity and its negative effects (consumerism, secularisation, and a loss of spirituality and morality). The search for authenticity is seen as being central to one's liberation from modernity (Lee, 1997). For Heidegger, 'the pursuit of authenticity is considered to be the central purpose of human existence and, therefore, highly important' (cited in Poljarevic, 2014, p.146). This suggests that the *cemaat* should be a place where one can experience true and authentic *Sufism* that makes one feel grounded. Overall, then, one place can produce mobility, fixity or discomfort, depending on the person (including that person's social status), context and experience.

I have explained the roles of co-presence with a *şeyh*, pre-migration religious lives and immobility in the process of becoming grounded. I have also explored how these conditions lead to affiliation with a *cemaat*, as well as boundary development

between the self and one's *hemşehris*. In addition, I have suggested that one's social position plays a role in maintaining one's attachment to a *cemaat*. The next paragraphs will explore the reasons why Ali came to feel grounded at his hometown association.

5.3.2 Affiliation with hometown associations

Ali did not affiliate with any political, social or religious community after arriving in Gebze. Instead, he joined a hometown association for people from Yurt. His reason for going to the association was to meet with his pre-migration friends. This shows that the space produces sociability, facilitating co-presence with Ali's friends from the hometown. In this way, Ali re-produces the past, which is associated with familiarity and sense of belonging, as discussed above. The hometown can thus be considered an important site for Ali's self-identification. *Hemşehricilik* (townsmanship) produces fixity for Ali and grounds him at the hometown association.

Furthermore, Ali's time of arrival and his job have also influenced his grounding and mobility in the neighbourhood. When I asked why he was not involved in any political or social organisations, he stated, 'I did not have enough free time because I worked long hours'. Ali's job thus limited his spatial mobility. After migrating, he spent most of his time at home or at his workplace. In addition, Ali migrated to Gebze in the 1970s, but the Yurt Hometown Association was not established until the 1990s.[96] The same is true of the religious associations in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood. As such, Ali did not have the same opportunities and options for mobility as Adnan or Akar, who emigrated in the 2000s. Today, he is retired and has abundant free time. However, he still does not engage with any social

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[96] See 'The Hometown Association for People from Yurt,' Chapter 6.

or political associations.[97] Instead, he remains with his *hemşehris* at the hometown association. I will explain the reasons for this with reference to Adile and Aslı's relationship with Ayda, another emigrant woman from Giresun.

Adile's friendship with Aslı is not just about *hemşehricilik* (townsmanship); it is also based on the commonalities that they share (age, personality differences with their husbands, religious affiliation). Commonalities affect friendship and can produce community. Cohen (1985) defines 'community' as 'those who have "something in common" with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups' (p.2). Age is one of the factors that can distinguish migrants from each other. For example, Ayda, a female migrant, says, 'even though I invited them [Aslı and Adile] to my house and wanted to be friends with them, they did not come. [This is] because they are younger than I am'. This anecdote shows that *hemşehricilik* is not always the sole basis for the formation of a friendship (Ayda is also from Giresun). I have observed that many early settlers, like Ali, have been unable to become part of the associations that have been established because of their ages and the times at which they arrived in Gebze. It is notable that most of those who visit religious associations are aged between 30 and 45. In other words, marriage, class and age can determine one's relations with others and associations, thus limiting or enabling one's mobility.

It is argued here that those who affiliate with *cemaats* no longer feel longing for the past and the hometown. Instead, *cemaat* affiliation enables them to create and maintain boundaries by categorising people on the basis of religion. For Ali, interestingly, even though the place of origin has lost its role as a key locational

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[97] In the Beylikbağı neighbourhood, there are associations for the various political parties. They are beyond the scope of this project, however, as my fieldwork took place at hometown associations and religious associations.

element of his identity, it still plays an important function in his grounding experiences because he re-establishes and sustains his social relations and interactions by attending the hometown association. In addition, the examples scrutinised here show that *gurbetçis* (those who live far away from home) begin to perceive *gurbet* (the place in which one is away from home) as a space of grounding through their face-to-face interactions, relations with their pre-migration religious lives, and interactions with local places in Gebze.

5.4   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the life histories of four migrants in order to understand their experiences of grounding in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. The life histories show that migrants can feel grounded in a place at a particular point in time but can then move on to another place and also become grounded there. As discussed in Chapter 4, *gurbetçi* have a desire to be 'at home', achieve a sense of belonging and become grounded. This chapter demonstrates that *gurbetçis'* social interactions and places respond to migrants' desires, enabling them to become grounded in a neighbourhood. This sense of grounding and being in *gurbet* may be temporary, though, and may vary from individual to Individual. Additionally, former migrants and religious leaders perform emotional and physical work, which contributes to this sense of grounding and paves the way for future interactions.

The informants' life histories have revealed that there are many similarities in the grounding experiences of migrants. Factors including age, job, gender, time of arrival, and pre-migration religious lives influence migrants' relationships with places and their sense of grounding. For example, a husband's house might represent immobility for migrant women, but relatives' or brothers' houses can produce fixity and mobility for single men. Likewise, *cemaat* associations might facilitate

grounding, as labourer Adnan found, but they may also create mobility, as in the case of Akar, a master's student and civil servant, who moved away from *cemaat* affiliation. It can be suggested tentatively, therefore, that one's level of education and social position influence the grounding process.

The division of a migrant's life history into two parts – the transition period and the re-grounding period – is a useful addition to existing research on the subject. The migrants' feelings of groundedness during these two periods are connected with each other, but the nature of this groundedness differs. It can be suggested, therefore, that grounding in a new location is not fixed and stable; rather, it is constructed through one's engagement with others and through one's circumstances. In addition, places are not isolated but relational, being constituted by social relations, which tie places to each other. Existing literature on this subject suggests that feeling grounded is associated with multiple sites in migrants' lives (Ehrkamp, 2005; Cheng, 2010; Brightwell, 2013). In such research, the temporal aspect of migrants' relationships with places has remained largely unexamined. This chapter shows that feeling grounded is constituted through one's face-to-face interactions, which link a place to other places, albeit temporarily.

In addition, the findings in this area contribute to existing literature on Turkish internal migrants. Some researchers have argued that neighbourhoods and local places act as 'buffer mechanisms' that either help migrants to integrate into their destinations (Kurtoğlu 2005) or else prevent them from adapting to the environment, thus isolating them from the wider urban area (Aytaç, 2005) and urban religiosity (see Altan, 2010; Çelik, 2013). However, what such studies overlook is that migrants undertake social interactions in different places at certain points in time, and that there are particular relationships between these places. Instead, researchers have concluded that migrants

179

adapt to a new place either by orchestrating a complete rupture with the hometown or by reproducing the culture of the hometown in the place of settlement. I contend, however, that migrants maintain aspects of their pre-migration lives while producing new articulations of selfhood, thus grounding themselves in new places via the evolution of their identities.

This chapter has shown that grounding in a place can be explored by examining life histories, including different periods in the migration process, the factors that link places together, social interactions, and migrants' emotions and feelings. In particular, I have underlined that the feeling of grounding is not fixed; migrants continue to search for it until they find relationships and places that suit their needs. This process can be ongoing as individuals' lives progress.

The next chapter concentrates on *cemaat* and hometown associations, extending the discussion of migrants' relationships with them and their role in migrants' struggle to find a space of belonging in *gurbet*. I will take a look inside these establishments through the lens of the notion of 'home'. More specifically, the social interactions that take place, the materials that are used and the practices that are performed at these associations will be in focus.

Chapter 6: Migrants' Associations: 'Home-Making' and Feeling 'at Home'

6.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to consider how various associations located in Gebze come to function as homes for Turkish internal migrants. The focus will be placed on hometown associations and *cemaat* associations. In particular, I will examine the home-making practices that occur in these places, as well as the objects and interactions associated with these practices. The lens of the notion of 'home' will be utilised in order to ascertain how the associations function as homes where a sense of feeling or being 'at home' is constructed for the migrants.

I have selected two associations from among the many located in Gebze: *Yurt Köyü Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği* ('The Culture and Mutual Aid Association for Villagers from Yurt'; Dernek hereafter) and *Beyan İlim ve Kültür Derneği* ('The Beyan Knowledge and Culture Association'; Beyan hereafter). These two associations were founded by, and are used mostly by, Giresunian migrants. Dernek was founded by emigrant men from Yurt, a village in the Dereli district in Giresun (for more information, see Section 2). Beyan is a religious association and belongs to a *cemaat,* and was founded by Giresunian migrant men and *vekil* of the Ismailağa *cemaat* (see Section 3).

The notion of 'home' has been chosen as an area of study in this thesis because the research participants themselves described these associations as 'homes' or somewhat spiritual spaces. For example, Bayram, a 52-year-old emigrant from Giresun, described Dernek as follows:

> I come here everyday after work finishes. I do not go home without visiting. I have two homes: one is my own home [where I live] and the other is here [Dernek].

Other respondents also used the word 'home' to describe Dernek. Some added that it 'reminds [them] of our culture' or that it is 'like the homeland'. Some respondents used expressions including 'the garden of heaven' and 'Allah's home' when describing Beyan, a religious association. Such phrases suggest that the buildings in which the associations are housed are not just physical constructions; there are certain aspects that make the respondents think of these sites as 'homes' – or as a kind of 'sacred home'. It should be asked, therefore, how these community centres become 'home' for the migrants, taking into account what it means to feel or be 'at home' in such environments.

The terms 'home' and 'sacred home' are complex when they are considered in the context of migration. This is because migration entails a change of home – or even multiple homes (Kochan, 2016). Blunt and Dowling (2006) conceptualise the home as 'the relationship between home and homeland, the existence of multiple homes, and the intersections of home, memory, identity and belonging' (p.199). In addition, scholars of translocality have suggested that the grounding aspect of migrant's lives, the multiple spatial registers and the various levels involved all need to be taken into account when examining the home and migration – it is more complicated than simply labelling the sending and receiving locations as 'homes' (see Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.3–4; Kochan, 2016, p.21). In Chapter 1, I posited that exploring home-making practices would facilitate an understanding of the ways in which migrants make physical dwellings into homes and achieve a sense of feeling or being 'at home'. I argued that 'home' comes to be a site of spatial and temporal connectedness that is produced through a variety of connections, relations, interactions and practices in the migration context.

It should be added that the construction of a home and the feeling of being at home are associated with one's 'homing desire' (Brah, 1996, p.192). As Fortier (2003) states, 'a desire to feel at home is achieved by physically or symbolically (re)constituting spaces which provide some kind of ontological security in the context of migration' (p.115). It can be concluded here that the home and the sense of feeling 'at home' are constituted by a desire to be at home. Thus, the motivation behind the making of homes is connected to aspects like imagination, memory and emotion.

Existing studies have suggested that 'home' can be interpreted in a number of ways: as a concept, a metaphor, a lived experience (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.21) and a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination (Brah, 1996, p.196). As elaborated in Chapter 1, I follow Knott's (2009) notion of 'dimensions of space' (including mental, physical and social dimensions) when defining the meaning of these multiple sense of home and the ways in which they are constructed via home-making practices. The idea of 'dimensions of space' enables the spaces associated with the home to be divided into three categories: (1) imagined and remembered homes, which are recalled and re-enacted in the current place (for example at Dernek), (2) the sense of home created through social interactions, and (3) the objects and practices (such as food, events and photographs) that motivate people to come together and create a sense of home. Below, I will offer a review of the existing literature on home-making practices and the concepts related to the home that will be discussed in this chapter.

One of the material elements of home making that will be examined in this chapter is the display of photographs. Here, I refer specifically to photographs used in migrants' houses and/or communities. Tolia-Kelly (2004) researches South-Asian women living in London and finds that photographs are used to preserve memories

and remind migrants of home. In other words, they are a physical mirroring of migrants' connectedness with their place of origin (Kochan, 2016). As Tolia-Kelly argues, migrants utilise photographs to create a home away from home (2004). In a study of Chinese internal migrants, Kochan (2016) suggests that migrants do not always replicate their cultures in the destination or depict their pre-migratory experiences; sometimes, photographs are used to express their aspirations as being connected to the external urban environment (p.28). Here, the images displayed reflect migrants' 'social worlds,' which can be influenced by wider structural forces in their places of settlement (Kochan, 2016).

Scholars have studied religious practices, rituals and materials in order to determine how they provide a sense of connectedness between 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'. As Johnson (2012) argues, the invocation of various types of homes occurs via nostalgia, imagination, ritual practices and narratives, as well as the plotting of futures and the summoning of ancestral pasts. In the present study, I will exemplify the spatial and temporal connections that take place by examining the importance of the *sohbet* ('sermon') in Turkish internal migrant culture. *Sohbet* is an Arabic word that literally means 'conversation' and also 'convey(s) meanings of companionship' (Silverstein, 2007, p.42). Within my research, it is used to indicate a 'meeting' in which a speech is delivered by a *hoca* (referring to the *şeyh* or *vekil*) with the aim of enhancing the attendees' religious knowledge and ethical capacity. The ultimate goal here is to engender change in the attendees' everyday lives. *Sohbets* take place often at Beyan and are structured around the reading and discussion of sayings and deeds of the prophet (Silverstein, 2007, p.49), the Qur'an and everyday issues.

Sohbets are a form of verbal communication, in which ideas are disseminated through words. Specifically, they explain and interpret Qur'anic and prophetic

messages, thus demonstrating the Muslim imagination. For Qureshi (1996), 'what expresses Muslim imagination and identity is *process,* at the core of which are words of Islam: the words of the Qur'anic Message, words that explain and interpret the Message' (p.48). These words can be said to characterise Muslim homes – they create Muslim spaces. As Metcalf (1996) elucidates, 'for a Muslim to feel at home or for a non-Muslim to recognise a Muslim space, the presence of certain spoken and written words of Islam is most telling' (online). In this sense, the *sohbet* can be seen as a verbal practice that can turn a physical building into a sacred home.

Saktanber (2002) argues that *sohbets* provide opportunities for followers/disciples to experience the period of the Prophet Muhammed and, metaphorically, to 'ask him for his advice about almost all their problems' (p.171). The point I want to make here is that *sohbets* enable migrants to forge connections between 'here' (the current place) and 'there' (imagined places) – and even 'elsewhere' (such as the life beyond this one). *Sohbets*, then, intimate imagined spaces that the Prophet experienced in the past. They can be said, therefore, to situate individuals and groups in time and space. As Blunt and Dowling (2006) contend, 'the creation of home is fostered through social, emotional and *religious relationships*' (p.23, my emphasis).

Several scholars have focused on the feelings and emotions that home making produces. As discussed in Chapter 1, Hage (1997) contends that home building can be understood as consisting of 'affective building blocks' that 'provide four feelings: a sense of security, familiarity, community and possibility or hope' (p.102–105). In addition, Hage (1997) emphasises that these practices are used to create nostalgic feelings, which enable 'migrants to feel at home where one is in the present' (p.104). Nostalgia can be defined as 'a memory of a past experience imagined from the

standpoint of the present to be homely. Nostalgic feelings guide home building in the present because people seek to foster the kind of homely feelings they know' (Hage, 1997, p.105). Therefore, home making is used and performed by migrants as it offers the possibility of generating homely feelings and allowing homely experiences to be felt, imagined and remembered (Hage, 1997, p.105; Wise, 2011, p.99).

Furthermore, existing literature on the production of sacred space has shown that religious practices, materials and words produce emotions that are connected to home making (Vasquez and Knott, 2014). For example, Hirschkind's (2001) research into Egyptians' use of cassette-recorded sermons posits that, through listening to sermon cassettes, listeners are afforded relaxation, purity and tranquillity, enriching knowledge and purifying the soul (p.626–628). To expand, it can be argued that listening to sermons is a home-making practice that provides 'positive emotional and material outcomes, and imbues the physical dwelling with "sacred energy"' (Vasquez and Knott, 2014, p.333).

Migrants' home-making practices and materials are bound up with identity and identification. An examination of home-making practices, such as the display of photographs allows the identities of inhabitants to be explored (Mallet, 2004). There are several discussions in the existing literature on the relationship between identity and home making. If home-making practices mirror migrants' connectedness with their place of origin, this signifies that the hometown is an important site for identification and the creation of a sense of belonging. In this way, home making is used to enable people to express where they come from. Indeed, it has often been argued that internal migrants' places of origin constitute a key node of belonging and a source of identity formation (see Kabachnik, Regulska and Mitchneck, 2010; Li, 2016).

186

Similarly, most Turkish literature on hometown associations indicates that these associations are spaces where migrants from the same place of origin come together and reproduce aspects of their home cultures, such as folkloric dance, artefacts and food (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005; Kurtoğlu, 2005; DiCarlo, 2008; Özkiraz and Acungil, 2012; Şentürk, 2013; Terzi and Koçak, 2014). As Yavuz (2003) suggests, 'hometowners (*hemşehriler*) do not mobilise nationalism; rather, they foster "regional patriotic (pre-nationalistic) loyalties" to the hometown' (p.84; see also DiCarlo, 2008, p.89). Kurtoğlu (2001) posits that a sense of belonging to a certain locality is a bonding force in migration, which leads to the success of hometown associations. The implication that 'home' is constituted by one's sense of belonging to the hometown is not unique to Turkish migration literature. Page's (2011) research into four African towns in Tanzania and Cameroon also discusses the role of the hometown association: 'a club that diasporas formed wherever they settled in order to bring people together on the basis of an affiliation to their home area' (p.133). In this way, studies of hometown associations tend to conclude that migrants consider themselves to belong to their hometowns, and thus the place of origin is 'home' and is a key site of migrants' identification.

Research on the 'translocal home' has criticised the idea that migrants' sense of 'home' can be interpreted in relation to only their origins (Kochan, 2016). Kochan (2016) argues that 'migrants' can become less spatially bound by ties to the place of origin, instead producing a multiplicity of homes through their everyday relationships, practices and experiences' (p.22). Fortier's (2003) research on queer migrants shows that some queer migrants describe their familial origin as the cause of displacement and a site of the impossibility of emancipation. In some cases, queer migrants move away from the familial home towards an imagined other space that can be called

'home'. In other words, in the multi-faceted process of migration, identity is shaped not only through migrants' attachment to 'there' (the hometown), but also through their affiliation with other spaces. Fortier (2003) adds here, however, that migrants always negotiate with their origins in the process of creating a home. These studies show that the place of origin is not always a key location for migrants' sense of home, even though the notion of home is always produced in negotiation with the original home.

Brickell and Datta (2011) argue that migrants' multiple spatial registers, such as their families, childhood homes, neighbourhoods, villages, towns and regions, do not disappear when they move to a new place. Furthermore, migrants' daily lives in their new settings are mediated by various spaces and scales, such as their houses, streets, neighbourhoods and cities (Brickell and Datta, 2011). If this is the case, then the connections, relations and interactions between localities, sites and scales must be considered when examining the migration process. By taking these multiple spatial registers and multi-scalar translocal activities into account, the understanding of migrants' conceptions of 'home' can be reconfigured, and migrants' sense of belonging and construction of identity become much more complex (see Kochan, 2016, p.22). For Kochan (2016), the negotiation of these multiple homes, notions of belonging and forms of identity construction brings with it the need to explore migrants' home-making practices and everyday social relationships (see also Hage, 1997; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). For these reasons, I will examine migrants' home-making practices and social relationships in order to understand how their identities and feelings of belonging are expressed, formed and lived through affiliation with hometown associations.

The existing literature on religious communities in Turkey explores how *cemaats* shape their followers' identities (Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013). For example, Saktanber (2002) finds that when women engage with *sohbets*, their everyday religious lives and identities are formed in line with prophetic and Qur'anic teachings. In addition, religious groups construct an identity using the secular/religious binary (see Kaya, 1997; Küçükcan, 1999; Saktanber, 2002; Çizmeci, 2015). The evidence indicates, therefore, that the desire to create a home or to visit certain types of 'homes' intersects with identity.

It should also be noted that these communities are lived spaces that are inhabited by people. In Chapter 5, it was shown that migrants' face-to-face interactions with their *hemşehris* (fellow villagers), relatives and religious leaders make them feel grounded (or 'at home') at various sites. It was suggested that such encounters/interactions create 'space(s) of intimacy' and produce a sense of belonging (Fortier, 2006, p.73), and that feelings of place belongingness and meaning are attached to places (Antonsich, 2010). In addition, in this chapter, I will consider *ihvan* ('spiritual brotherhood'), a concept which is widely discussed in *Sufi* literature and by the participants. As McGregor (1997) posits, *ihvan* produces, and is produced by, healing and *baraka* ('grace'). Going forward, I shall examine how face-to-face interactions turn Dernek and Beyan into social spaces where *ihvan* is produced and where migrants come to feel 'at home'.

One might ask why I have chosen to study two different kinds of associations here. As discussed earlier in the thesis, the 'everyday lived religion' approach is used in my research. In this theory, it is proposed that the use of religious resources (such as values, practices and beliefs) 'cannot be separated from other practices of everyday life', such as daily practices and interactions (Orsi, 2003, p.172). Given that the two

associations, Dernek and Beyan, operate somewhat differently, it is interesting and useful to explore the ways in which religion is lived and performed at both. It should be noted that I am not seeking to depict the differences between these two associations in terms of their home-making practices and the feelings of being 'at home' that they inspire. Instead, I am looking at the similarities between their various home-making processes and the associated feelings. Furthermore, as Fortier (2006) contends, 'the community cannot be a spontaneous and organic outcome of an already existing physical building, but it must be continually re-created by the leaders to produce a sense of connectedness and belonging' (p.70). With this in mind, the positions of the communities' leaders and the migrants will be considered in relation to 'everyday lived religion' and the creation of homely spaces.

I must add here that migrant women are not discussed in this chapter. This is because I was unable to observe women at Beyan and Dernek due to my gender, as discussed in Chapter 3. Beyan is a gendered space, where men and women meet separately, in separate rooms. Where Dernek is concerned, I focus on men's home-making practices and feelings of being 'at home' because I did not encounter any women at the association. In order to address women's spaces in this study, in Chapter 7, I will examine home sermons, which are religious gatherings organised by migrant women. I will now turn to Dernek and the ways in which it functions as a home for internal migrants.

6.2   Dernek: 'My home'

6.2.1 Introduction

> On March 27, 2015, I visited Dernek, a hometown association. It has two rooms: a teahouse and an office. I met Sukru, who emigrated from Giresun in 2004. He described Dernek as a 'little Giresun' because of its physical environment. When I first came to Dernek, I saw its similarities to other associations and teahouses in Gebze because people were drinking tea and playing cards. However, it was also

different because of the decorations (such as photographs), traditional kitchen tools and everyday gadgets I saw (field note, 27/3/2015; see Figure 6.1).

Dernek is visited by emigrants from Yurt (a village in Dereli, a district of Giresun).

Nazif has been the president of the association since November 2014. He founded the organisation with two male friends in 1998. The purpose of establishing Dernek was to foster solidarity and unity among his *hemşehris*. As Nazif stated,

> The purpose of Dernek is to provide our villagers with a space to live together; to create solidarity and unity. Before Dernek, we did not know many people, but now, we meet with many of our villagers. And we bring many of our villagers together through Dernek.

Nazif's aim, then, was to bring his hemşehris together again. He mentions the ideas of solidarity, unity and togetherness. In order to understand how Dernek provides such feelings, I will explore the home-making practices that take place at the association.

6.2.2 'A Little Giresun': Nazif's home making at Dernek

Figure 6.1: Decorations at a hometown association

Photograph by author. Photographs on the walls. A cup (*ibrik*), an oil lamp and animal bells hanging from the ceiling. A belt (*kuşak*), a buttermilk bowl, prayer beads and a basket (*gıdık*) were also hanging from the ceiling but cannot be seen in this picture.

Nazif talked about the artefacts, objects and photographs seen at Dernek (Figure 6.1). He paid more than twenty thousand Turkish liras (approximately £5000) for the interior decoration at Dernek. He showed me artefacts hanging from the ceiling and told me the stories behind them, and their value to him. One cup was made out of dried pumpkin and belonged to Nazif's father. His father's *hemşehris* used the cup to give 'buttermilk' to soldiers who passed through the villages on return from the frontline during the First World War.[98] His father used the oil lamp before electricity came to Yurt. The *kuşak* [belt] and prayer beads belonged to his mother. The basket was made out of wood and was used for picking hazelnuts. Nazif's father also gave him some animal bells (field note, 27/4/2015).

The home-making objects found at Dernek are Nazif's personal family belongings. They used to have practical functions in everyday life in his village. Today, however, they have nostalgic and aesthetic functions, and have become 'memorabilia' associated with Nazif's parents, the war, tradition and the hometown (Boym, 1998, p.516). As these objects show, migrants do not transpose cultural and religious materials to places of settlement or replicate them; instead, the materials' meanings change. Rather than being used every day, these objects have become symbolic – they function to preserve memories and remind people of the hometown.

In addition to these objects, Nazif had decorated the left-hand, right-hand and front walls and pillars of the building with photographs of Giresun. The photographs display forests, streams, hazelnut gardens, villages and high plateaus (such as Kümbet, Karaovacık and Bektaş). In addition, there is a picture of Topal Osman[99] in traditional militia clothes (a black uniform with baggy trousers). Interestingly, Nazif did not know who Topal Osman was before he emigrated from Giresun. Since his migration to Gebze, however, Osman has become an important figure for Nazif, as he explained: 'We [Giresunians] are the grandsons of Topal Osman'.

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[98] The war between the Ottoman and Russian Empires.
[99] A militia leader from Giresun who took part in the War of Independence from 1919 to 1923 (Beyoğlu, 2012).

For Nazif, Giresun has two unique characteristics. Firstly, it does not have an Independence Day, unlike most of the Turkish provinces. Secondly, there is a graveyard for Giresunian martyrs in Afyon, a province located in the Aegean Region. There are no such graveyards for martyrs in other provinces. Nazif's home-making strategies – and particularly the images of Topal Osman on the wall – are perhaps motivated by his regional, city-level patriotism and his sense of pride in his regional identity. City-level patriotism, in this case, can be taken to mean 'a deep, stated attachment to a particular city' (Smith, 2011, p.197), while pride refers to a sense of identification with, and a feeling of being worthy of being from, Giresun. In this sense, the image of Topal Osman demonstrates Nazif's sense of attachment to Giresun and his pride in his local or cultural identity.

These decorations indicate that Nazif desires to feel at home and to reproduce his attachment to his familial origins, his village and Giresun. He recreates space symbolically and physically, thus generating a homely environment in Gebze. The interaction between Nazif and the photographs can be elaborated on by distinguishing between 'auto centric' (self-centred) and 'allocentric' (object-centred) spatial references or reference frames (Burrow, 1927 cited in Tweed, 2006, p.93). If this home making is explored through a self-centred focus, the photographs can be said to foster intimations of imagined and remembered homely experiences from the past, which trigger nostalgic feelings and feelings of being at a remembered home. In an object-centred sense, however, the photographs hold spatial memories and 'carry imagined communities, so creating a kind of virtual dwellingness' (Urry, 2000, p.134). The photographs enable Nazif to travel, metaphorically speaking, to remembered, imagined homes in the past and future. 'Little Giresun' is thus created

193

mentally and physically through a desire to feel at 'home' and by home-making objects.

In addition, the decorations at Dernek can be considered expressions of Nazif's identity. This is because photographs hold memories and tell stories about the users and inhabitants in question (Digby, 2006, p.185). As I argued in Chapter 1, one becomes aware of one's identity when one 'interact(s) with a social "other"' (Cohen, 1982, p.5). This is demonstrated in the way that Nazif becomes aware of Topal Osman only after he migrates and comes to interact with emigrants from other provinces. This evidence suggests that the photographs, artefacts and objects used at *Dernek* mark Nazif's differences and reflect his identity in Gebze. They define who belongs to the group and who does not. As Connerton (1989) argues, 'our history is an important source of our conception of ourselves' (p.22). The fact that the photographs and artefacts on display belong to Nazif's family demonstrates this point. As such, the decoration of the *Dernek* building functions as a display of Nazif's multi-sited sense of connectedness (to the familial home, to his village and to his province), as well as distinguishing him from other emigrants in Gebze.

The question arises, then, do these decorations serve only to produce common ground for Yurt villagers, given that the association is named after Yurt and is used by emigrants from the village? Nazif and his friends established Dernek to create solidarity and unity among emigrants from Yurt. The decorations represent Giresun more widely, however, as shown by the photographs of the area and the picture of Topal Osman. Nazif displays a sense of attachment to Giresun and appears proud to be Giresunian. It can be suggested, therefore, that the decorations at Dernek represent emigrants from all districts of Giresun and that any person from that part of Turkey could identify with the materials on display. For Fortier (2006), a community should

194

provide some sort of 'reassurance' for its users, which can be achieved by turning a physical space into 'mirrors of who we are […] spaces that the community […] could proudly identify with' (p.67). The photographs and artefacts can thus be seen as a 'mirror' presenting local histories and physical landscapes shared by emigrants from not just Yurt, but also Giresun more generally. This idea of object providing reassurance will be considered further in the next section.

Nazif also has a close relationship with the mayor of the Dereli district (where Yurt is located) and the headman of Yurt village. Dernek sends goods to the villagers, as well as forwarding money to the village headman for the restoration of the local mosque and graveyard. Nazif also plans to build another mosque in Yurt:

> We have a plan to build a new mosque. The mosque will have multiple functions and multiple storeys. There will be a restaurant and a store on the ground floor [….] Next to the mosque, there will be a Qur'an course centre. There will be a small stream by the mosque. [He shows me the area] This was my elementary school. This wheat company was closed down.

It is through this relationship with the hometown that Dernek creates translocal homes that are shaped across local borders. The translocal activities of hometown associations and their contributions to villages constitute one of the most commonly discussed aspects of associations in the existing literature on internal migration in Turkey (see Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005; Tezcan, 2011; Özdemir, 2013). However, one area that these researchers have overlooked is the idea that these associations' contributions to their villages can be religious and may be motivated by religious desire.

Importantly, Nazif believes that religion helps people to stay connected with home (see Levitt, 2007, p.64). This is shown not only by his desire to build a mosque; he has also organised religious events, such as Qur'an recitations, at a mosque in the

Beylikbağı neighbourhood in Gebze. When I asked him why he has organised such practices, he said:

> I don't know. I am so emotional [….] They left such a beautiful land [Turkey] to us; we have to look after it. Our martyrs are lying under the land. We cannot not give them a glass of water; we do not have such an ability. We can only organise a Qur'an recitation programme and send a *bereket*[100] [blessing] to their souls. We send *berekets* to the souls of our deceased relatives, too.

By organising these events, then, Nazif seeks to send blessings to the souls of martyrs and deceased relatives. As Tweed (2006) explains, religions have to negotiate limitations and offer answers to questions that do not seem possible to solve (p.144). I can interpret Nazif's practices in this way – they help him to negotiate earthly boundaries and corporeal limitations, and offer solutions to the question of how thankfulness can be shown to souls. Such blessings can be understood as spiritual gifts sent to souls, enabling connections to be forged between 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'. Moreover, Nazif's remembrance of martyrs demonstrates his deep sense of pride in his national identity. It can be argued, therefore, that religious events foster a sense of connectedness with one's genealogical and locational past, and promote a shared national history. In other words, hometown associations function not only via their members' sense of belonging to a hometown, but also via their connections to familial origins, districts, provinces and the nation more broadly.

Interestingly, Nazif did not begin to hold such religious events immediately after arriving in Gebze in 1994; he told me that he held the first one in 2013. Tweed (2006) suggests that religions are not static and monolithic; they change according to time and place, and are influenced by different cultural practices (in cases of

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[100] *Bereket* can be translated as 'blessing and power', 'spiritual width' or 'happiness conferred by God upon humankind' and is achieved through prayer and religious practices. *Bereket* can refer to both material and spiritual benefit (Esposito, 2003). In this extract, the word refers to the blessing, which is associated with specific places, things and acts, such as certain foods, animals, plants, religious events, words and gestures (Colin, 1986, p. 1032).

displacement). It can be inferred, then, that Nazif will have been influenced by such cultural practices in Gebze. Nazif's home making can be said, therefore, to involve not only the replication of his homeland's cultural and religious repertoire; it also includes the socio-culture in a particular locality in Gebze.

These religious events can be considered to reflect Nazif's eclectic and hybrid identity: he mixes different cultural and religious practices together to create a new type of event. It is a Yurtlian event in the sense that the *Imam* mentions the attendees' origins during *dua* (invocation, act of supplication) and asks them to name their hometown. However, other aspects are local to Gebze – for example, the rice, buttermilk (*ayran*) and meat eaten at these events are products of Gebze and are not consumed exclusively by the migrants from Yurt or Giresun. Thus, the event is not quite 'indigenous' to either Yurt or Gebze. Through such hybridisation of events, *Dernek* functions as a translocal site that blends 'here' with 'there', past with future. Home making can be understood, therefore, as a dynamic and transformative process shaped by the mixing and reworking of religion and cultures (Blunt and Dowling, 2006, p.215).

Thus far, I have considered how Nazif turns a physical dwelling into a home. The home-making practices used by Nazif have shown that '*gurbet* and making home become codependent and mutually productive of one another' (Gezen, 2012, p.99). In other words, longing for the homeland drives Nazif to make a home in *gurbet*. This reconfiguration of home and *gurbet* suit his various spatial and temporal affiliations. One aspect of this home making is that physical spaces must provide 'reassurance' for their users (Fortier, 2006, p.67). In addition, the feeling of being 'at home' must also be generated (Ahmed *et al.,* 2003). To determine whether and how Nazif's home-making practices make Dernek into a home, fostering homely feelings and

reassurance for his *hemşehris*, I will now examine Bayram and his friends' responses to Nazif's home-making practices/strategies.

When I first met Bayram at the association, he was watching the national news on television. I introduced my project and myself. We had a conversation about where I am from and where my family lives. As soon as he identified that I was Giresunian, I could sense that *hemşehrilik* (regional intimacy) was established – we are both familiar with the hazelnuts, tea, forests and high-mountain pastures that characterise the area. Arguably, then, the interaction between us was not related to our bodies, social positions or occupations (student versus worker); rather, it was influenced by our memories, our emotional and physical connections to Giresun – to the common shared local history. In this sense, imagining 'home' leads to the construction of a home away from home in a space like Dernek. As such, 'home' is constituted via interactions and feelings in such a setting.

The interview with Bayram took two hours. Afterwards, Bayram sat a table with his friends, who were playing cards. He began talking with his friends about the interview questions and his responses to them. It seemed to me that playing cards was not their aim; rather, the men wanted to have conversations with their *hemşehris*. One of Bayram's friends stated, 'We do not come here to play cards; we like to see each other and have a conversation'. It can be suggested, therefore, that the purpose of visiting Dernek is to come into co-presence – the card game merely facilitates face-to-face interaction. As scholars have argued, such interactions between those who have familiar dialects and shared geo-spatial histories reduces migrants' isolation, anxiety and loneliness because intimations of home are exchanged, which produce a sense of belonging and 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991 cited in Wise, 2011, p.99; Fortier, 2006, p.73), and generate the 'warm sensation' associated with being among

198

people (Ignatief, 1994 cited in Antonsich, 2010, p.648). This perhaps explains why

Bayram refers to *Dernek* as his home. He explained his reasons for visiting the

association every day further:

> If you know your friends and their cultures, you can sit and talk with them.
> If your friends were from Ağrı and Kars [other provinces], you wouldn't
> know about their habits. So how could you have a dialogue with them? In
> any case, you have to have a familiar environment. The familiar
> environment [including the presence of *hemşehris*] attracts you, whether
> knowingly or unknowingly.

Bayram thus avoids interacting with other migrant groups because of his unfamiliarity

with their cultures and activities. A sense of belonging to the hometown influences his

decisions to interact with, and trust, others. *Hemşehrilik* provides familiarity because

Bayram knows what to talk about with his fellow villagers and how to talk about it – a

situation that fosters a variety of homely feelings.[101] Significantly, though, local

gossip also plays a role in determining interactions (or lack thereof) between people

from different regions. Tezcan (2011) examines internal migrants in Gebze and finds

that the gossip mechanism is used to draw boundaries between migrant groups and to

generate information about others. In this way, a hierarchy of groups is established,

with some claiming superiority over others (Tezcan, 2011, p.64-7). During my

fieldwork, I witnessed gossip circulating among migrants based on people's origins,

religious affiliations and ethnicities. For instance, I heard that Giresunians were seen

either as alcoholics with rural characters or, in contrast, as devout people. The

significant point here in relation to my research is that there is a lack of social

interaction between different internal migrant groups in Gebze. Social distance

produces/is produced by a lack of trust of, and unfamiliarity with, others and their

cultures. In turn, people interact with those who have familiar cultures and habits

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[101] I examined the links between *hemşehrilik* and a sense of trust in Chapter 5.

199

only. In this way, hometown associations like Dernek become attractive social spaces because they allow *hemşehris* (like Bayram and his friends) to exchange intimations of homely experiences, cultures and customs, while excluding others.

In addition, one of Bayram's friends states, 'One thing that makes me attached to here [Dernek] is that I can call to my friends across the tables. We know each other very well, so we can talk loudly'. For Hage (1997), a person can feel at home if he has autonomy and can make his own rules, whereas 'where the law of the other rules […] we cannot feel at home' (p.104). Bayram and his friends feel 'at home' at Dernek, then, because they have control over their interactions.

During the interview with Bayram, he also explained that the decorations at the association are important to him:

> At the association, the view reminds me of the culture of our region. This, both wittingly and unwittingly, attracts you. My friends from Bağcılar [a district of Istanbul] visited and they liked it here. [I came here because] the decoration and friendship are so important. For me, firstly, the interior decoration is important and, secondly, the behaviour of the owner is important.

Bayram was sitting next a pillar decorated with a set of photographs entitled 'Villages of Dereli' (the district in which Yurt is situated). I asked him which photograph displayed his village. He pointed immediately to the specific photograph and said:

> This is the photo of my village. That is our high plateau. When I look at them, my feelings overflow [*içim dolup taşıyor*]. I spent my childhood there [the high plateau]. We played here. My home is there [pointing to the photo]. I built it four years ago.

Photographs clearly have meaning and value for Bayram (Tolia-Kelly 2004). The visual representation of his village and the high plateau narrate his biography – where he comes from, where he spent his childhood, and where his parents lived. As Urry (2000) contends, such objects 'structure people's capacities to reminisce about the past, to day dream about what might have been […], it makes the past vivid within the

present' (136–7). When Bayram looks at the photograph at Dernek, the home(land) is recreated and remembered, and his childhood memories are evoked. The scents and textures of the landscape depicted in photographs stimulate his memories. All at once, multiple homely places, such as his house, his village and the plateau, are brought to mind, and thus a sense of 'home away from home' is created. Therefore, home-making enables Bayram to arrive 'at home' while away from home in *gurbet*.

Up to this point, I have examined physical and social features of the Dernek, which constitute feeling at home by examining the narratives and expressions of migrants who perceive Dernek to be a home for them. There are also migrants, however, who do not feel that hometown associations provide them with a feeling of being 'at home'. For example, Caner, an emigrant from Giresun, told me:

> I do not go to Dernek because there is no religious knowledge. They just play cards and do worldly things […] Dernek asks its members for a fee. They [hometown association presidents] are rich people, but they do not benefit us. These are very distressing businesses.

For some migrants, then, the social interactions and activities at Dernek are perceived as sinful. In addition, for people like Caner, hometown associations' presidents cannot be trusted. Caner chooses to affiliate with the İsmailağa *cemaat* instead – he attends *sohbets* every Saturday at Beyan association in Gebze. Below, I turn my focus to those who visit Beyan, considering how their home-making practices create homely spaces.

6.3   Beyan: The 'garden of heaven'

6.3.1   Introduction: Beyan and the İsmailağa *cemaat*

Beyan, as a physical space, is located on the ground floor of a six-storey apartment block in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood in Gebze. It was established by migrants from Giresun and a *vekil* (representative) from the İsmailağa *cemaat* (based in Istanbul) in 2003. Cemal, one of the founders of Beyan, describes how and why it was set up:

Eyup *hoca*[102] was teaching us [how to read the Qur'an in Arabic and about religious practices]. We came together at one of our friends' apartments, but it became difficult for one person to host 10–15 people at a time; the group also annoyed others in the neighbourhood. We did not come together [for a while]. Then, the group disbanded, and we said, 'It cannot go on like this'. We decided to make a space. We told Eyup *hoca* about our plans. He supported us. This was 12 or 13 years ago [....] Since then, we have rented this [the ground floor]. Later, it became an association.

Beyan was established for practical reasons – it provided a space for *sohbets*, for learning and teaching, for reading the Qur'an and for gaining religious knowledge. In addition, Eyup *hoca* encouraged them to search for a space and establish the association. Existing literature can help us to understand the aim of religious groups in claiming a space. Çizmeci (2015) suggests that *Sufi* groups establish spaces in which to perform religion so that people who share 'common beliefs and values can come together, and new followers can be trained' (p.121). Here, the history of the İsmailağa *cemaat* and its role in inspiring the establishment of an association in Gebze will be considered briefly in order to provide background to Beyan.

The history of the İsmailağa *cemaat* can be traced to the 18th century, when the İsmailağa Mosque was built in Fatih, Istanbul (Piricky, 2012, p.540).[103] In recent years, those who affiliate with the *cemaat* have been considered followers of Mahmut Ustaosmanoglu, a former *Imam* at the İsmailağa Mosque and a *şeyh* (spiritual leader) at the İsmailağa *cemaat*. The *cemaat* takes its name from the mosque (Küçükcan, 1999, p.223; Efe, 2013, p.180). For Efe (2013), a follower of a *cemaat* follows the example set by the Prophet Muhammed's *sünnet* (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammed) strictly. The İsmailağa *cemaat* is also attached closely to *Sunni* Islam's

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[102] *Hoca* is used here to refer to the *vekil* (*cemaat* representative and teacher at the Qur'an course run by İsmailağa *cemaat* in Gebze.
[103] İsmailağa *cemaat* is a *Sunni* Islamic organisation. It is not to be confused with the similarly named 'Ismaili', a branch of *Shia* Islam.

Hanafi School of Law (*mezheb*).[104] Furthermore, it is affiliated with the *Nakşibendi Sufi* order – many members follow *Nakşibendi* teachings, values and practices.[105]

Although the terms '*Sufi* order' and *cemaat* differ from one another, for some *cemaats*, including İsmailağa, they are closely bound together. The term *cemaat* (Arabic *jamā'a*) refers to a community (Piricky, 2012, p.533). *Cemaats* can be considered as partly a product of Turkish socio-political history, internal migration and urbanisation in Turkey (see Chapter 2). *Sufi* orders, however, are rooted in the earliest years of Islam; orders have been established since the 11th century. *Cemaats* can be seen as the institutionalised form of *Sufi* orders since Turkey was established in the 1920s, although these institutions do not have guaranteed legal rights and status in Turkey because *Sufi* practices and lodges (*tekkes* and *zaviyes*[106]) were banned in 1925 (see Chapter 2).

İsmailağa *cemaat* is known throughout Turkey for its dress codes (*cübbe* [long cloaks], *şalvar* [baggy trousers] and *çarşaf*[107] [a long, enveloping garmnet]) and religious teachings, which are supposed to be informed by the lives of the Prophet

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[104] The Hanafi School is one of four major schools (Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbeli schools) of *Sunni* Islamic legal reasoning and is a repository of positive law. It was built upon the teachings of Abu Hanifa (d. 767) (Warren, 2013).

[105] The founder of the *Nakşibendi Sufi* order was Baha al-din Nakşibendi (1389). In the 17th century, the *Nakşibendi* movement spread throughout Ottoman Turkey. It was banned on December 13th, 1925, in accordance with Article 677. Even though the law is still in effect in Turkey, the order has remained active through *cemaats* until the present day, as discussed in Chapter 2. It should be noted, however, that those who attend *sohbets* at Beyan are not necessarily followers of the *Nakşibendi* order. For an anthropological study of the *Nakşibendi* order in Turkey, see Saktanber (2002). On the interaction between *Sufi* Islam and Turkish politics, see Yavuz (2003) and Mardin (1992). For more information on *Sufism*, see Chapter 7.

[106] *Tekke* literally means '*dervish* lodge', but the buildings are used for several *Sufi* activities. A *zaviye* is a hostel or residence belonging to no particular order. There are other types of *Sufi* building, such as the *asitane* and *dergah*. An *Asitane* is a grand lodge and refers to a major *tarikat* facility, while a *dergah* is a *tekke* with a tomb attached to it (Lifchez, 1992, p.79). These *Sufi* buildings also used for security purposes, social services, and economic and cultural activities. However, as mentioned before, these buildings were closed down after the enactment of Article 677 on December 13th, 1925 (Çizmeci, 2015).

[107] *Çarşaf* can be translated literally as 'bed sheet'. It connotates a loose, usually black garment that covers the body from head to toe. The *çarşaf* ıs cinched under the chin, allowing the wearer's face to show; sometimes, it is cinched under or over the nose (Hopkins, Kong and Olson, 2012, p. 95). It is similar to the *chador* or *chader/cador* worn in Iran, Afghanistan, Indonesia and Pakistan. A *chador* covers a woman's body from head to toe, leaving only the eyes visible (Amer, 2014).

Muhammed and his companions (Piricky, 2012, p.533). The *cemaat* carries out its activities mainly through associations located in industrialised districts like Gebze. I was informed that the İsmailağa *cemaat* sent a male *vekil* (representative), Abdullah, to Gebze in the 1990s, at the migrants' request. Abdullah established a Qur'an course and delivered *sohbets* at mosques. Eyup *hoca* was sent to Gebze as the next *vekil*, and Beyan was then established in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood. In this way, a *vekil* can be interpreted as a bridge between two locations. The following paragraphs will explore how *sohbets* help to make Beyan a 'sacred home'.

6.3.2 *Sohbets* and the making of the 'Garden of Heaven' or 'sacred home'

On February 15th, 2015, during his sermon, Necmettin *hoca*[108] said the following:

> Coming to the sermon provides tranquillity to people's hearts. A *sohbet* is medicine without any side effects. Half of the people in Turkey today use nerine (drugs). What should the prescription be? Attending *sohbets* [....] Allah sends down his *rahmet*[109] [compassion] for those attending *sohbets*. *Sohbets* make you feel happy [....] We are spiritually sick. Whether we know it or not, we need this prescription.

For Necmettin *hoca*, *sohbets* generate emotions, such as *sekine*[110] (tranquillity) and happiness, as well as 'spiritual energy' like *rahmet*. He also suggests that *sohbets* protect one from a sort of spiritual sickness (see Vasquez and Knott, 2014, p.335). In this frame, the practice of the *sohbet* can be said to sacralise a building, making the aura of a space spiritual, and offering purity and tranquillity to the hearts and souls of attendees. Those who attend are given some sort of protection against the negative effects of urban life (see Chapter 7). Thus, *sohbets* can be understood to turn Beyan

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[108] *Hoca* is used by the study participants as title of respect and refers here to Necmettin's profession. He teaches at the Qur'an course run by İsmailağa *cemaat* and gives sermons at Beyan.
[109] *Rahmet* is a Qur'anic term that connotes Allah's compassion, grace, blessing and mercy. Sometimes, the term is used to refer to a form of love, kindness and forgiveness. *Rahmet* indicates that Allah shows mercy, compassion and grace to people.
[110] *Sekine* is a Qur'anic term meaning 'calmness', 'reassurance' and 'the peace of God'. *Sekine* is sent by Allah into believers' hearts, which brings them transquillity, peace of mind, patience, dignity and confidence (Gürkan, 2009).

into a spiritual space filled with tranquillity and blessing, in which one can feel purified and protected.

Sohbets distinguish Beyan from the world beyond. Whereas Beyan is a type of spiritual space, the outside and outsiders are in a state of darkness and ignorance. As the *hoca* declared,

> [W]e should not be in a state of darkness and ignorance. On the news every day, we hear of new forms of oppression, new cruelties, new massacres and new rapes.[111] What is the reason? What is the reason? Who is guilty? They are the result of being in the darkness of ignorance [*cahilliğin zulumati*]. Allah wants you to bring yourself forth from the darkness of ignorance and heresy unto light [….] He sends prophets and the Qur'an to bring you forth from the darkness [….] However, if you say, 'I have time [to live], I do not need your suggestions', you might end up in hell [….] You should listen to these suggestions carefully.

Throughout the sermon, the *hoca* constantly compared darkness, caused by ignorance and heresy (and leading to crime), with light, representing the Islamic way of life as guided by the word of God and the Prophet Muhammed. He made frequent references to current national and international news stories, and recalled the narratives of prophets, such as Prophets Muhammed, Noah and Moses in order to convey his message.

The words of the *sohbets* indicate that it is down to attendees to establish for themselves whether they wish to be in a state of darkness or wish to be saved. Metcalf discusses this sort of comparative approach in religion in relation to Eickelman's (1989) notion of 'objectification', which 'entails self-examination, judging others and judging oneself. The sense of contrast – contrast with a past or contrast with the rest of society – is at the heart of a self-consciousness that shapes religious identity and lives' (cited in Metcalf, 1996, online). With this definition of objectification in mind,

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[111] The week that this *sohbet* was delivered, there was some shocking news in Turkey. On February 11th, 2015, a female university student, Özgecan Aslan (1995–2015), was stabbed to death by a minibus driver in Mersin (a southern province) after she resisted his rape attempt. Her burnt and dismembered body was found on February 13th (Girit, 2015).

it can be argued that the *hoca* uses the compare/contrast motif in his sermons to invite attendees to build an Islamic identity and life, guided by Qur'anic and prophetic teachings. This way of life is contrasted with secular, modern lifestyles, which are represented as negative and unenlightened.

The *sohbet* can also be considered a way to create a particular Islamic identity for the İsmailağa *cemaat*. Çakır (1993) and Küçükcan (1999) note that the *cemaat* enforces strict dress codes for both men and women. These studies assume that *sohbets* or engagement with the *cemaat* are a kind of social imposition that constrain the self and diminishes one's agency. It is particularly true for students at the Qur'an course in Gebze, which are organized by the Ismailağa *cemaat*. I saw that students at the Qur'an courses which are run by the *cemaat* follow certain dress codes. However, during my observations at Beyan and my interviews with the attendees of the *sohbets* there, however, I did not find this to be the case. Many attendees did not follow any particular dress code, neither did they perform and exercise religious teachings that were suggested by *hocas*. These examples challenge the findings of other researches which argue that the *cemaat* require that followers follow certain dress codes or wear certain religious attire in order for them to be considered as followers of their orders. Instead, the *cemaat* practices, I found, do not diminish one`s agency to decide what to wear and to form an Islamic self and identity. Also, it can be argued that those who attend to the *sohbets* do not have the same level of commitment to the *cemaat* and do not have the same identity formation.

Another formulation used by Necmeddin *hoca* during *sohbets* was the prophetic narrative (*kıssa*), a type of story that appears in the Qur'an. In addition to referring to stories about the prophets and their past places and times, he talked about imagined and expected religious places in the future – 'hereafter' (or the afterlife), hell and

206

heaven: 'You come here [Beyan] on Saturdays. Tomorrow [referring to 'the afterlife'], Allah will say to you, "Come! You made me happy. It is my turn to make you happy!"' One of the *hoca*'s most frequent phrases also was 'the cable of Allah', which he used in the following contexts: 'Our purpose is to hold "the cable of Allah"'; 'If we hold "the cable of Allah", this will bring happiness to us in this world and afterlife'. The narratives, phrases and spatial and temporal references enable a consideration of the mental aspects of Beyan and its transformation from physical building to a 'sacred home'.

As Campo (1991) suggests, the 'sacred home' is created via religious practices and objects, and helps followers to place themselves not only on Earth, but also in relation to 'hereafter'; it links the major components in religious belief and practice. Given that *sohbets* (sermons) intimate times and places, such as the 'cable of Allah', the age of Prophet Muhammed, (Mecca and Medina in 7th century) and the afterlife, both the past and future are brought metaphorically into the room where the *sohbet* takes place. Attendees are transported, in a way, to places beyond Beyan (see the next section) and to a type of 'sacred home'. Thus, those who attend invest the building with sacred meaning. It should be noted, however, that such transpositions do not constitute an ideology of return to imagined and remembered times and places; instead, as Saktanber (2002) suggests, they are used to 'actualise an Islamic moral social order' (p.165) in the present. Here, I aim to show that the 'sacred home', mentally speaking, is about a sense of connectedness between 'here' and 'hereafter'; between present, past, and future.

To expand further, it can also be suggested that *sohbets* make Beyan a 'sacred home' because they transform Saturday evenings in Gebze. *Sohbets* attract *cemaat* members to associations; *sohbet* evenings are considered special. *Sohbets* thus shape

the religious and social landscape of Gebze, being a determinant in the reorganisation

of the ways in which people dwell in various physical spaces. On Saturday nights,

identities related to social positions, economic status and migrant origins become

invisible for those who are affiliated with *cemaats*, and, at the same time, religious

identity and a sense of belonging become visible. To examine this point further, I will

turn to the attendees' responses to *sohbets* and the production of the 'sacred home'.

> I come to listen to the *sohbets* (sermons) in order to receive knowledge and to seek *rıza-ı ilahi*[112] [God's pleasure] [….] Coming to *sohbets* is the same as coming into the garden of heaven. If you die here, you can go to heaven. The purpose [of coming to *sohbets*] is to gather, but these gatherings are also heavenly gardens (Caner).

> The *sohbet* is important, believe me! When I open the door and enter the *sohbet* habitat [*sohbet ortami*], worldly business and problems finish. Allah sends down *rahmet* [compassion]. If two people come together for Allah, the space becomes Allah's home. When a space becomes Allah's home, Allah's *rahmet* [compassion] envelops them. *Sekine* [tranquillity] descends upon them (Baki).

Caner is an emigrant from Giresun and Baki is an emigrant from Erzurum. They are

both affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*. The excerpts above show that Beyan is

used by migrants, who attend *sohbets* to gain knowledge about Islam, meet a like-

minded group of people, fulfil personal religious obligations and seek God's pleasure.

The evidence suggests that there are three reasons why Beyan is a sacred space: (1) it

facilitates social gatherings, (2) it creates symbolic and moral boundaries between

inside and outside, and (3) it actualises the spatial and temporal horizons of Islam via

sohbets. Hirschkind (2001) finds that 'the sermon sets in motion a moral progression

from fear, to regret, to asking for forgiveness and to repentance. This leads to a sense

of closeness to God' (p.632). This experience leads followers to feel tranquillity,

stillness and relief. Many of the followers of the İsmailağa *cemaat* with whom I spoke

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[112] *Rıza-I ilahi* means 'being pleased, to approve and like' or 'contentment with Allah'. For *Sufis*, like Caner, the term refers to being pleased with Allah and his approvals, and to Allah's satisfaction with them (Uludağ, 2008).

208

in Gebze stated that *sohbets* offer relaxation, spiritual fulfilment, tranquillity and a

place to recharge one's 'spiritual batteries'. The *sohbet* and emotional experiences

lead migrants to feel that the inside of the building is different from the outside. It can

be argued that the evocation of these emotions leads migrants to view, such

associations as a type of 'sacred home'.

Furthermore, *sohbets* serve to remind attendees of important religious values

and norms, while enhancing their Islamic knowledge. For example, before Caner

migrated to Gebze, he did not know how to recite the Qur'an in Arabic. During the

course of my research, however, I observed that *hocas*[113] asked him several times to

recite the Qur'an loudly in front of the attendees before the *sohbet* took place. He also

made changes to his everyday life.[114] It can be argued that the co-presence of

attendees and *hocas* is significant as it helps to create a sense of 'home', as Caner

states:

> The *hoca* was wearing a long cloak, baggy trousers, a turban and a white
> muslin, and he had a beard. He was telling his life history. Mahmud
> *Effendi*[115] asked him to wear it and to grow a beard [....] [Also] he
> mentioned that the Prophet wore them. I began wearing them, too. Keeping
> up with our Prophet is paramount.

For Caner, the Prophet Muhammed's life was embodied and articulated by the *hoca*.

Caner follows the example of the Prophet by 'emulating' the *hoca* (Saktanber, 2002,

p.169).[116] Fortier's (2006) notions of the 'architecture of reassurance' and

'translation' are useful in explaining such interactions and experiences. The phrase

'architecture of reassurance' refers to the 're-creation of familiarity', while

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[113] *Hoca* is a term used by the study participants to refer those who give sermons at Beyan and work at the Qur'an course. *Hocas* are respected by followers of Ismailağa *cemaat* not only because they perform these activities, but also because they are perceived as being *Sufi* scholars.
[114] Now, he makes purchases only from people considered to be trustworthy, he performs prayers daily and buys nothing but *helal* (permitted) food. He attends wedding ceremonies where men and women are separated, and he has removed his television from his home.
[115] *Effendi* is an Ottoman title of respect.
[116] In Chapter 5, I suggested that *Sufis* see *şeyhs* as a medium between themselves and the exemplary prophetic presence.

'translation' is taken to mean 're-creating the familiar; recreating that ground […]

which is produced through repetition, habits, routines, and patterns that punctuates

our daily life' (Fortier, 2006, p.73–5). The *hoca* (re)creates familiarity by wearing

what corresponds with the landscape in question (the age of the Prophet Muhammed),

and he (re)produces that landscape through repetition (*sohbets*). Caner experienced

this imagined landscape through the scene (the *sohbet*) and then translated the scene

(through the *hoca*'s body), recreating familiarity via his own body. This can be

understood as a method through which to identify the self and express to others that 'I

am like you' (for Caner, to show that he is a follower of the İsmailağa *cemaat*). This

behaviour follows Knott's (2016) contention that bodies can be used as sites of

individual and collective identity. In relation to bodies, during my fieldwork, I noted

that,

> Following the *sohbets*, attendees go to each other's houses. Caner and
> his friends drink tea and converse. I joined them regularly and
> observed a range of interactions – for example, shaking hands,
> touching each other's arms when joking with each other (field note,
> 10/5/2015).

Such interactions bind friends together, producing trust and intimacy. Given that these

meetings are the results of *sohbet* attendance, I can suggest that Beyan becomes not

just a 'garden of heaven' through *sohbets*, but also a social space. When I asked Caner

why he repeatedly attends *sohbets*, he stated, 'the aura is so different. There is a close

relationship between people. Everyone becomes friends with you'. Cuma, an emigrant

from Erzurum, added, 'Believe me: having conversations with *ihvan* (spiritual

brothers) makes me happier than talking with my family'. Thus, close intimacy is

generated between like-minded men at Beyan through *sohbets*, making Beyan both a

social and a spiritual home.

It is important to note that Caner is an emigrant from Giresun, while Cuma is an

emigrant from Erzurum. Their geospatial history is not shared. The question must

now be addressed of whether or not migrants' sense of belonging to origins have a

role in making Beyan a home for migrants from different areas. From my

observations, I have concluded that there are two types of intimate relations at play at

Beyan: one is *hemşehrilik* (occurring between migrants with the same origins) and the

other is *ihvan* ('spiritual brotherhood'). *Hemşehri* bonds are influential in Caner's life

in Gebze, which is shown in that Caner was invited to attend *sohbets* by his

hemşehris. He has also established a business with a *hemşehri* and he spends most of

his free time with his friends from the hometown. Most of the residents living in the

Beylikbağı neighbourhood are from Giresun and, as such, those who attend *sohbets*

are mostly Giresunian. It can be argued, therefore, that *hemşehrilik*, including shared

cultural and historical backgrounds, contributes to migrants' sense of being in a

sacred space. Beyan exists not merely because of *sohbets*, then; it is also shaped by

the shared geospatial history of migrants and a sense of belonging to certain sites in a

particular locality (places in Beylikbağı that the migrants have come to see as homes).

To determine the role of *ihvan* – spiritual brotherhood – in the success of

Beyan, we can return to Cuma's story. I asked Cuma what *ihvan* means for him. He

stated,

> *İhvan* refers to the brotherhood of the afterlife, or hereafter. We are the
> brotherhood for *riza-i ilahi* [God's pleasure]. We are the brotherhood that
> serves Islam together.

This excerpt indicates that meeting regularly at Beyan (to drink tea, learn about the

Qur'an and attend religious courses) 'institute(s) an Islamic solidarity' and enables

'emotional bonding' (Saktanber, 2002, p.193). In addition, such fraternal bonding

within the context of a male brotherhood indicates that Beyan produces, and is

produced by, gender-based relations. In this way, gender assists in creating a homely space for Cuma and his friends.[117] To expand even further, Cuma uses his relationships at Beyan to build his own relationship with Allah – they allow him, in his eyes, to be a good Muslim. As such, the association facilitates mediation between an individual and Allah, bridging time and space, in addition to forming gendered bonding.

The evidence above demonstrates that both *ihvan* (spiritual bortherhoood) and *hemşehrilik* (townsmanship) are produced via *sohbets* at Beyan, fostering trust and intimacy, and thus creating a homely environment for Caner, Cuma and their friends. It is difficult, therefore, to situate Beyan easily in a particular context; it is more than a bridge between the migrants' physical origins and the destination. Beyan engenders a complex negotiation between 'here' and 'hereafter', imagined pasts and futures, and spiritual and worldly realms. These results show that internal migrants who attend *sohbets* have a desire to move towards a new home, an aim which opens up new possibilities for them in the place of settlement. They create new interpersonal relations and reconstitute their identities here. This is not to say, however, that they leave their former homes behind. Instead, Beyan becomes another home – one that is seen as sacred.

I have explored how *sohbets* and face-to-face interactions as home-making practices lead to the production of a spiritual space in which Baki, Adnan, Asli and Cuma feel that that they are in a sacred place. Importantly, those who affiliate with Beyan (Adile, Asli, Adnan and Baki) do not identify themselves as *gurbetçi*. Adile states quite explicitly that 'I do not see my self as a *gurbetçi*. When I arrived in Gebze, it is not like home. I felt that half of me was there, and the other half was here.

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[117] A similar argument can be made regarding migrant men's interactions at hometown associations.

However, now, when I go to the village, I feel like I am in *gurbet* […]' Adnan also explains that 'I do not see here as a *gurbet*. I would like to stay here. I do not want to return the village'. These extracts show that social relations, fraternal bonding and *sohbets* transform migrants' perceptions of *gurbet* (such as Gebze), a place which was once associated with a sense of rupture, isolation, foreignness and loneliness, in which the hometown was longed for, into a space of belonging that feels like 'home'. Therefore, it is evident that *gurbet* is a contextual term that can be utilised to refer to a particular set of emotions and experiences, rather than a name related to a specific geographical location.

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter explores how Dernek and Beyan become homely or spiritual spaces, in a translocal sense. *Gurbetçis* ('those away from home') at these associations feel they are 'at home' or at a 'sacred home', a sensation that is created through home-making practices (including imaginative, emotional, spiritual, material and social elements). These practices are intertwined with *gurbetçis'* desires, identities and home-making practices. The social relations, multi-sited affiliations ('here' and 'there'), and multiple spatial and temporal registers at play go beyond the specific locality in which an association is located – and even beyond the duality between 'here' (Gebze) and 'there' (hometown). As the evidence shows, the world beyond this one is also an important node of identification for *gurbetçis*, particularly where Beyan is concerned. These homes are made or used by *gurbetçis* to express and reformulate identities and reaffirm local connections. Importantly, identities, everyday lives, and home-making efforts are not immutable; they evolve and are shaped by social relations within Gebze, materials from the place of origin, and mental ties with various spaces. The associations function to make *gurbetçis* feel 'at home', expanding or remapping the

spatial and temporal horizons of migrants in these communities. The two case studies examined demonstrate that *gurbetçi* men are in search of something that makes them feel safe, reassured and tranquil, and that fosters familiarity and purity.

This chapter makes several important contributions to the literature on internal migration and religion. Existing Turkish research on hometown associations has not examined the decorations at hometown associations in Turkey (see Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005; Kurtoğlu, 2005, 2012; Tezcan, 2011; Terzi and Koçak, 2014), despite the fact that scholars have argued that examining materials enable us to explore migrants' 'social worlds,' geographies and expressions of self (Miller, 1998; Mallett, 2004; Brickell, 2012). Furthermore, research on hometown associations has overlooked the religious resources, including events, used at hometown associations. My examination of religious events shows that social interactions take place between various cultures in Gebze. Furthermore, the literature on discussions about hometown associations suggests that a sense of belonging to the hometown is seen as a bonding force in migration, as discussed by Gedik (2011). I posit, however, that an examination of the home-making practices used by the presidents of hometown associations (and the social, mental and physical aspects of such home making) demonstrates that belongingness (the feeling of being 'at home') and identity are multi-faceted and multi-scalar, including many facets, from the familial home to national histories and territories, and to the spiritual 'elsewhere'.

Finally, this study expands the limited body of research on the notion of 'home' in internal-migration literature (see Allen, 2008; Kabachnik *et al.,* 2010; Brickell, 2011; Kochan, 2016; Li, 2016). Existing studies tend to focus on physical houses in relation to the idea of home, whereas I have considered the social interactions, practices, materials and photographs that can be found at community centres. In

214

particular, resources on the concept of the 'sacred home' in internal-migration literature are limited. In Turkey in particular, existing studies on the sacred sites and Muslim spaces produced by religious communities are local, and they tend to ignore the mobile aspects of migrants' lives (such as boundary crossings, networks and routes) (see Saktanber, 2002). While this study has demonstrated that *sohbets* do not necessarily foster a sense of connectedness to the homeland, migrants' hometowns still play an important part in turning Beyan into a homely space because they allow emigrants from particular villages to come together and bond. Chapter 7 will focus on the boundaries that are maintained by migrants via the religious identities that develop and are reformulated at sacred homes.

Chapter 7: The Boundaries between Islamic Identities

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 focused on the factors that enable 'home' to be constituted and a sense of affiliation with a religious identity to be produced in the migration context. This chapter will attend to the idea that one's religious affiliation can (re)construct one's identity. In this way, migrants' religious lives and their sense of attachment to the place of origin are reformed. Moreover, it will be proposed that such a sense of affiliation leads to people distancing themselves from one another in Gebze. The present chapter can be seen as complementary to the previous one because the establishment of a religious affiliation can be a reason for the development of social, spiritual and geographical distancing. Here, I will concentrate on the role of religion and the sense of affiliation in creating boundaries between different migrant groups in Gebze and between the hometown and Gebze itself. Two questions will be addressed: (1) How does someone's sense of affiliation lead to the construction of boundaries that differentiate one migrant from another both symbolically and physically? (2) How does migration change one's relationship with the parental Islam practised by family members in the hometown and the forms of Islam practised by migrants in Gebze? These factors will be considered via an examination of the migrants' moral and religious discourses.

I will explore how migrants' relationships with *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam create boundaries. Here, *Sufis* can be understood as those who consider themselves followers of a *şeyh* (spiritual leader). *Sufis* aim for spiritual activity, spiritual experience and *tevekkül*[118] ('self-abandonment unto God'), which is said to be

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[118] *Tevekkül* involves trusting someone and having confidence in someone (Bearman *et al.,* 2000). In Islam in general, *tevekkül* refers to self-abandonment unto God; in *Sufism* specifically, the term indicates trust in/devotion to Allah, for Allah (Uludağ, 2012).

achieved through a withdrawal from worldly affairs (Mardin, 1991b, p.26–27; Atay, 2012, p.16; Hamid, 2016, p.69). The term will be used in this chapter to refer to those who attend *sohbets* (sermons) organised by Beyan (as examined in Chapter 6) and who follow Mahmud Effendi, a leader of the İsmailağa *cemaat*.

The term *Salafi* will be utilised for those searching for a pure form of Islam, who demand the re-centring of the primacy of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* as religious reference points, and who attempt to establish what they see as the correct *aqeeda* (creed). *Salafis* reinterpret Islamic source texts via various methods to create new religious norms (Hamid, 2016, p.16–18, 55). They reject mainstream traditional Islam, which they believe to constitute cultural and national *bid'at* (innovations) and *hurafe* (superstition). In particular*, Salafis* reject *Sufism* because of its esoteric nature (Erkilet, 2010, p.92–93). Here, those who affiliate with Endülüs *Eğitim, Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği* (the Endülüs Education, Culture and Fraternity Foundation, referred to as 'Endülüs' hereafter),[119] and interpret the Qur'an as it is conceptualised by *Salafi*-oriented scholars, will be referred to as *Salafis*.

The final category of Islam examined in this chapter, parental Islam, can be said to refer to the 'customs and traditions of the migrants' parents' (Fadil, 2015, p.8). The phrase 'parental Islam' is taken from Fadil's research on Moroccan migrants in Belgium: '*It wasn't the Islam of the texts*, but "it was [their] customs and traditions"' (Fadil, 2015, p.8, italics in original). In this present study, I use the term in reference to the Islam practiced by people in migrants' hometowns and by migrants who do not affiliate with religious groups in Gebze.

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[119] Endülüs is a religious association that was established in 2005 by members of the Gebze migrant population.

The terms 'Sufi Islam', 'Salafi Islam' and 'parental Islam' have been selected not because the participants refer to themselves using these categories; rather, an examination of the different religious resources (such as objects, practices and institutional ideologies) and texts about these types of Islam indicates that such categorisation is useful in the context of the present research project (see Günay, 1999; Saktanber, 2002; Atay, 2012; Fadil, 2015; Şahin, 2015; Hamid, 2016). Furthermore, such categorisation permits engagement with the existing literature on these 'Islams'. I am aware that *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental (or popular) Islam all have histories of over one thousand years, and have existed in many manifestations.[120] Due to space limitations, all the different iterations of these Islams[121] cannot be elaborated here.[122] As such, historical and background information, including the political, epistemological, ontological and dogmatic differences and disputes between these Islams, will be limited to what can be gleaned from the excerpts examined. To enrich this discussion, an exploration of research on boundaries will also be given, following Knott's (2008) contention that studying boundaries can provide us with an understanding of the 'definition of religion' (p.83).

A 'boundary' can be considered a device through which groups are categorised and differentiated. Its use can also be understood as a method of protection from, or resistance to, external forces (Knott, 2008, p.98). Knott (2008) suggests that

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[120] In particular, the roots of *Sufism* and *Salafism* can be traced to the early centuries of Islamic history (see Ridgeon, 2015, p. 1).

[121] Drawing on El-Zein (1977) and Asad (1983), Islam is taken to be a plural. Instead of rejection of the notion of a core Islam, by using Islam in the plural, I suggest that Islam is not lived, performed and understood as a single tradition.

[122] On the origins of the terms *Sufism* and *Salafism* and their various iterations, see Hamid's *Sufis, Salafis and Islamists: The Contested Ground of British Islamic Activism* (2016), Karamustafa's *Sufism: The Formative Period* (2007) and Nasr's *Sufi Essays* (1972). On *Sufi–Salafi* relations, see Ridgeon's *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age* (2015) and (for the Turkish context specifically) Uludağ's 'History of Relationships Between Salafism and Sufism' (2015). Finally, on the ontological and epistemological differences between *Sufis* and *Salafis*, see Kaya's 'A Comparative Study: The Epistemology and Theology of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ibn Taymiyya' (2016).

boundaries are of central importance in the definition of religions, the formation of groups' identities, and the creation of relationships between groups and their adherents (p.83). In Chapter 1, a discussion took place regarding the different forms of boundaries that exist, including social and symbolic boundaries. In this chapter, symbolic boundaries constructed at the level of the individual are the core area of focus. Following Lamont's (1992) definition, such boundaries can be seen as 'conceptual distinctions, through which objects, people, practices and even time and space are categorised', thus enabling people to make sense of the world (p.9). It has been argued that social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences that become manifest in unequal access to unequally distributed resources and social opportunities (Lamont and Molnar 2002, p.68). Recently, religion scholars have appealed to symbolic boundaries to explain how religion enables individuals to distinguish themselves from others (Josephsohn, 2009; Vasquez and Wetzel, 2009; Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki, 2015).

A 'boundary' can be considered a device through which groups are categorised and differentiated. Knott (2008) suggests that boundaries are of central importance in the definition of religions, the formation of groups' identities, and the creation of relationships between groups and their adherents (p.83). In Chapter 1, a discussion took place regarding the different forms of boundaries that exist, including social and symbolic boundaries. In this chapter, symbolic boundaries constructed at the level of the individual are the core area of focus. Following Lamont's (1992) definition, such boundaries can be seen as 'conceptual distinctions, through which discourses, objects, people, practices and even time and space are categorised', thus enabling people to make sense of the world (p.9). It has been argued that social boundaries are objectified forms of social differences that become manifest in unequal access to

unequally distributed resources and social opportunities (Lamont and Molnar 2002, p.68). Symbolic boundaries are oriented towards actor's agency, which take people's opinions of others seriously (Josephsohn, 2009).

Existing research on symbolic boundaries suggests that boundaries are shaped and maintained through relations of power (Vasquez and Wetzel, 2009; Atay, 2012). As Atay's (2012) research on Turkish religious groups in London indicates, boundaries are constructed via 'relations of domination–subordination, personal strategies to maintain authority and supremacy over the others and strategies to reject and resist domination and authority' (Atay, 2012, p.266). Dominant groups construct symbolic boundaries to consolidate their power and protect their authority, while subordinate groups also challenge and resist the majority by elaborating their own boundaries.

Studies have been conducted regarding the symbolic boundaries developed by those who are dominated or subjugated (see Vasquez and Wetzel, 2009; Woodhead, 2013). Several strategies are developed to respond to those who dictate or dominate. Research on racial minorities in France (Lamont, 2000), the US (Vasquez and Wetzel, 2009) and Israel (Mjdoob and Shoshana, 2017) has found that those who experience racism and are 'othered' often interpret this stigmatisation in positive ways – for example, for Vasquez and Wetzel (2009), minorities challenge institutional racism by articulating the importance of their traditions and values, roots (including biological heritage and the homeland), and cultural toolkits (for instance, religious affiliation and linguistic competence). Moreover, they adopt neoliberal discourses to demonstrate their competence with dominat culture (Fadil, 2015; Akdemir, 2016). They often focus on cultural and religious traits that may be lacking in the dominant culture (Fadil, 2015, p.7). Dominated and 'othered' groups thus find ways to challenge

imposed racial and religious hierarchies. These studies show that the aims behind the construction and maintenance of symbolic boundaries are related to power and authority.

As discussed Chapter 1, researchers of religion have suggested that power shapes the relationships between different forms of religion and their followers. As Woodhead (2013) posits, 'religion cannot be treated as a neutral category, but as a social construction with a tendency to reflect and reinforce dominant interests as well as having potential to fashion alternatives' (p.15). Woodhead continues to suggest that power is derived from one's religious knowledge, affiliations, ethnicity, class and gender. In this configuration, to put it simply, institutional religion has power over non-institutional religion, men have power over women, the majority (the dominant ethnicity) has power over the minority (subordinated groups) and the state has power over all.

The dimension of power and its role in maintaining boundaries between the followers of the three Islams will be examined through the concepts of tactical and strategic religion, as provided by de Certau (1984)[123] and developed by Woodhead in the context of religious studies (2013). Woodhead posits that tactical religion belongs to minorities, women, the lower class and the 'ignorant' (for example, those who cannot articulate Islamic knowledge and follow non-institutional religion), whereas strategic religion belongs to knowledgeable men (such as religious scholars and leaders), institutions and the dominant (ethnically or economically speaking) class. In

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[123] In his theorisation of the Practice of Everyday Life, de Certau (1984) outlines the distinction between tactic and strategy and suggest that tactic and strategy opposed each other. He argues, 'the strategy has a place to stand, a space from which to observe … and a position from which to leverage results. Strategics also have available time to plan, design, order, impose and reinforce' (de Certeau in Woodhead, 2013, p. 15). On the other hand, tactics (and tacticians) are seen as weak and forced to occupy the spaces that the powerful control. However, tactics in everyday life are 'clever tricks, knowing how to get away with things' (Certeau, 1984, p. XIX).

terms of this opposition, therefore, official, institutionalised and elite forms of religion are strategic, whereas 'popular', 'folk' and 'common' religions are tactical. In addition, strategic religion can be considered prescribed, established and state-inflected, while tactical religion is more flexible (Woodhead, 2013, p.15-7).

It seems here that there is a dichotomy between tactical and strategic religion; the two can be said, however, to form and shape one another dialectically (Woodhead, 2013, p.16). So, while strategic religion has a role in creating sacred spaces, places and objects, being able to limit and control sacralisation and placing tactical religion in a category with superstition or magic, tactical religion responds by consecrating other places, spaces, bodies and objects, such as springs, trees and graveyards, which are seen in strategic religion as mundane and unworthy (Woodhead, 2013, p.16–17). Indeed, those who practice tactical religion may even try to enter strategic spaces to gain some control over them 'by ducking, turning and weaving' (Woodhead, 2013, p. 15-7). Such theorisation of tactical and strategic religion can help us to understand the reasons for the articulation of certain discourses and the maintenance of particular symbolic boundaries within Islam.

To this end, I will conceptualise the maintenance of the symbolic boundaries between *Sufis*, *Salafis* and parental Islam in relation to the notions of tactical and strategic religion. Here, *Sufis* can be considered to represent the strategic, while *Salafis* are tactical. During my fieldwork, I noted that there were considerably more *Sufi* associations and adherents than *Salafi* ones in Gebze. Therefore, it can be argued that *Sufis* represent the majority (dominant), while *Salafis* are in a minority (subordinate). Existing literature on these types of Islam reports similar findings. Several scholars note that *Sufism* is the largest Islamic movement in Turkey and that there is hardly any support for *Salafism* in the country (Zubaida, 2000; Uğur, 2004,

p.332; Rabasa and Larabee, 2006: p. xi; Öktem, 2010, p.22; Taslaman, 2011, p.184; Şentürk *et al.*, 2012, p.64).

In Chapter 2, I argued that both the multiple and multi-faceted tactics of *cemaats* challenge state norms and practices. It was also mentioned that *Sufi-cemaats* have expanded their influence and created new social, economic and cultural spaces (Yavuz, 2003). One of the reasons behind this expansion is that recent ruling parties (such as Motherland party and Justice and Development Party) have had a supportive, tolerant approach to *cemaats* – particularly *Sufi cemaats* and their policies (such as privatisation of public enterprises, marketisation of public services, establishing trade relations with gulf countries and introducing liberal policies (Alam, 2009, p.367; Taslaman, 2011; Yavuz and Koç, 2016; see Chapter 2). On the other hand, even though existing literature argues that *Salafi* Islam has been active since the 1920s, I have not found any evidence that the state has directly supported *Salafis* or been tolerant of *Salafi* discourses (Taslaman, 2011; Hammond, 2017). It can be concluded, then, that *Sufi cemaats* are more influential than *Salafism*, rendering *Sufism* strategic and *Salafism* tactical in their relations with one another.

Where parental Islam is concerned, the boundaries must be drawn slightly differently. It can be said here that both *Sufi* and *Salafi* Islam function strategically when encountering parental Islam, which has a tactical relationship with both of the aforementioned groups. This is because *Sufis* and *Salafis* engage with institutional, prescribed Islam and its teachings, attending *sohbets* and reading Islamic books at associations. These actions render them knowledgeable about Islam, which makes them powerful and, thus, strategic. Followers of parental Islam, however, tend to be unable to refer to the Qur'an or *hadis* (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet) to substantiate their opinions, as my fieldwork showed. Instead, this type of Islam

mostly involves portable forms of Islam, such as using blue beads and carrying amulets, and is practised by those who cannot articulate Islamic knowledge. It has also been noted that followers of parental Islam (also known as folk/popular/rural Islam) avoid theological references and interpretations of religious resources (see Günay, 1999; Şahin, 2015). Therefore, followers of this type of Islam apply tactics to resist strategic religion and demonstrate the validity of their beliefs, rendering them tactical. Furthermore, the tactical/strategic binary can also be applied to boundary construction between migrants who affiliate with groups in Gebze (such as strategic Islamists) and those who practice parental Islam in their hometowns (tactical Islamists).

There is also a third type of tactical/strategic opposition that will be considered in this chapter, in which *Salafi* Islam will be conceptualised as strategic, with *Sufi* Islam reacting tactically. This case occurs when knowledge becomes an essential point of reference for power (see Woodhead, 2013, who draws on Foucault, 1982, p.27). Atay's (2012) research on a *Sufi* order in London suggests that those who seek authority over other members of the community in a communal setting generally base their claims on their ability to articulate Islamic knowledge (p.244). Sections 2 and 3 of the present chapter will show that *Salafi* followers affiliated with Endülüs are the most knowledgeable about Islamic resources and spend much of their time learning and reading. This knowledge gives them a certain power to defend their beliefs. The *Sufis* whom I interviewed were familiar with Islamic sources – especially information about the life and words of the Prophet Muhammed – but could not give specific references to Islamic texts to respond to *Salafi* criticisms of their faith. Existing literature on these types of Islam reports similar findings. Haykel (2009) argues that *Salafis* spend time learning about Islam because it enables them not only to fulfil what

they perceive as their duty to God, but also to gain authority over other groups (Haykel, 2009, cited in Hamid, 2016, p.53). Therefore, in the relationship between knowledge and power, as this chapter will demonstrate, *Salafis* are powerful and strategic, while *Sufis* are tactical. The three different cases elaborated above illustrate that tactical and strategic religion are not fixed categories that relate to specific knowledge or a particular number of members/associations; rather, the labels must be applied contextually.[124]

The discussion above of boundaries as products of competition for authority and power between dominant and dominated groups implies that boundary construction has social and behavioural implications. Recent research has criticised the trend of reducing religion to a set of cultural ideas, symbols and metaphors through which authority, status and power are both protected and challenged. For Lamont and Fournier (1992), social life has always been marked by symbols, boundaries and differences through which the self is separated from others; the field of religion is not 'special' or distinct in this regard (p.1). Similarly, Giddens (1994) argues that, traditionally speaking, the 'insider' and the 'other' have always been in opposition (p.65). As Williams (2004) contends, 'thinking of cultural and *religious* elements as "tools" underplays the affective, moral, and even unacknowledged ways in which culture and religion holds and shapes those within it' (p.96, my emphasis). Both religious and cultural elements (such as beliefs, ideologies and values), then, have conceptual, emotional, behavioural, and moral content, which can produce boundaries.

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[124] As mentioned, *cemaats* do not have registers of individual members. Therefore, the exact numbers of members are unknown.

I will explore how cultural (that is, non-religious) and religious elements generate boundaries by employing the concept of 'sacralisation' (Knott, 2008, p.98). As Knott posits, the perception of certain things as being sacred creates a symbolic boundary in itself (Knott, 2008, p.98). Importantly, the sacred should not be conflated with religion here; Knott (2013) argues that the notion of the 'sacred' can be attributed to both religious and secular contexts. For example, secular places (register offices, for example) and principles (such as equality and justice) might be perceived as being just as sacred as religious buildings and beliefs (Knott, 2013, 2008). What is important in the sacralisation process is that the objects or concepts in question are perceived as non-negotiable, pure and sacrosanct (Knott, 2008, p.98).

In addition, when boundaries are negotiated between the sacred and the 'other', the sacrality of the boundary itself comes to the fore (Knott, 2013) – it comes to symbolise whether or not a person belongs to a particular identity or ideology. In this study, the concept of the sacralised boundary will be used in relation to the use of terms such as *şirk* (which refers to associating someone/something with Allah) and *bid'at* ('innovation; unorthodox religious practices and materials')*,* which I label 'boundary statements', following Valdinocci (2015) and Knysh (2007). Such statements enable the groups under scrutiny to articulate their definitions of 'true Islam'.

Ethnographic research on *Sufis* and *Salafis* has demonstrated that crossing boundaries produces tension in inter-group relations (see Knysh's [2007] study of Daghestanis in the Northern Caucasus and Hadramawt in Yemen, Atay's [2012] research on Turkish migrants in London and Cantini's [2012] examination of students on a Jordanian university campus). For Knysh (2007), *Salafis* denigrate *Sufis* for their

practices, such as the performance of *tevessül*[125] (intercession), saying that they are infested with *şirk* (the association of someone/something with Allah). He finds that *Salafis* refuse to pray with, eat with or marry *Sufis*, or to attend their funerals. Moreover, *Sufis*, in turn, refuse to interact with *Salafis* (Knysh, 2007, p.507). In the course of the chapter, I will explore the behavioural and social implications of crossing the boundaries of Islamic identities, which are perceived as being sacred.

In Chapter 1, it was suggested that boundaries are not solid and insurmountable but can be permeated and transgressed. Knott (2008) argues that the moment of boundary transgression provides an opportunity to see what people perceive as sacred or to explore how they attribute sacrality. Fechter (2001, p.71–2) describes 'transgressions' as transactions and engagements across boundaries, which occur in the form of contact with objects, events and people outside one's realm. When one transgresses the boundary, it results in 'engagement with the other, whether in play or discussion, in fight or embrace, or in an act of consumption' (Knott, 2008, p.55). Furthermore, Fechter (2001) suggests that such boundary crossing can result in appropriation, such as consuming another tradition or culture, or confrontations and conflicts between groups (p.183). I will show in the following sections that transgressing boundaries or violating the sacred can result in appropriation and anger, both of which lead to social distance being created between *Sufis*, *Salafis* and parental Islamists.

So far, I have attempted to contextualise the notion of religious affiliation with a group creating symbolic boundaries. 'Religious affiliation' here refers to the

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[125] *Tevessül* literally means 'seeking to become close to something, someone or Allah'. It is used in relation to the practice of seeking closeness to Allah by using his name and attributes, by petitioning a living/deceased pious person or the Prophet Muhammed, or through righteous deeds (Yavuz, 2012). I use the term here to refer to the concept of seeking closeness to Allah by petitioning a living or deceased pious person.

adherence of people to a particular religious group (see Essoo and Dibb, 2004). In chapters 5 and 6, the links between a sense of affiliation and the construction of boundaries were touched upon (see also Atay, 2012; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013). Previous researchers have considered the ways in which a sense of affiliation with a *cemaat* leads to boundary construction within a group and between groups (Saktanber, 2002; Atay, 2012; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013). These studies, however, do not address the ways in which migrants' lives are influenced by factors beyond the present time and place. This chapter goes beyond these localised studies by looking at how migrants in three groups use religious elements to construct and contest symbolic boundaries – boundaries which differentiate them from each other and draw a distinction between Gebze and the hometown.

In addition to exploring relations in Gebze, this chapter examines migrants' relationships with the parental Islam that is practised by their family members in Erzurum and Giresun. This area will be examined because, as translocal researchers have emphasised, a sense of attachment to one's childhood home, family and village does not disappear when one migrates (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Kochan, 2016; see Chapters 5 and 6). Giddens (1991) discusses the role of the self, stating that 'We are not what we are but what we make of ourselves' (p.76). He claims that when the individual is confronted by rapid social change, personal meaninglessness becomes a problem. Tradition and memory, however, offer potential solutions. It can be argued, therefore, that migrants who experience different turning points during the migration process may consider returning to parental Islam in order to obtain feelings of familiarity, trust and meaning. What I am arguing here is that, although migrants might convert from parental Islam to *Sufism* or *Salafism*, they may retain a sense of attachment to the parental Islam performed in their hometowns. Examining the

presence of such ideas in migrants' discourses will enable us to learn more about: (a) the roles of migration and religious affiliation in shaping migrants' lives and identities, and (b) the geographical boundaries that are constructed along the lines of rurality and urbanity.

Turkish researchers have examined religious lives in terms of a perceived dichotomy between rural and urban religiosity (Çelik, 2002; Altan, 2010).[126] These two different forms of religiosity are compared through the application of a typology of religious orientations (Günay, 1999). The studies in question argue that Islam was born in the cities of Medina and Mecca, and those accustomed to a rural life thus are not capable of grasping Islam's intellectual dimensions (Altan, 2010; Cundioğlu, 2010). Here, as discussed in Chapter 1, the process of urbanisation can be seen as a disciplinary, coordinating factor that influences the religion and religious lives of migrants. Religion and religiosity are framed, therefore, as being dependent upon urban or rural cultures. The urban/rural binary has been criticised recently, however, in translocal studies (Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). As mentioned in Chapter 1, such research suggests that these areas are relational, have been created through translocal movement and connections. Indeed, as some scholars note, a number of migrants stick with parental Islam after migration (Şahin, 2008; Fadil, 2015, 2017). As Asad (2015) contends, 'traditions accommodate rupture, recuperation, reorientation and splitting, as well as continuity (p.169). In other words, religion is organic and interpretive; it can be learnt and relearnt, or it can be dissolved. Making a distinction between rurality and urbanity can prevent us, therefore, from appreciating that traditions interact with the modern, and that migrants are agents in

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[126] They find that migrants' religion and religiosity in urban areas are different from those in rural areas in Turkey (see Şahin, 2008; Altan, 2010; Meric, 2010; Çelik, 2013). Moreover, the form that religiosity takes is considered to be a consequence of peripheral factors, such as the urban, modern and secular lifestyles in cities (Çelik, 2002; Uğur, 2004; Altan, 2010), as well as rural lifestyles.

their destinies. In the following paragraphs, I will examine how migrants recall the past in positive ways and elaborate on the symbolic boundaries between 'here' (the place of origin) and 'there' (Gebze).

7.2   The boundaries of parental Islam

7.2.1 The boundary between 'here' and 'there'

> I wish I had not emigrated from my village. It would have been better if I had never come here. That's because of my children. They don't know what religion is. They gamble, drink alcohol and do drugs. There are such problems here [….] My parents were religious. They forced us to perform daily practices. It was not like here. We were respectful to our parents. We could not talk without permission. Now, the children play cards outside and the father plays cards inside. Here, the father does not know the sons; the sons do not know their fathers (Bayram).

> The [spiritual] aura of *gurbet* [Gebze] has been spoilt (Dalga).

Bayram (male) and Dalga (female) are emigrants from Giresun. Neither affiliated with a *cemaat* after migration; they both still follow the Islam of their parents. Their excerpts show that migrants who follow parental Islam elaborate symbolic boundaries between 'here' and 'there' by differentiating between their relationships with their parents in the past and their children's relationships with them in present. It can be suggested that positive values and representations, such as respect for parents, are associated with the past ('there') and negative values, such as the concept of being 'spoilt', are attached to the present ('here'). In this way, a distinction is made between Gebze and the hometown.

When migrants like Bayram and Dalga complain about their children's behaviour and the social environment in Gebze, it is suggested that family values and inter-generational interactions have changed, threatening the power of first-generation migrant parents. In other words, for the second generation, parental authority and religion are being replaced by the authority of the individual, who is involved in an ongoing process of self-invention (Gray, 2002, p.4). This does not mean that the

second generation is secularised or has become less religious; as Section 3 will examine, when the second generation does identify with Islam (for example by affiliating with a *cemaat*), the nature of this religious identification differs from that of their migrant parents. Furthermore, it will be shown that migrants emphasise differences in moral and religious values in order to construct symbolic boundaries between 'here'/the present and 'there'/the past, thus demonstrating their sense of attachment to their parents and hometowns.

In addition, some migrants who praise their parents' Islam interact with and/or become friends with *Sufis* and *Salafis*. In the paragraphs below, I will examine how the migrants maintain the symbolic boundaries between 'us' (those who follow parental Islam) and 'them' (*Salafis* and *Sufis*) while undertaking these interactions.

7.2.2 The boundary between 'us' and 'them'

> We were so illiterate [before emigration]. My father asked my sister to wear a blue bead [*nazar boncuğu*] in order to repel the evil eye. We learnt that it was a superstition [….] I learnt that from the *hoca*[127] [….] Our *hoca* said that men attached blue beads to their homes to protect the buildings from fires or earthquakes. How could that protect a building from fire? We learnt that they do not have any benefits (Dilek).

When I conducted an interview with Dalga at her sister's house, their relative and friend, Dilek, was also present and agreed to participate. Dilek is affiliated with the Kadiri *cemaat*. In the extract above, Dilek criticises the Islam of her parents (and, indeed, Dalga), including its practices and materials, such as the wearing of blue beads. To her, they are nothing but worthless superstitions. Dalga, on the other hand, emphasises the benefits of parental Islam, its practices and materials – for example, she believes that parental Islamic practices can help protect one from demons and *jinn*, as well as from illnesses. As she expresses it,

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[127] The term *hoca* is utilised by Dilek to refer to the *vekil* (representative) of Kadiri *cemaat*.

231

> We have carried amulets to protect ourselves from *jinn* and demons [....]
> When our children are born, we recite the Qur'an so that the children will
> be healthy and blessed. We hide dates and *Zemzem*[128] water brought from
> *Kabe* [the ground mosque in Mecca, orienting point for Islamic prayer] in
> our house [....] Believe me, they do not cause you any harm! They are
> beneficial for your home and bring *bereket*[129] [blessing].

Two observations can be made here. Firstly, the boundaries at play can be considered

expressions of power (Knott, 2008), which are maintained to consolidate authority

(Woodhead, 2013). Secondly, those who are criticised by rivals respond by

emphasising an alternative set of values that they believe are absent from the rivals'

beliefs in order to distinguish themselves from them. The theorisation of tactical and

strategic religion fits with the views of Dilek and Dalga in a seemingly obvious way.

As mentioned previously, strategic religion involves textual learning, is dominated by

scholars and religious leaders, and is taught by institutions such as *cemaats*

(Woodhead, 2013, p.15). In this sense, the *cemaat* provides Dilek with

institutionalised forms of Islam and enhances the religious knowledge of their

followers. These factors show that Dilek's Islam is a strategic kind of Islam. This

form of Islam lends her the authority to define what is 'true'/authentic religion and

what is fraudulent/superstition. In this way, Dilek places parental Islam outside the

border of 'true' Islam, confining the sacred to that which is defined by the *hoca*.

On the other hand, the practices and materials Dalga mentions show that her

religion is a type of tactical Islam. As mentioned, the tactical locates the sacred in

materials and objects (Woodhead, 2013, p.16). For Dalga, blessings, protection from

demons and healing are associated with the Qur'an, *Zemzem* water and amulets. In

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[128] The '*zemzem*' ('*zam*-zam' in Arabic) is the name of well that provides the water to people. The well is located in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, to which millions of Muslims go on a pilgrimage, one of Islamic obligation, every year. The water was found by Hacer, Prophet Ibrahim's wife. Turkish pilgrimages and visitors bring *zemzem* water with them to give their friends and family members as a gift.
[129] *Bereket* can be associated with specific places, things and acts, such as certain foods, animals, plants, religious events, words and gestures (Colin, 1986, p.1032).

other words, she locates the sacred in these items. Dalga stresses the benefits of performing her parents' Islamic practices and using certain materials at home (such as for protection, healing and blessing). These benefits are part of a religious discourse and have a positive meaning for her. By consecrating alternative practices and materials, Dalga elaborates symbolic boundaries and validates parental Islam, stating that it does not cause any harm. The symbolic boundary maintained by Dalga can be interpreted as a tactic that contests the strategic frames of parental Islamic practices. In addition, some of those who follow parental Islam maintain boundaries by using a discourse of religious authenticity to demonstrate the merits of their faith, thus authenticating it, as the excerpt below will show:

> On March 17th, Ekrem organised a *mevlid* event[130] for the anniversary of his father's death. The event took place as part of the Qur'an course run by the *Diyanet*. There were three *İmams* working for the *Diyanet*. They recited the Qur'an, sang hymns [*ilahi*] and performed the *mevlid* poem. One of the *İmams* delivered a *sohbet*. In his *sohbet*, he stated that 'the Qur'an was revealed not only for those who died but also for us – those who are alive' (field note, 27/03/2015).

I had the opportunity to interview Ekrem, a migrant man from Giresun, before the *mevlid* event described above began. He lost his father three years ago and he holds this *mevlid* event every year. Afterwards, I asked the *hoca*[131] about the event and his statement. He said, 'the Qur'an cannot be seen merely as prayer, without understanding its meaning. The Qur'an is the words of Allah, and a guide. Muslims should live according to its divine messages.' He then commented on the event further:

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[130] Literally, however, *mevlid* means 'birth', and refers specifically to a prayer service commemorating the Prophet Muhammed's birth. In Turkey, the term also refers to a ritual that centres on the recital of a poem written in the 15th century by Süleyman Çelebi. Also, any event that involves a recitation of the Qur'an and the *mevlid* poem, along with the singing of *ilahi* [hymns], is called a *mevlid*. Such an event can be organised for a wedding ceremony or as a memorial event for the deceased (Hart, 2009, p.735).
[131] *Hoca* is used by the study participants to refer to the *İmams* who lead prayers at mosques in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood.

These events (*mevlid* events) are *bid'at* (innovation).[132] Even though we have said that there are no such rituals in Islam, they continue performing them [….] We see these events as an opportunity to explain what is right and to forbid what is wrong.

Before the event, Ekrem said the following to me:

I saw my parents, grandparents and elders [referring to his past ancestry in Giresun] holding *mevlid* events. If they were not religious practices, then why did they organise *mevlid* events? In the past, everyone was a *hoca*. If one held this event, it meant that one knew something about it [that it was a permissible practice].

In addition, in a separate interview, Emre, an emigrant from Giresun, told me:

We were called Süleymanşıhoğulları (sons of *şeyh* Süleyman). My family came from Horasan and moved to Şebinkarahisar [.…] Then they settled in Alucra.[133] In Alucra, there was one mosque [when they went there]. A second one was built by my grandfathers [….] One of them was called *Molla*[134] Ömer and the other was *Molla* Mustafa. Look at their names! They were my grandfathers [.…] My grandfathers had visited Mecca on foot.

By placing the words of the *hoca*, Emre and Ekrem as if they are in dialogue, I will show how the power dynamics operate between different groups, and how boundaries are constructed and maintained. In this dialogue, the *hoca* uses his power to limit the sacred and define 'true' religion, constructing boundaries between what is religious and what is not. In this sense, he imposes strategic Islam – in this case, the Islam performed and taught by the *Diyanet* – on others. It can also be suggested that attendance at the *mevlid* event is seen by the *hoca* as a chance to reinforce streategic/textual religious practices and teachings. The *hoca* works for the *Diyanet* but was educated at the Qur'an course run by the İsmailağa *cemaat*, and he identifies himself as a follower of the *cemaat*. Hart's (2009) study on rural areas in Turkey

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[132] *Bid'at* means 'religious innovation; unorthodox religious practices and materials'. The *mevlid* event is not seen as an authentic religious practice as it is not mentioned in the main Islamic texts, such as the Qur'an and *hadis*. Therefore, in the extract, the event is labelled an innovation, as the *hoca* says.
[133] Alucra and Şebinkarahisar are districts in Giresun.
[134] *Molla* literally means 'master' or 'the one in charge'. The term *molla* is a title given to well-known scholars of religion or persons who have studied at a certain level. The title is given as a mark of respect. Here, Emre utilises the term to refer to the religious activities of his grandfathers, such as building a mosque, and probably includes Islamic learning and the leading of prayers at these mosques.

indicates that *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats* attempt to correct or 'purify' Islam by ending

parental Islamic practices, showing that the *hoca*'s view of parental Islam is not

unique to this study (p.737).

On the other hand, Ekrem and Emre represent the Islam of their parents, or

tactical Islam (as explained above). They respond to the *hoca's* stance by underlining

their family roots and appealing to particular spaces and times – to religious titles

(*hoca*, *şeyh* and *molla* [135]) and the activities of their ancestors (such as religious

charity and travelling to Mecca) – instead of focusing on institutional or textual

norms, values and practices. I see these claims as a tactical response that serves to

challenge their detractors, such as the *hoca*, and to maintain a symbolic boundary that

distinguishes them positively from both negative popular references to their religion

and the *Sufism* that the *hoca* represents.

In addition, by emphasising their family roots and the religious titles and

activities of their ancestors, Ekrem and Emre stress the authenticity of the *mevlid*

event, thus asserting the validity of their traditions. Vasquez and Wetzel (2009) argue

that subordinated groups assert their social worth by elaborating and deploying their

own symbolic boundaries via descriptions of the authenticity of their beliefs (p.1559).

It can be suggested, therefore, that the construction of symbolic boundaries via

authenticity claims and validation of certain ways of being constitutes a viable tactic

for contesting strategic religious norms.

Furthermore, as Vasquez and Wetzel (2009) contend, authenticity is not

inherent in people, practices, objects or performances; rather, it is invoked through the

making of boundaries. As such, authenticity is a dynamic and socially constructed

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[135] The terms *hoca, molla and şeyh* are used here as titles for those educated in the field of religion and who taught religion in Emre's place of origin.

quality (Vasquez and Wetzel, 2009, p.1559). It should be added here that the migrants

interviewed engage with each other across symbolic and spatial boundaries,

sometimes consuming the norms and spaces of others. This is the case especially

where female migrants are concerned, as the next section will examine.

7.2.3 Women's spaces: The transgression of boundaries

Migrant women residing in the same neighbourhood meet together every week,

whether they follow the Islam of their parents or are part of a religious group. These

weekly gatherings are called home sermons (*ev sohbetleri*) or Friday sermons (*Cuma*

sohbetleri). The home sermon is an informal event and is open to all those residing in

a neighbourhood. Ece, an emigrant female from Giresun who is affiliated with the

İsmailağa *cemaat*, says the following about the gathering:

> The 'home sermons' are open to women residing in the neighbourhood. All
> are welcome to attend, although most of the participants who meet together
> come from the same city or town. The participants visit each other's homes
> in turn, in a cycle, meeting every Thursday or Friday. The sermons are
> given by religiously educated women [*hocas*]. The home sermons begin
> with a recitation of the Qur'an by those who know how to recite it in
> Arabic. Then, the *hoca* gives her *sohbet*. The *hoca* shares *hadis* (sayings
> and deeds of the prophet) and verses from the Qur'an. These include the
> narratives of the prophets and religious advice related to everyday lives.

This event shows that *hemşehricilik* (townsmanship) has a role in constructing a

gendered and regional space for emigrant women from the same town or village.

Regional intimacy also eliminates religious differences, categorisations and borders

here, as attendees transgress the boundaries between religious identities. Dalga

attends the home sermon when she is available. She explains,

> I attend the home sermon. I learn new things [….] I have sent my oldest
> daughters to the Qur'an course [run by the İsmailağa *cemaat*] and I sent
> another one to the Imam-Hatip High School [a religious-preaching high
> school] [….] [I sent her because] the *hoca* (referring to the vekil of Qadiri
> *cemaat*) said that parents are responsible for nurturing a dutiful/righteous
> child.

Migrant women like Dalga attend the home sermon not only to expand their theological knowledge but also to interact with others and create solidarity networks and traditions, as Şahin (2012) also finds in his research on Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. In this way, attendees at home sermons become one's 'social relatives' (Şahin, 2012, p.56), a suggestion which indicates that home sermons and constructed sacred spaces have social functions. In addition, Dalga has appropriated institutional Islamic teachings, representations and norms as she has sent her daughters to Qur'an courses and religious high schools. It could be argued that her sense of religious belonging and identity are hybridised as she continues to perform parental Islam while, at the same time, listening to the orders and suggestions given by the *hoca*. What I want to emphasise here is that the home sermon is a fusion of space and boundaries – a place where women, particularly women who affiliate with parental Islam, can consume other traditions in the form of teachings and representations (such as clothes).

The function of the *Sufi hocas* who attend these weekly events cannot be ignored. The space, the event and, by extension, the crossing of boundaries between religious identities are controlled by the *hoca* in attendance. The *hoca* has the power, deriving from her years of education at *Qur'an* courses, to use this space to reinforce strategic religious teachings, control the boundaries of true Islam and co-opt tactical Islam. Furthermore, the *hoca* attempts to dictate *Sufi* Islamic values and transform parental into *Sufi* Islam. As I will show in the next section, transgressions can result in conflict and exclusion, especially when one group tries to infiltrate another with the aim of converting people and spaces to a different strand of the faith.

Examining the symbolic boundaries between individuals provides us with an understanding of the definition of religion, the identity of religious groups, the

subjectivity of adherents to Islam and the relationships between Muslims (Knott, 2008). Thus far, I have explored how those who follow parental Islam maintain boundaries between the urban (Gebze) and the rural (the hometown), and between their generation and their children's generation. I have also suggested that they respond to *Sufi*-oriented migrants and *hocas'* negative references to their religious practices in ways that reaffirm their own religious beliefs. Claims regarding religious values, benefits and authenticity can be interpreted as discursive instruments through which those who follow parental Islam respond to *Sufis*, thus distinguishing themselves and their group from others. The parental Islam examined here has similarities with popular or folk Islam, in which: (a) deeply theological issues tend to be avoided and (b) the sacred is found in materials and rituals that are used to protect followers from *jinn*/demons and illness (see Günay, 1999, p.259–264; Possamai, 2015, p.781; Şahin, 2015, p.75). Thus, symbolic boundaries can give us information about migrants' identity formation and subjectivities.

The boundary between 'here' and 'there' demonstrates that the hometown is central to migrants who follow parental Islam. They still belong to their remembered 'homes' and their parents. As Bayram said, 'This [belief is] a vaccine, [which] is shot into your mind and heart. You cannot remove it; if you do, you are an infidel'. The 'vaccine' metaphor is useful when trying to grasp the reasons for migrants retaining parental Islam. A vaccine provides immunity to a particular disease and also protects people. Furthermore, it shows that the past and present are bound together – the past is injected into the body and cannot be removed or altered, and the vaccine continues to protect Bayram (mentally speaking) from the consequences of displacement from the familiar environment. In this way, emplacement is facilitated, a condition which entails challenges and changes. Here, it should be asked what else parental Islam as a

tradition provides to migrants. If continuation of the performance of parental Islam is about maintaining an identity and a sense of belonging to one's parents and the hometown, then regional and religious identities cannot be separated; instead, they are intertwined, feeding and depending on each other. For Fadil (2015), it is not about religion predominantly; it is about the sense of continuity from one generation to the next. I can suggest, therefore, that the meaning of parental Islam should be changed; rather than having a specific religious purpose, as it did in the hometown, it comes to have a symbolic role, preserving memories and becoming a reminder of home. The hometown remains an important site of identification, then, for those who maintain parental Islam.

7.3   The boundaries between *Sufi* and *Salafi* Islam

7.3.1 Religious affiliation: The Endülüs and Beyan associations

> In May 2015, in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood in Gebze, I was talking with Faruk at the bus stop. He told me about his religious life and condemned the religious leaders of *cemaat*s [*şeyhs*], the followers of the *şeyhs* and Islamic mysticism [*Sufism*] in general. While we were talking, we saw Fatih, who was one of my research participants and an emigrant from Giresun, on his way to the mosque. He [Fatih] knew Faruk and me, but he did not say *Selam*[136]or even make eye contact. Faruk told me that 'we do not talk to them and they do not talk to us' (field note, 22/05/2015).

Faruk and Fatih both emigrated from Giresun to Gebze. They are both male, low-wage workers of a similar age, living in the same neighbourhood. They are *hemşehris*; they are from similar social backgrounds (the working class) and they know each other. However, there is no physical or verbal contact between them and they emphasise the social boundary that exists between them, each referring to his own social group as 'us' ('insiders') and to other groups as 'them' ('outsiders'). Faruk belongs to the Endülüs association, while Fatih belongs to Beyan (on Beyan, see

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[136] *Selam* refers to the Islamic greeting *Assalamu Aleyküm*, which means 'peace be upon you'.

Chapter 6). Affiliations with, such associations could be said to constitute boundary making, given that they influence the social interactions (or lack thereof) that occur between these two *hemşehris* and former friends.

Endülüs is a religious association established in 2005 by members of the Gebze migrant population. The Endülüs association occupies a particular space and produces a certain religious identity in Gebze. This religious identity is based on certain canonised religious texts – in particular, translations of the Qur'an – and interpretations made thereof by the thinkers Mevdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Hasan Al Banna and Said Havva. Researchers have suggested that these influential thinkers promote an attachment to *Salafi* Islam (Özervarli, 2009, p.399–402; Hamid, 2016, p.55). Therefore, the resources, authors and ideologies associated with Endülüs can be understood as *Salafi*-oriented. His friends and Faruk consume and produce the *Salafi* identity, sharing representations and discourses in ways that actively and continually create a sense of belonging and construct symbolic boundaries between 'us' and the 'outsiders'. This religious identity is also constituted in part by separation from *Sufi* followers, many of whom are *Salafis'* neighbours, workmates and rivals.

In Chapter 6, it was shown that Beyan, a branch of İsmailağa *cemaat*, produces a *Sufi* Islamic way of life and shapes the religious identity of its followers, who form a relationship with Mahmud Effendi, one of the *cemaat's* leaders. The following section will examine how *Sufis* and *Salafis* manifest their identities through boundary maintenance. I will explore the boundaries between *Salafism* and *Sufism* by studying religious and moral discourses. In addition, I will consider how these groups relate to the parental Islam practiced by people living back in the hometowns. In particular, I will focus on the symbolic boundaries between: (1) *Salafi* and *Sufi* Islam, and (2)

'here' (Islam in the present) and 'there' (parental Islam practised by people in Giresun and Erzurum).

7.3.2 The boundaries between different groups

7.3.2.1 *Salafi* boundary making

> *Sufism* is a fabricated thing. It was influenced by Buddhism, Hinduism and Shamanism (Fehim).
>
> Allah tells us not to have clergy like Christians and Judaists, but we [*Sufis*] have a clergy class (Halil).
>
> They practise *şirk* [conflating Allah with *şeyh*] [because] they do not pray directly to Allah, but through *şeyhs* (Faruk).
>
> *Şeyhs* make a good profit. You get 50 liras if you read out *Yasin* [the 36th chapter of the Qur'an]. The Prophet taught religion, but he did not sell religion (Halil).

Faruk, Fehim and Halil are male emigrants from Giresun, all of whom have been influenced by books written by *Salafi*-oriented authors. The terms *şirk*[137] (associating Allah with someone/something; in this case, with *şeyh*) and *bid'at* ('innovation') have an undesirable meaning for Muslims, as does the concept of an association between *Sufism* and Judaism (Valdinocci, 2015, p.158). These ideas are utilised by *Salafis* to insult and condemn *Sufis* (Knysh, 2007, p.507). In addition to using religious insults, *Salafis* present *Sufi şeyhs* negatively – in the above, they are positioned as 'sellers of religion'. By repeating these ideas, *Salafis* emphasise the negative aspects of *Sufism*, making it the un-Islamic 'other' that is in opposition to *Salafism*, which is depicted as the order of the 'true believer'. In addition, when *Salafis* discuss matters related to Endülüs, they do so in order emphasise the positive aspects of *Salafism* at the same time:

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[137] *Şirk* literally means 'association'. The term can be defined as 'the association of someone or something with Allah, thus deviating from monotheism' (Esposito, 2003). It is used as the opposite of *tevhid* ('the oneness and uniqueness of God'). There can be different grades of *sirk*, ranging from belief in superstition to belief in the power of created things (such as *şeyhs*) and belief in those who profess to know the future (Shirk, 2017). In this thesis, the term is used by *Salafis* to refer to *Sufis* who conflate Allah with *şeyhs* or believe in the spiritual power of *şeyhs*.

> *Cemaat* members sometimes give my brother magazines and books. He has asked me to read them, but I told him, 'I know what they write about: they will declare that someone is a non-believer and accuse them for being *kafir* [infidels]'[138]. [However], I read Sayyid Qutb and Mustafa Islamoğlu. The best thing about them is that they do not condemn each other, and they do not even respond to those who call them 'the enemy of *sünnet* [the traditions of the Prophet] and the Prophet'. These are the ethics of *alims* [Islamic scholars] [….] I really like that.

Halil compares the moral values of *Salafi* Islamic authors to those of the writers of magazines belonging to the İsmailağa *cemaat*. He stresses the positive attributes of *Salafis* (such as being humble), while representing *Sufis* negatively (showing how they condemn others). The association of negative moral values with *Sufis* and positive values with *Salafis* can be considered a 'constructive strategy' that manifests a group identity, placing it in opposition to others (Van Leuvven and Wodak, 1999, p.92 cited in Valdinocci, 2015, p.157). By identifying the 'other', *Salafis* define their traditions and establish their group identity, emphasising that there should not be any intermediaries between Allah and his followers, and that 'true' Islam is separate from other traditions and cultures. I can extend here to suggest, following existing research, that symbolic boundaries serve to strengthen in-group solidarity (Lamont and Molnar, 2002; Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013).

> During the course of my fieldwork, Halil, Fehim and Faruk spent their free time sitting together at teahouses or at Fehim's work place. They talked about the books that they had read, they watch religious programs on YouTube, and they frequently criticise *Sufis* and *şeyhs*. For example, *Sufis* use religion as an instrument to benefit from the current political environment. When they go to teahouses, they tend to sit at separate tables from *Sufis*, refusing to interact with them. This avoidance of co-presence probably also shapes their choices of social spaces (field note, 26/05/2015).

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[138] In Islamic sources, accusing someone of being an infidel is banned. Therefore, in this extract, Halil is saying that, although it is banned, *Sufis* (or their print media, at least) have accused someone of being an infidel.

The notes above indicate that symbolic boundary building becomes physical, defining who does and does not belong to a space. Social spaces in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood can be viewed as contested spaces that are defined by religious identities and local identification (see Chapter 4). The social boundaries and physical distance between migrant groups fosters proximity within the groups themselves, as seen in the solidarity between *Salafi*-oriented Halil, Fehim and Faruk. In other words, maintaining boundaries between groups boosts *Salafi* group esteem. Such boundaries can also be said to have the same social functions for *Sufis* in Gebze, as I will show.

The terms *bid'at* (innovation) and *şirk* (conflating Allah with *şeyhs*) are seen as having negative semantic loads for Muslims (Valdinocci, 2015) – usage of them is considered by Halil to be negative verbal behaviour for a Muslim. Halil, however, contradicts himself, as he uses such terms when referring to *Sufis*. It is clear, therefore, that the meanings of these words are not stable. Indeed, they can be seen as boundary statements that help to articulate the distance between groups.

Furthermore, I contend that these terms are used as strategic and tactics to maintain supremacy or resist domination – *Salafis* resist the sheer number of *Sufis* through such boundary deployment, consolidating their knowledge-derived power and authority through language. In these extracts, *Salafis* can be seen as practising tactical and strategic Islam at the same time. This is because Faruk, Fehim and Halil categorise *Sufism* as un-Islamic and emphasize the positive influence of *Salafism*, its followers and its contents (e.g. its authors and books), which is in antithesis to the negativity associated with *Sufism*. It can be argued that the usage of moral and religious discourses here is a strategy for consolidating their power and authority over *Sufis*.

Moreover, the discourses articulated by *Salafis* can be considered tactical because, as discussed, the number of associations for those who identify themselves as *Salafi* is small due to a lack of state support, whereas *Sufis* have the support to operate more widely (see Chapter 2). Therefore, the articulation of moral and religious discourses can be considered a tactical move that allows boundaries to be erected and *Sufis'* authority to be challenged. Here, I do not mean to suggest that dominated groups are always seeking ways to dictate the terms of Islam; rather, in the *Salafi* case, numerical disadvantage is overcome somewhat through a level of religious knowledge that allows boundaries to be constructed and maintained. In other words, power shapes the boundary-making and maintenance process that occurs between *Salafis* and *Sufis*. The aforementioned terms and values also have emotional, behavioural and moral content, which can also produce boundaries and has both social and behavioural implications, as will be examined below.

7.3.2.2. Sufi boundary making

> One night, my friend was here. He is affiliated with a *cemaat* associated with *Sufi* Islam. He invited me to drink tea. I said, 'OK!' His two friends, who I do not know, were there. My friend asked me my opinion about *şeyhs*. We had the following conversation:

> Fehim: Please, do not start on this topic!

> Friend: What are you saying? (Three times). You are saying that there are no *hadis* (sayings and deeds of the prophet), no *şeyhs* and no *veliyyullah*[139] ['friends of Allah'].

> Fehim: There are [*şeyhs*] because the Qur'an mentions that there are *veliyyulah*, but how do you know if they are any real *şeyhs*?

> Friend: Then, you are saying that there are no prophets.

> Fehim: How did you come to that conclusion?

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[139] *Veli* literally means 'custodian', 'protector', 'helper' and/or 'friend'. *Veliyyulah* refers to those who are close to Allah. In *Sufi* literature, the term is utilised to refer to friends of Allah. The term signifies a position and rank of acceptance given by Allah to his servants. This position can be given from birth or attained due to people's devotion and worship (Uludağ, 2013). Here, Fehim's friend utilises the term to develop a logical arguement: if the Qur'an mentions that there are *veli* and that *şeyhs* can be *veliyyullahs*, then no one can deny that *şeyhs* and their spiritual features are given by Allah.

Friend: Our *şeyh* is a descendant of the Prophet Muhammed. If you deny the reality of the *şeyh*, you also deny the reality of the Prophet Muhammed.

My friend became very angry.

Fehim: You started on this topic and now you have become angry. Did I even say that you had committed polytheism?

After that, we could not meet up with each other again.

Fehim is an emigrant from Giresun and is affiliated with the Endülüs association and *Salafi* Islam. His friends are followers of *Sufi* Islam. This dialogue between Fehim and his friend provides some detail about the boundaries constructed between *Salafis* and *Sufis* – particularly in terms of *Sufis'* methods of validating and legitimating *Sufism* by contrasting it with *Salafism*.

The dialogue shows that the boundary between *Sufis* and *Salafis* is raised when Fehim accuses his friend of polytheism, thus invalidating *Sufism*. For Fehim, this is a transgression against the sacred because *şeyhs* are seen as intermediaries, which, for *Salafis*, are unacceptable. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the reasons why *şeyhs* are seen as holy by *Sufis*. Fehim's friend attempts to confront him, seeking a way to validate *Sufi* Islamic practices. One method used by *Sufis* here is to describe the authenticity of *şeyhs* by emphasising *silsila* (spiritual and geneological lineage). There are two types of lineage between the Prophet and *şeyhs*:

1) The *şeyh* can be a descendent of the Prophet Muhammed, as Fehim's friend mentions. In particular, associates of the Menzil *cemaat* claim that their *şeyh*, Abdul Baki Erol, is a descendent of the Prophet Muhammed. Being given the title of *Sayyid* (descendent of the Prophet Muhammed) is an honour in the Muslim world. As Takim (2005) states, 'in many Muslim countries/communities, the *Sayyids* have a superior status and obtain extra privileges' (p.58).

2) The *şeyh* can be connected to the person regarded to be the order's founder, thus being linked to the Prophet Muhammed (Tosun 2009). The Prophet Muhammed is considered to have been the 'greatest *şeyh*' (see Appendix 2).

Here, *silsila* (spiritual and genealogical lineage) serves as an authentication method for *Sufism*, through which followers respond to *Salafis'* ongoing accusations and criticisms. *Silsila* shows that a *şeyh* is the heir of a well-established tradition with identifiable roots (the Prophet Muhammed) and routes (lineage). In this way, *Sufis* fabricate forms of authenticity in order to overcome uncertainties about the legitimacy of *Sufism*, as raised by opponents like Fehim. As Vasquez and Wetzel (2009) argue, groups who are targets of criticisms use claims of religious and racial 'authenticity' as tactics of resistance (p.1558). Focusing on the *silsila* (lineage) is a tactic that serves to validate and authenticate*Sufism*.

Another way in which *Sufis* respond to criticism by *Salafis* is by consecrating alternative practices, materials and persons, as Aslı explains:

> One day, the *şeyh* asked the *mürids*[140] [disciples of the *Sufi* order] to work in the garden [in the village of Menzil]. One of them asked why they [the *şeyhs*] asked them to work there. At the same time, the *şeyh* arrived. He said, '*Sofiler*[141] ['Followers']! You have become so tired. Please take a break [....] A man's eye of the heart was opened, and he saw that the angels were carrying bales of hay. Something happened to the man and he fainted. When he woke up, the *şeyh* said to him, 'If we want, we can ask the angels to carry them, but we want you to be blessed'. That is to say, we follow them [the *şeyhs*] because they are our guides.

Aslı is an emigrant woman who follows *Sufi* Islam. She told this story when I mentioned the *Salafis'* criticisms. She went on to say: '*Salafis* say that *cemaat* followers do not pray directly to Allah, but indirectly through *şeyhs*, and thus commit polytheism [….] We do not ask for anything from *şeyh*s, but we see them as intermediaries [*vesile*] between us and Allah, and ask for their *himmet*[142] [spiritual

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[140] *Mürid* literally means one 'who is committed and is known as a seeker'. It is a *Sufi* term that relates to a person who is committed to a *Sufi şeyh* (spiritual master) at a *Sufi* order. *Mürids* submit to the direction, authority and guidance of the *Sufi şeyh* (Esposito, 2003).

[141] *Sofi* is a title used for those who become followers of *Sufism* – particularly for followers of Menzil *cemaat*.

[142]*Himmet* literally means 'tendency', 'desire', 'wish' or 'perseverance' and is used to refer to the extraordinary willpower, divine help and mercy given by Allah to *Sufi şeyhs* (both alive and deceased).

246

blessings and help]'. Aslı does not mention sections of the Qur'an or *hadis* (he sayings and deeds of the Prophet). Instead, she illustrates why *Sufism* is meaningful to her and explains what she expects from *şeyhs*. In her excerpts, three features are attributed to *şeyhs*: *Himmet* ('spiritual blessings and help'), *keramet*[143] ('an emotional, material and spiritual extraordinary state of being' and *bereket* ('divine blessing and width; happiness and goodness'). These terms provide evidence that *Sufis* do not see *şeyhs* as ordinary people; the *şeyh* is a holy person, who is chosen by humanity to guide others (Kara, 1990, p.275; Atay, 2012, p.23). By emphasising 'we' here, Aslı distinguishes *Sufism* from *Salafism* and *Sufis* from *Salafis*. Furthermore, in perceiving the *şeyh* as a holy person with particular features, Aslı responds to both *Sufi* and *Salafi* questions and beliefs, thus enacting the construction of symbolic boundaries.[144]

I have examined how *Sufis* constructs symbolic boundaries to confront *Salafis'* accusations and rejection of their practices. *Sufis* respond to *Salafism* by using two tactics: claims of *Sufi* authenticity via emphasis of the importance of the spiritual and genealogical links between the Prophet and *şeyhs*, and references to the kindness/grace of the *şeyh* and his care for others. Moreover, as I have suggested, *Sufism* can be seen as operating strategically because of its high numbers of adherents and associations, and its political, economic and social impact. The *Sufi* focus on religious discourses and spiritual and genealogical links can be interpreted, therefore, as strategic. They use these methods to protect their symbolic and/or social privileges, as well as the capital attached to them. In addition, it can be claimed that *Sufis*

In *Sufism*, *himmet* is understood as indicating a power to accomplish extraordinary works by impacting on objects, people, spirits and souls (Demirci, 1998).

[143] *Keramet* can be translated literally as 'good, generous and moral'. The term *keramet* is utilised to refer to an extraordinary state given by Allah to his servants (such as *şeyhs*) (Uludağ, 2002). For example, as Asli mentions, the *Sufi şeyh* asked angels to carry bales of hay.

[144] This chapter does not explore how *Sufis* construct symbolic boundaries by denigrating *Salafism* and *Salafists*. On this aspect of boundary making, see Atay's *Muslim Mystic Community in Britain* (2012) and Valdinocci's book chapter titled 'Representing the Detractors of *Sufism* in Twentieth-Century Hyderabad, India', in L. V. J. Ridgeon, ed., *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age* (2015).

confront *Salafis* in order to secure their own social, economic and religious privileges in the context of the political shifts that have occured in Turkey (as discussed Chapter 2).

An analysis has been offered of the boundaries constructed, revealing that religious elements (including titles, spiritual power, values and lineage) are utilised as tool kits to legitimate particular Islamic traditions. Moreover, symbolic boundaries emerge because of power relations – they enable the achievement or consolidation of authority over others. It must be remembered, however, that instrumental or status-oriented analyses underplay the affective conceptual, emotional, behavioural and moral content that culture and religion hold, which shape the people and societies in question. This way of thinking about religion and symbolic boundaries stresses the importance of signals related to membership of a majority or minority group, knowledge, political participation and state support. In the following section, therefore, I will focus on particular moments of boundary transgression and the sacrality of these boundaries, which are seen as inviolable (Knott, 2008, 2013).

7.3.2.3 Contested spaces: The transgression of boundaries

As mentioned earlier, the home sermon is an informal meeting held for women residing in the Beylikbağı neighbourhood. Any *Sufi* or *Salafi* woman can be asked to give the sermon. The women in the group asked Ayşe to deliver *sohbets* whenever they had gatherings or events, such as wedding ceremonies. The co-presence of *Sufis* and *Salafis* at home sermons, however, renders the events contested spaces – and, by association, these *sohbets* are contested practices. Ayşe is an emigrant from Kars, who is married to Halil, an emigrant from Giresun. They affiliate with Endülüs, a *Salafi*-oriented association. Halil told me about Ayşe's *sohbets* and the reasons why home sermons become contested spaces:

> They [the *Sufis*] asked my wife to give *sohbets*. So, she gave *sohbets*. While giving one particular *sohbet*, she criticised the *cemaat şeyh*. After that, they did not ask her to give any more *sohbets*. Why? Because she criticised their *şeyh*. [After that] they stared at her when they saw her in the street. How can Muslims stare at other Muslims in such a way? They look at my wife in that way.

Ece is an emigrant woman from Giresun, who is affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*. Her excerpt helps us to see the reasons why the women no longer ask Ayşe to deliver *sohbets* and stare at her whenever they encounter her in the street:

> Whenever we had meetings or ceremonies, we invited Ayşe. Women liked listening to her because her *sohbets* were amusing. One of our friends had a henna night two weeks ago. We asked Ayşe to give a *sohbet* [….] She criticised the *şeyh* and said that those who follow *şeyhs* are practising *şirk*. The women were annoyed and decided not to ask her to give a *sohbet* on the wedding night.

The extracts show that the home sermon as a space is not as fluid as it might have appeared earlier in the chapter; there are some boundaries that one cannot cross. The question needs to be asked here, why was boundary transgression acceptable in the case of Dalga above but not in the case of Ayşe? First of all, it can be said that these social spaces are dominated by *Sufis*, as most of the participants are affiliated with *Sufi* Islam. Ayşe probably knows that the space is controlled by the *Sufis* – this is why she made herself acceptable at first, before seeking to return them to *Salafi* Islam by accusing *Sufis* of polytheism. She went too far here by using the term 'polytheism'. This shows that *Sufi* women utilise their power to exclude Ayşe from the social space and from their community in general, refusing to talk to her. This defensiveness also suggests that the group's social relations are fragile, being mutable and open to different forms of sacrality.

Secondly, as discussed earlier, although *Salafis'* and *Sufis'* definitions of 'true' Islam differ from each other, both groups seek to authenticate their Islams by referencing the words of God and the Prophet Muhammed. While *Salafis* believe that

249

union with Allah (*Tevhid*)[145] should not be intercepted, *Sufis* seek closeness to Allah through petitioning *şeyhs* (Hamid, 2016, p.55). In Ayşe's *sohbet*, she alternates between the binary opposites of *tevhid* (the oneness of God') and *şirk* ('associating Allah with someone/something') to demonstrate the boundary between sacrality and non-sacrality, which, to her, is inviolable. This sacred boundary serves to render *Sufism* fraudulent and to establish *Salafism* as the 'true' faith.

In addition, the *şeyh* is perceived as, and believed to be, a holy person. For Saktanber (2002), the ultimate *Sufi* aim is to reach a state of unity with Allah, pursuing self-purification and thus becoming a better Muslim. This can be achieved by emulating the *Şeyh* (Saktanber, 2002, p.173). This suggests that *Sufis* are polytheistic because of their understanding of the concept of *tevhid* (Allah's unity; the oneness of God). *Bid'at* (innovation) and polytheism are derogatory terms used against *Sufis* – they refer to what is seen as the violation of the sacred by *Sufis*. Accusing *Sufis* publicly of polytheism can be seen as going too far, in the case of Ayşe. Her condemnations of another group thus have emotional and social implications. Knott (2013) argues that when one's beliefs are threatened, one may take up an intractable position, fighting tirelessly for what one holds to be true and right. In addition, Effler (2005) argues that 'any transgression against these sacred elements is a moral transgression that engenders righteous anger' (p.138). It has been suggested that 'emotionality plays a key role in shaping a person's action in social settings where choices must be made' (Corrigan, 2004, p.14). In this way, Ayşe's

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[145] *Tevhid* literally means to 'declare that something is one and unique'. The term connotes the unity of God, which is a key doctrine of Islam. It indicates complete monotheism (i.e. 'the unity and uniqueness of God'. See Esposito, 2003). For Muslims, Allah has no partner or associate; his divinity is absolute. I use this term because those who affiliate with Endülüs, like Ayşe, utilise it frequently to define themselves and to assert the claim that *Sufis* do not respect this Islamic doctrine (because *Sufis* attribute partners to Allah).

transgression makes *Sufis* angry, and the affront that she represents leads to her being excluded from the social space.

These excerpts show that boundaries are attributed sacrality, as Knott (2008) argues. When the boundary between two religious identities is approached from either side and the identities themselves are threatened, the sacrality of the boundary comes to the fore. The terms *şirk* (referring here to conflating Allah with *şeyhs*) and *bid'at* ('innovation') signify the transgression of each group against each other's sacred elements, having wider social and behavioural implications for both sets of women.

Examining the symbolic boundaries between *Sufis* and *Salafis* shows that religious affiliation shapes their temporal and spatial horizons. They find themselves in the midst of a historical dispute between each other (as mentioned in Chapter 2). In turn, religious boundaries are created that mostly become solid and physical but can be transgressed – although these transgressions can be restricted and controlled. In addition, it has been shown that migration is about not only creating an imagined future, but also reconstructing the past – and boundary construction plays a role here. These boundaries and the 'new' identity shape the migrants' relationships with the 'Islam' practised by their parents in their hometowns.

7.3.2.4 Boundaries between 'here' and 'there'

> My mother wore a headscarf, but she did not wear it because it was a religious obligation. The kind of style in which she wore it was a traditional [one], not a religious one [.…] Religion did not remain there, but there are customs (Hakime).

> The people in the village performed *mevlid*, sang hymns and recited the Qur'an. Here, *hocas*[146] said us, 'In Islam, there is no such thing'. When we have a gathering, a *hoca* reads the verses and explains what Allah told us. *Mevlid*, hymns and these [things] make you sleep (Caner).

> Daily prayer becomes a habit in villages [.…] If one performs daily prayers, one should not say bad words or tell lies. Religion should prevent people

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[146] Caner uses the title *hoca* to refer those who give sermons and lead prayers at mosques (appointed by the *Diyanet*).

from doing bad things, but it does not [affect people's behaviour in the village] (Halil).

Hakime is an emigrant woman from Giresun, a member of the Menzil *cemaat* and an active member of the Islamic-oriented Felicity Party (*Saadet Partisi*). Caner is an emigrant man from Giresun and is affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat* (for more information about Caner, see Chapters 5 and 6). Halil is an emigrant from Giresun and is affiliated with the Endülüs association.

The excerpts above show that migrants contest parental Islam by drawing a line between what constitutes religion and what does not. For these migrants, parental Islam does not prevent people from telling lies and saying bad things. Also, this form of Islam is an amalgamation of personal traits and is connected with social customs, thus becoming habitual. The terms 'habits', 'customs' and 'tradition' are all mentioned in the excerpts and can be interpreted as symbolic boundary statements used by migrants to mark out differences and to make parental Islam into an un-Islamic other. In the existing literature, these three ideas are explained as being different from one another. A 'habit' is an individual action – an addiction or a mannerism that is repeated regularly repeated until it becomes involuntary, as Aboujaoude (2008) discusses (cited in Bronner, 2017, p.42). A 'custom' is a 'repeated social occasion' and a 'way of doing', such as wearing a headscarf without question (Duhigg, 2012 cited in Bronner, 2017, p.42). For Giddens (1994), 'habits' have lost all ties with the formulaic truth of tradition and do not have a binding character or moral content; rather, they are personal forms of routinisation. 'Traditions', however, have normative and moral content. They are bound up with memory and are reconstructed continuously on the basis of rituals (Giddens, 1994). These rituals are taught and transmitted by guardians (Giddens, 1994). In relation to this study, it can be suggested that *Sufis* and *Salafis* consider themselves to follow 'true' forms of Islam

because their beliefs are transmitted and interpreted by guardians and healers (Prophets and *şeyhs*). They have moral content and involve rituals that reproduce memory, following Giddens' (1994) definition. Therefore, migrants elaborate symbolic boundaries between 'here' and 'there' by stressing the differences between 'true religion' and habits/customs.

In addition, the migrant context shows that traditions can change at the individual level when people move, whether temporally (meaning, for instance, the passage of time between generations), or geographically (from rural to urban areas). It can be argued that parental Islam as a tradition is thus open to changes and adaptations; it is organic and interpretive, and can be learnt, relearnt or dissolved. The latter occurs when parental Islam no longer has a function for its followers and/or is no longer interpreted and conceptualised by religious authorities or leaders (Giddens, 1994). I have shown that when migrants enter into open dialogue with other Islamic interpretations and traditions, they can become divorced from parental Islam, adopting different forms of faith. In these ways, tradition is influenced by external conditions, such as migration, urban living (in a religiously pluralistic environment) and other social factors, as shown in previous chapters. Instead of considering rural and urban cultures and religions to be separate, distinct types of tradition, then, they are seen as part of a flow of ideas and beliefs. Migrants adapt to changing circumstances, adding new ideas to parental Islam and thus producing new articulations of the faith (Giddens, 1994; Asad, 2015; see Chapter 4). As Giddens (1994, 1991) argues, traditions can be unnoticeable, but they always have functions for people, such as providing familiarity, trust, identity and ontological security. What I mean to say is that parental Islam does not be disappear, even if the migrants reject it outwardly by making binary references and constructing symbolic boundaries

between their 'old' and 'new' religions; the past and the hometown retain a role as the migrants move towards new futures.

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined interactions between the various types of Islam practised in Gebze, focusing on movement and boundaries. It has been shown that religion plays an important role in the establishment of symbolic boundaries (religious and moral boundaries) during times of movement (both geographical and temporal). This is an area that has been overlooked in existing studies of internal migration. The chapter has also shown that the concept of the boundary is useful for understanding individuals' definitions of 'true' Islam, as well as the formation of group identities and subjectivities. The evidence indicates that Islam should not be seen as independent of migrants' everyday lives; the everyday and religion work to inform one another.

In addition, the concepts of tactical and strategic religion have been useful in gaining an understanding of how power shapes the symbolic boundaries and relations between different Islams and their members. Focusing on power relations has enabled the ways in which other elements (the state, numerical advantage, knowledge) come into play, too, where the construction and maintenance of boundaries is concerned. It must be remembered, however, that religion provides meanings, symbols and boundaries, and should not be seen merely as an instrument to gain, consolidate or challenge power and authority. Indeed, symbolic boundaries are also maintained due to attributions of sacrality and the transgression of such sacrality. In this chapter, two kinds of boundaries established by migrants have been found to be important: boundaries between 'here' and 'there', and between different types of Islam (*Sufism*, *Salafism* and parental Islam).

In more detail, migrants establish boundaries between where they come from and where they reside, and between present and past, by using religious and moral discourses. Those who follow parental Islam differentiate between 'here' and 'there' on the basis of moral differences. They project negative representations on to Gebze and positive representations on to their places of origin in order to distinguish the past from the present and 'there' from 'here'. Similarly, *Sufis* and *Salafis* appeal to morality, but they do this to render parental Islam un-Islamic, branding it mere 'habit' or 'custom'.

The results given here problematise the existing literature on interaction between religion and internal migration in Turkey (see Uğur, 2004; Meriç, 2005; Şahin, 2008; Altan, 2010; Çelik, 2013). In these studies, urban and rural areas are distinguished from one another, and urban and rural religiosity are seen as distinct. In the present chapter, however, I have shown that the surrounding area does not always change migrants' religious identities. Moreover, the migration process does not produce one single form of Islam. As a result of contact between different Islamic traditions, changes have occurred, and hybrid religious forms have emerged that combine elements of parental Islam with *Sufi* and *Salafi* Islam. Religion should be seen, therefore, as organic and interpretive, and open to changes and adaptations. The rural/urban binary can mislead researchers because it encourages one to examine religion in relation to processes (migration and urbanisation) and locales (hometown/place of settlement), leading the roles of migrants and traditions in shaping these processes to be ignored (Meriç, 2005; Altan, 2010). This study demonstrates that the boundaries between different locales provide opportunities for social engagement to occur across boundaries, a point to which I shall return.

Migrants also establish boundaries between 'us' and 'them' as a result of a sense of affiliation with particular religious identities and groups. Firstly, this boundary construction serves to affirm migrants' identities as parental Islamists, *Sufis* or *Salafis*. Secondly, more boundaries are created by those who are presented as an outside 'other', who develop strategies to differentiate themselves from their rivals. 'Others' may maintain tactics, such as the consecration of alternative practices/materials or the use of other methods to claim religious authenticity. In this way, tactical reject or resist domination and authority. Thirdly, migrant groups use strategies to demonstrate and consolidate their authority and power over others. Interpreting group relations in these ways enables one to grasp the motivations behind migrants' reactions to others (such as the use of authorisation discourses and authenticity claims, the consecration of alternative rituals, and the emphasising of the positive values/benefits of traditions). Other traditions are positioned outside the border of 'true' religion by being placed in undesirable categories – they are superstitious or polytheistic, or they are denying history.

A few ethnographic studies of *Sufis'* and *Salafis'* everyday social relations have been undertaken (see Atay, 2012; Baylocq and Bechikh, 2012; Cantini, 2012; Kreil, 2012). These studies tend to focus on the definition of 'true' Islam and institutional/individual identity-formation practices (Atay, 2012), the relationship between affiliation, identity and boundaries (Karataş and Sandıkçı, 2013), or everyday relations between *Sufis* and *Salafis* (Knysh, 2007). In the present chapter, the followers of parental Islam have been added to the *Sufi–Salafi* dialogue. In addition, this chapter employs the lens of translocality to go beyond local studies of immigrants, in which the connections between places and histories and the multi-sited, multi-layered natures of the migrants' everyday lives are often overlooked (see

Atay, 2012). For Atay (2012), religious elements are dependent upon power hierarchies. As I have shown here, however, the concept of the sacred demonstrates that religious elements in themselves can be non-negotiable and inviolable boundaries.

Symbolic boundaries are drawn between 'here' and 'there' via the distinction between what constitutes religion and what does not. The difference between the two is marked deliberately and clearly by boundaries that organise the migrants' connections with their places of origin. In Chapter 8, I will examine how these boundaries transform migrants' relationships with the hometown.

Chapter 8: Translocal Family Relations

8.1   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to understand the impact that migrants have on those who are left behind. Chapter 7 explored how *Sufi-* and *Salafi*-oriented migrants draw symbolic boundaries between Gebze and their hometowns (Giresun and Erzurum) by contesting their parents' Islam and marking their differences. The present chapter continues to examine the dialogue between *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam, exploring the social relations between migrants and their family members who remain in the hometown.[147] Instead of focusing solely on the movers, the experiences and points of view of those who stay are considered in order to explore the broader impact of migration.

Chapter 1 suggested that Turkish research on migration and religion tends to emphasise the differences between rurality and urbanity, looking at the contrasts between rural religiosity and urban religiosity, as well as between rural and urban culture (Günay, 1999; Çelik, 2002; Şahin, 2008; Altan, 2010; Diyanet, 2014). For example, the multi-sited research conducted by Şahin (2008) on inhabitants of Bogazlıyan (a village in Yozgat province) and emigrants from Boğazlıyan living in a town in the Netherlands considers the different meanings, senses, contents and forms that rituals and religious practices take for migrants and non-migrants (p.348). Şahin does not consider the links and interactions between migrants and non-migrants, however, indicating that more research is required in this area with regard to Turkish migrants and non-migrants (2008).

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[147] Here, I exclude ties that are maintained via hometown associations and *cemaats*. I also exclude non-religious materials, practices and ideas, such as money. On hometown associations and their translocal practices, see Chapter 6. On the flow of materials between *gecekondu* areas and villages, see Karpat (1976). On physical transformations in Giresun, see DiCarlo (2008).

To explore the relationship between migrants and non-migrants, this chapter adopts the research on the religious lives in Turkish rural areas as a starting point for considering how religious lives are examined. The chapter investigates how these Turkish rural areas become fields of contest between religious institutions and Islamic traditions, focusing on the religious lives of those who are left behind in Erzurum and Giresun. Hart's research (2013) on rural *Sunni* Islam in western Turkey explores how villagers interpret and practice their religion in the context of their everyday lives. She observes that the villagers' religious practices are influenced by Islamic cultural traditions (referred to as 'parental Islam' in the current study) and *cemaats*, and by the state version of Islam delivered by the *Diyanet*. Hart (2013) finds that *süleymancıs*[148] enter villages for special occasions, marriage parties and women's gatherings, and that villagers send their children to the *süleymancı*-run Qur'an courses (p.22–3, p.134–140). Hart's (2013) research considers how religious lives in rural areas are produced by various institutions. Her research does not focus on migration, however, and does not explore the relationships, therefore, between migrants and their relatives and friends in the hometown.

Examining these ties, Chapter 1 highlighted how migrants stay connected to their places of origin in four ways: virtually (through diverse modes of communication, such as telephone calls, text messaging, emails and Skype calls), by proxy (through the sending and receiving of letters and parcels), physically (through corporeal travel and visits) and imaginatively (through the inclusion of distant kin in regular prayers) (see Baldassar, 2008, p.252). Such ties enable migrants and non-migrants to transmit both material and non-material things (such as emotions, values

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[148] A *süleymancı* is a type of religious group that is comparable to a *cemaat*. These groups are affiliated with the *Nakşibendi Sufi* order.

and knowledge about practices) from place to place, and these ties even transform the religious lives of those who remain.

The question of why migrants develop translocal ties with their left-behind family members has several answers. Firstly, the emotions of missing and longing motivate them to construct ties or to create shared co-presence (Baldassar, 2008, p.247). Secondly, these emotions enable family members – particularly mothers – to perform parenting from afar, thus transmitting intimacy across long distances (Parrenas, 2004; Velayutham and Wise, 2005, p.43; Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.39; Brickell, 2011; Hedberg and do Carmo, 2012, p.3). Thirdly, migrants feel obliged to support their relatives (Baak, 2015, p.123), which is due to a feeling of belonging to their families (Collins, 1998). Lastly, such ties facilitate the re-establishment of intimacy and help people to deal with a sense of longing and/or loss (Baldassar, 2008, p.252). This evidence indicates that the transmission of emotions both produces, and is produced by, the translocal relationship. Places of origin and settlement are thus tied together and cannot be examined without the connections being considered. In particular, this research will underscore the crucial role that religious factors connected to the translocal relationship, such as religious obligations, play in the migration process.

To understand the roles of ties and circulations between provinces for dispersed family members, I use the translocal framework, which is relevant to the present study of internal migration. Such an approach has not been applied to religion in scholarship on internal migration thus far, as stated in Chapter 1. The current chapter will also utilise studies of transnational migrants as a jumping-off point for an exploration of the influence of internal migrants on the religious lives of family members who are left behind.

Existing literature on transnational migrants investigates how migrants influence the religious lives of family members who are 'left behind' (Levitt, 2001, 2007; Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002; Sheringham, 2011; Wong, 2014). These studies suggest that migrants who adopt new religious allegiances and identities in their new locations transmit their new values, ideas, identities, materials and practices to their homelands. Furthermore, these texts argue that the circulation of material and non-material religion leads to the emergence of new ideas, values and practices within families, in addition to the evolution of 'religious structures and practices' (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002, p.6). For example, Levitt (2001) finds that the circulation of people and of religion changes the shape of non-migrants' religion, leading to the adoption of less folk-oriented, more official forms of religion (p.178). Taking the findings of these researchers into consideration, I will examine if and how Turkish internal migrants who affiliate with *Sufi* or *Salafi cemaats* have an influence upon the religious lives of their family members who are left behind.

This chapter explores not only the religious transformations, but also the social transformations of areas, such as kinship by examining the perceptions and experiences of those who remain behind. In order to attain an understanding of these concepts, I employ the notion of the translocal family, which signals the emplacement of everyday social and material practices, and translocal kinship (Tan and Yeoh, 2011). This notion can help us to explore the religious and social consequences of migration.

The translocal family is produced through 'everyday spatial practices and relations, drawing on both imagined and material ties that bind, and using strategies that selectively mediate distance and foster co-presence among geographically dispersed family members' (Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.40). One of the main motivations

of selecting this theory is the idea that those who are left behind are not forgotten or dependent, but are active and viable (Tan and Yeoh, 2011). This is because they can re-make selves through negotiations with migration and migrants, and translocal flows (Gray, 2012). 'Translocal family' is used here (instead of 'migrant family') to refer to family members in the hometown. In Chapter 1, I explained that the translocal family is formed via materials, practices, physical dwellings and encounters. These families have several features: (1) they facilitate the making of material and mental connections between spaces, places and times (in other words, they intimate spaces and places), (2) they produce emotions and feelings, and (3) they are influenced by the concepts of identification and boundary making.

To give an example, Tan and Yeoh's (2011) discussions about a village in Northern Thailand suggest that left-behind parents produce translocal families by preparing dinners and inviting fellow villagers along. They argue that these sorts of gatherings enable left-behind parents to gain emotional and social support from those around them, as well as to reproduce an imagined past, remember their migrant children and make up for lost intimacy (p.50). This example shows that left-behind family members are active agents, who reproduce the family (Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.40). Also, the left-behind family remains connected through spatial practices and everyday relationships, in which imaginary and remembered spaces and times play a role.

Where religious practices and materials are concerned, Tweed (2006) and Knott (2016) note that religious practices and objects signify one's identity and affiliation, and distinguish migrants from others. Wise (2011) adds here that both stayers' and movers' sense of belonging to a particular place is affected by objects – those who wear particular religious clothes and perform distinct religious practices mark out

their identities and differences, as well as producing a home away from home and a 'sacred home' (as discussed in Chapter 6). These objects, however, might produce feelings of connection for one group (such as movers) but disjunction for another (such as for stayers) (Wise, 2011). This chapter will argue that religious objects, practices and co-presence influence migrants and non-migrants' kinship relations. I will show that non-migrants treat migrants differently because of religious differences. If a migrant adopts *Sufi* or *Salafi* Islam in Gebze, for example, it is not necessarily expected that his/her non-migrant relatives will accept this. Indeed, such a situation may lead to the exclusion of migrants from their families or communities through the drawing of symbolic and spatial boundaries.[149]

A consideration of migrants' impact on their left-behind family members requires us to focus on the event of a migrant's return to his/her home. Existing studies in this area identify three common points. Firstly, such activities function to re-establish former relationships, including friendships and kinships. For example, Tan and Yeoh (2011) state that physical meetings enable translocal family members to re-establish relationships in concrete ways and facilitate the creation of memories that can help to sustain these relationships over long distances (p.50). Secondly, migrants draw boundaries that distinguish them from non-migrants. For instance, Zhang's (2014) study of Chinese internal migrants living in Shanghai indicates that migrant women in particular adopt an urbanised appearance and lifestyle, as well as renouncing their relationship with the land, agricultural work and peasantry. Thirdly, non-migrants redefine themselves by labelling migrants and drawing their own boundaries. This is seen in Şimşek's (2013) research on Turkish immigrants living in

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[149] Please see Chapters 1, 5 and 6 for more in-depth discussions about human beings' interactions with religious materials and practices, as well as the relationship between these interactions and the concepts of identity, boundary construction, belonging and home making.

London, who are often rejected by their families back home due to the language difficulties and cultural differences that emerge (p.178). Such boundaries mean that migrants often feel that they do not belong to their hometowns (Şimşek, 2013, p.175; King and Kılınç, 2014, p.49). The above findings show that physical co-presence does not always produce intimacy and establish kinship, as research on the translocal family has suggested (Tan and Yeoh, 2011); rather, non-migrant relatives can erect barriers that lead to segregation and exclusion. Here, perceptions, kinship relations and social relationships are reconstructed due to the migrants' new practices and religious attire.

Such research raises questions about the nature of kinship. Indeed, the existing literature challenges the common understanding of kinship as based on consanguinity and marriage, indicating that social circumstances and events have an impact on the meaning of kinship. Duben (1985) contends that urbanisation and migration actually strengthen kinship relations (p.74). Others argue that kinship in the urban context is not limited to relatives and family members; it has been 'extended to include other types of informal relations, such as close friendship and neighbourhood relations' (Erder, 2002, p.125). This type of kinship is established through a reciprocal relationship of exchange and mutual obligation (White, 2002, p.126). Migrants can construct fictive kinship, while rejecting their family members and relatives left behind (White, 2002, p.126). This suggests that the common understanding of kinship as being established maternally and based on birth-related entitlement and marriage can be challenged. As Allan (2008) states, while 'moral and normative beliefs about the responsibilities of kinship remain', relations with parents, siblings and other members of the family are negotiated in relation to 'the history of the relationship, the circumstances and personalities of the different individuals involved [and] the other

264

commitments and personalities they have' (p.4). In this chapter, I will examine how kinship is shaped by religious change in migrants' lives.

The remainder of the chapter will thus explore translocal linkages and practices, considering the reasons behind their maintenance in order to assess the impact of migrants upon non-migrant relatives. Specifically, the religious changes that take place within migrants' relatives in Giresun and Erzurum will be explored, including the development of a relationship between a *cemaat* and the migrants' relatives. In addition, religious practices and attire will be examined in relation to sacred home making, boundary construction and social exclusion. Lastly, the counter-measures and strategies used by those who are left behind will be investigated. The following section will examine how and why migrants create forms of virtual co-presence with non-migrants from their places of origin.

8.2   Care and obligation through translocal connections

> Yes, I call the village [the family, via telephone]. I ask them to go to the Qur'an course. Everyone is responsible for them, right? It's *emr-i bi'l maruf* ['commanding good'] – it's in the Qur'an. Otherwise, we will be asked [why we have not told people about Islam] […] I ask my sister to wear a *çarşaf* [long enveloping female garment]. However, I need to improve my [theological] knowledge in order to convince them [to wear a *çarşaf*] (Caner).

A recurring theme in the narratives of the study participants was *emr-i bi'l-maruf ve nehyi ani'l-münker* (commanding good and forbidding evil – abbreviated to *emr-i bi'l maruf* hereafter). *Emr-i bi'l maruf* is considered a responsibility and an obligation for Muslims – it is a concept that appears several times in the Qur'an and sayings and deeds of the prophet. Both Qur'anic references and *hadis* have been interpreted by followers as injunctions to interfere in, and prevent, any wrongdoing that one sees (Nimrod, 2011, p.48). It has been suggested, however, that such interference should

be undertaken by certain people only (Cook, 2000).[150] The reformist Muslim scholars Abduh and Rida state that the injunction should be heeded only by those who are trained in both the traditions of the *salaf'u salihin* ('the rightful predecessors') and the modern social sciences (Rahname, 2005 cited in Houston, 2017, p.155).

In the context of this chapter, the migrants discuss performing *emr-i bi'l maruf* in relation to their *cemaat* affiliations and their relationships with non-migrant family members. Caner, a male emigrant from Giresun, uses the phrase *emr-i bi'l maruf* to justify his attempts to impose particular religious norms on his parents and sisters. Finch and Mason (1993) suggest that 'responsibilities between kin are not straightforward products of rules of obligation, they are […] the products of negotiation' (p.60). Here, *emr-i bi'l maruf* can be seen as a product of negotiation between individuals (for example, Caner and his family members), institutions (İsmailağa *cemaat* and Caner's family), sacred sites (the afterlife) and beings (Allah). Caner's interview indicates that he cares about his family and their everyday lives. He believes, however, that his family members do not practice proper Islam – they do not attend Qur'an courses or wear proper Islamic clothes. The excerpt also demonstrates that Caner has power over female relations, who respect the patriarchal structure of the family. Notably, Caner does not mention his brothers or suggest that he has any influence over male family members. It can be argued here that Caner's sense of family responsibility is governed by *emr-i bi'l maruf,* which produces an impulse to create virtual co-presence, through which he can transmit religious ideas. By doing so, Caner feels that he is fulfilling his duties to his family and to Allah.

To analyse the reasons for translocal engagement between dispersed family members, other than those of Caner's case, in more depth, I will focus on the

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[150] Cook (2000) traces the history of this injunction from the origins of Islam to the present day.

particular case of a non-migrant living in Erzurum: the father of Akar (Akar, a male migrant living in Gebze, was introduced in Chapter 4). I conducted an interview with Akar's father, Kani, who lives with his wife and one of his sons. His other five children had migrated to Gebze. I asked him, 'Do you send any goods to your children via intercity buses?' He immediately asked me, 'When will you be going to Gebze?'. Presumably, if I had been planning to go, Akar's father would have given me some items to give to his children in Gebze. This practice is very common in my hometown – if someone goes to visit their children living in *gurbet* (away from home), s/he will ask others in the neighbourhood whether they want to send anything to their children, too. As demonstrated by Akar's father, then, left-behind parents continue to care for their children and retain intimacy with them. The goods that are transported to children in *gurbet* carry specific meanings, embodying the emotions of the family members in the hometown (for example, longing for the child and wanting to care for him/her). I have shown how these ties function in the opposite direction in Chapter 4, in the interview with Adile. Her telephone communication with family members back home functions as a type of companionship, providing consolation and helping her to deal with her homesickness. Such evidence demonstrates that it is not only the parents' emotions, but also the migrants' conditions and emotions that lead to family ties being sustained and virtual co-presence being created post-migration.

Importantly, most of the migrants who participated in this study and are involved in translocal activities mentioned the term 'afterlife' in their interviews. Hamza, a male emigrant from Giresun, said, 'I call my brother on the phone. I say, "You should perform your daily prayers". He does not listen to me […]. He does not ever think about the afterlife'. It is obvious here that Hamza is angry because his brother ignores Hamza's suggestions regarding his religious life. Leaving his

emotions aside, his discussion of the afterlife – a matter often overlooked in research – is significant because it is connected with the maintenance of translocal ties. For Riis and Woodhead (2010), 'religious emotion and *obligations* have to do not only with social relations in the narrow "human" sense, but with super-social relations –, such as those we may have with sacred sites, landscapes, artefacts, and beings' (p.7, my emphasis). As mentioned earlier in the thesis, religion enables people to make terrestrial (for example, pilgrimage), corporeal (life-cycle events, such as births and weddings) and cosmic (between 'here' and 'hereafter') crossings (Tweed, 2006, p.123–157). For Tweed (2006), religious rituals, artefacts and tropes enable people to change their location from terrestrial world to another – from 'here' to 'hereafter' (p.152). Caner and Hamza's references to the afterlife indicate that religion (their affiliation with *cemaats* in Gebze) influences people and creates a driving force behind communication with left-behind family members in Giresun and Erzurum. They imagine that their families might go to hell for not holding appropriate Islamic beliefs, and they also seem to think that they will also be punished themselves for not guiding their relatives correctly. In other words, cosmic crossing enables terrestrial crossing here.

Thus far, I have explored the reasons behind the creation of virtual co-presence between dispersed family members. Emotions and feelings of responsibility/obligation lead them to sustain family ties and to engage with each other. Both the migrants themselves and non-migrant family members play a role in producing these translocal relations. The following paragraphs will examine exactly how virtual and physical forms of co-presence are established.

The interview data demonstrates that telephone calls provide the most regular means of communication between left-behind families and their migrant children.

Telephone communications are most common on sacred nights (for example, the night of salvation [*berat*[151]], the Prophet's birthday [*mevlid*], and festive/Eid days [*kurban/ramazan bayramları*[152]]). Telephone conversations between migrants and their parents tend to revolve around three main topics: (1) the well-being of family members, (2) life in Gebze and the hometown, and (3) religious lives, practices and norms (as part of this last point, migrants often transmit what they have learnt from *sohbets* in Gebze and ask their family members to embrace these ideas). It can be claimed, therefore, that telephone calls allow migrants to be actively involved in the everyday lives of their left-behind families (Levitt, 2001, p.22).

Additionally, both migrants and non-migrants (friends and family) make reciprocal visits. The migrants visit their families during the summer mostly because the weather is warmer and there are many festivals and weddings to attend, as well as harvesting tasks to complete (DiCarlo, 2008, p.125). Relatedly, left-behind family members tend to visit migrants during the winter, when the weather prevents them from working in the fields. As one emigrant from Giresun, Dilek, states, 'We are summerists [*yazlıkçı*] and they [those who are left behind] are winterists [*kışlıkçı*]'. Other occasions for visits to the hometown include funerals and elections – if a relative or friend is standing as a candidate for village headman or for a position in the mayor's office, then a migrant may return home to offer support. When paying visits, both migrants and non-migrants tend to use intercity buses for travel because they are affordable. These buses do not just carry people; they also take vegetables, dairy

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[151] *Berat kandili* literally means 'the night of salvation'. It refers to the night when Allah clears his servants of sin when they face him and ask for forgiveness. Muslims spend this night performing religious practices.

[152] *Ramazan bayramı* literally means 'festival of breaking the fast'. The three-day festival marks the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. *Kurban bayrami* means 'feast of sacrifice'. During the four-day festival, Muslims sacrifice an animal and distribute the meat to the poor (see https://www.britannica.com/topic/Eid-al-Adha) (Accessed 23 March 2018).

products and fruit from the villages to the towns, as well as transporting money and food packages between relatives.

Interestingly, the interviews indicate that, unlike those from Giresun, most emigrants from Erzurum do not visit their hometowns or maintain communication with those who are left behind. The reasons for severing connections with the hometown are as follows: (1) when a migrant does not have property or land in the hometown, (2) when a migrant relocates together with the extended family and (3) when the weather is too cold in the hometown for it to be considered a suitable summer holiday location. Migrants' lack of translocal relations with home are also evident in the accounts given by non-migrants. For example, Kartal, a villager from the Çat district, says, 'the migrants have left here. They have not returned here, and they rarely visit'. Kaya, a villager from the İspir district, adds, 'Why would they invest their money here? If they have money, they should invest it in the places in which they have settled'. This information indicates that that the impact of migration upon the religious lives of left-behind family members, as well as interpersonal relations between relatives, differs, when one compares Erzurum with Giresun. The next section will analyse the impact of migration on the religious lives of migrants' families.

8.3   The changing religious lives of migrants' families

> We made some changes. The women in the villages do not know what to wear – the biggest problem is their clothes. They do not pay attention to their clothes. We say that the clothes you wear when you go outside should be different from the clothes you wear in the house [….] [Do your relatives ask you questions about religion?] My sister-in-law took part in a 'gold day' [*altin gunu*] with her neighbourhood.[153] She asked me whether gold days

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[153] A 'gold day' is a type of social event held by groups of women (friends or kin living in the same neighbourhood). Each gold day is held at the home of a different member of the group. The hostess prepares tea, pastries and other light foods. Each guest brings a specified amount of money (gold or dollars), the value of which depends on the financial ability of the group (White, 1994).

are *helal*[154] [permitted]. I said, you could read the Qur'an for five-to-ten minutes, and then talk. She asked me recently what else they could do. I advised her to invite a *hoca* [preacher[to give a short sermon (Kevser).

I was not able to play with, hug or kiss my children in front of my parents. I removed these restrictions from my family [.…] When I began playing with my children in front of my parents, my father was disappointed with me and said that people should be a little more respectful towards their parents (Mehmed).

Mevlid is just a poem. The poem is an innovation. It does not benefit dead people. Why should I read it? Visitors eat; you prepare food for them. You just make them emotional. You get them to listen to a poem and then you feed them. It would be better to recite the Qur'an [.…] I did not perform the 7th, 40th and 52nd days [rituals] after my father died. I read the Qur'an and prayed for him [on other days], and I gave alms [*Sadaka*] (Melih).

We used to have a big kitchen. We sat together – men and women – when anyone visited. However, when the people moved to the cities for education and work, they began to build large houses. The migrants [those who were engaged with *cemaat*s] built homes with living rooms. Now, men and women are hosted in different rooms. In particular, during the summer, when they [the migrants] come here, the women sit in a particular room [usually the kitchen] and the men sit in the living room. Some have even added a new room to their parents' houses [for this purpose] (Metin).

Kevser studied at the Qur'an course affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat* for 10 years before returning to her hometown, Güce, a district in Giresun. Mehmed is a returned migrant, who lives in Başkent village in Aziziye, Erzurum province. Melih returned to Yağlıdere with his parents in 2000 and runs a restaurant there. In Gebze, he was affiliated with the Kadiri *cemaat* and attended *sohbets*. Metin, a non-migrant, is a farmer living in the Güce district of Giresun. I will utilise these excerpts to explore how migrants who affiliate with a *cemaat* influence the religious lives (including the practices and everyday lives) of their left-behind relatives.

The excerpt from Kevser's interview demonstrates how, following her return home, she introduced new norms and codes to her village (such as dress codes), and

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[154] *Helal* is a Qur'anic term used to indicate what is lawful or permitted. Muslims consider all things to be *helal* unless they are specifically prohibited by the main Islamic texts (Esposito, 2003).

271

attempted to draw boundaries between private and public spaces. She has modified the gold days performed in the village by adding religious practices, such as Qur'an recitations and a sermon, thus transforming previously non-religious gatherings into more formally religious events. This example indicates that attendance at *Sufi*-oriented *cemaats* functions to transform the parental Islam of migrants' relatives in the hometown and expands the influence of the *cemaats* with which the migrants affiliate.

Mehmed, a returned migrant living in Erzurum, challenges the parental Islamic practices performed in his village. His statement that it is a mark of respect not to play with or hug one's children in front of one's own parents was repeated by several migrants and non-migrants from Erzurum. Like Mehmed, several of the interviewees explain that their parents were disappointed when they began to overlook this custom. For example, Mustafa, a male non-migrant in Erzurum, said, 'if a man kisses his children in front of us, it is not good for us'. A conflict arises here because migrants like Mehmed realise that the parent-child relationships practised in the hometown are not prescribed in religious texts; they are created locally. When returning to hometowns to visit or live, migrants introduce this information to their friends and relatives, thus challenging the status quo.

Melih discusses funeral rituals, including recitations of Qur'an on particular nights (the 7th, 40th and 52nd nights after the death) and *mevlid* (referring to the poem written in the 15th century) recitations, explaining that he does not agree with such rituals. Bahar *et al.* (2012) suggest that people in Turkey carry out these rituals in order to relieve the suffering of the deceased (p.108). Interestingly, Melih states that he has recited the Qur'an as a funeral ritual, but that he disagrees with recitation on particular nights. He does not perform these rituals with his family because such

272

practices are considered *bid'at* (innovated) in formal Islam and do not have any benefit. The interviews conducted with followers of the İsmailağa and Kadiri *cemaats* indicate that the *cemaats* are against funeral rituals and the performance of the *mevlid* poem.[155] What is important for our purposes here is that Melih, a returned migrant and former member of Kadiri *cemaat*, shapes the parental Islam practised by his relatives by challenging the practice of *mevlid* events and funeral rituals.

Metin, a non-migrant farmer in Giresun, observes how migration has led to the introduction of gender-segregated rooms at gatherings. This practice is derived from the Islamic rules dictating *mahrem* and *na-mahrem* relations. *Mahrem* refers to anyone whom one cannot marry due to blood ties (siblings, parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts), anyone who is breastfed and breastfeeding, and those to whom one is related by marriage (parents-in-law, grandparents-in-law). *Na-mahrem* refers to marriageable men and women who are not *mahrem*. *Mahrem* interactions are restricted, whereas *na-mahrem* men and women do not have to be segregated. The practice of the separation of male and female spaces in the home is called *haramlık-selamlık*. *Haramlık* refers to the women's place and *selamlık* to the men's place in a house.[156] The interview material used in this study demonstrates that migrant men and women affiliated with *cemaats* practice such gendered segregation. As Metin observes, migrants visiting their hometowns often ask their families to offer separate rooms for men and women. This practice has not only altered parental Islam; it has

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[155] Attitudes toward *mevlid* and funeral rituals are diverse. Although the İsmailağa and Kadiri *cemaats* are against such rituals, Menzil *cemaat* and the *Diyanet* encourage followers to perform these rituals.
[156] *Haramlık-selamlık* is an Islamic practice performed when guests come to visit. Houses are reorganised, being split on the basis of gender. On the purpose of male and female segregation in Islam, see Buisson (2013, p. 99); on its function and its origins in the traditional division of labour, see Güney and Kubat (2015, p.106); on the impact of gender segregation on the organisation of spaces and on domestic behaviours, see Othman, Aird and Buys (2015, p. 12).

also led to changes in gender relations among family members, and even in the physical design of left-behind parents' houses.

The interview data indicates that the migrants' new religious experiences have been accepted by their families. They have challenged and transformed the lives and the parental Islam of their families in their places of origin. The impact is not limited to the addition, removal or modification of parental Islam; migrants can also serve as a bridge between *cemaats* and their left-behind family members. This is seen in the following extract:

> My father-in-law married a second wife. I brought up his son [brother-in-law]. When he was young, he [brother-in-law] told me that he would like to go to Gebze to work. I allowed him to go [….] When working in Gebze, he made friends who belonged to the İsmailağa *cemaat*. He told me that he would like to attend the *medrese* [Qur'an course]. I asked him how this would work. He said there was a Qur'an course in Gebze. I allowed him to go there [....] He was educated there for six years.
>
> My daughters attended the *medrese* in Gebze. This is because I wanted them to go there. My father had read the Qur'an. My grandfather was an *Imam*. So, I sent them to the *medrese*. Why Gebze? Because of my brother-in-law (Muammer).

Muammer, a male non-migrant and minibus driver, lives in the village of Keşap in Giresun. He has four daughters. Muammer sent two of his daughters to the Qur'an course in Gebze thanks to his in-laws' experiences. Muharrem's excerpts show, therefore, that translocal relationships between dispersed family members facilitate liaisons between relatives in the hometown and *cemaats*, and between Giresun and Gebze. It can be suggested that migration thus plays an important role in connecting left-behind family members with *cemaats* or their institutions, which do not exist in Giresun and in subverting the institutional constraints imposed by the state, as the Qur'an courses associated with *cemaats'* are still outlawed in Turkey.[157]

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[157] See Chapter 2 for more information. Legally speaking, religion can be taught only by the state in Turkey.

Notably, Muammer's memories regarding his father's religious practices trigger him to send his daughters to the Qur'an course. By sending his children, Muammer is not only seeking religious education and piety for his daughters; he is also reproducing his family by restoring the imaginary past (that of his father and grandfather). For Tan and Yeoh (2011), locality can be conserved and produced through memories that are symbolically contained in social actions, practices and material things (which act as temporal and spatial references to people's past and future, suffusing them with the present) (p.50). Just as non-religious actions create connectivity between places and spaces, then, Muammer's religious acts enable the production of an imaginary past that unites different periods of time.

Other examples of migrants' influence over non-migrants include the stories of Adnan and Caner, migrant men from Yağlıdere.[158] Adnan sends money and food to his family during Ramadan. His mother visits him in Gebze during the winter. After Adnan encouraged his mother to participate in sermons while staying with him in Gebze, she became affiliated with a *cemaat*. In addition, Caner states that migrants sometimes ask family members to attend Qur'an courses in the hometown.

This section has examined how internal migration from Giresun and Erzurum to Gebze produces a series of religious ties that transform the religious lives of migrants' families. The acceptance and adoption of religious change is related presumably to the frequency and strength of contact between migrants and non-migrants, as Wong and Levitt (2014, p.352) argue. Consequently, migrants influence what Hart (2013) calls 'local Islam (hereditary and rooted locally)' (p.6), referred to here as 'parental Islam'. In this way, translocal religious influences lead to greater diversity in the everyday lives of left-behind families. Rural–urban links are developed, with families in places

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[158] On Adnan, see Chapter 4. On Caner, see Chapter 5.

of origin becoming involved in *cemaats* and religious activities practised in Gebze. Finally, it can be claimed that *Sufism* moved out of rural areas to urban ones with internal migration but has returned to rural areas via translocal linkages.

With these findings in mind, it can be claimed that the boundaries between parental Islam and *Sufi* Islam, and between migrants and left-behind families, are mutable. Left-behind families accept the religious authority, norms and practices of their migrant relatives. This conclusion supports previous findings on transnational migration and religion (Levitt, 2001; Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002, p.6; Sheringham, 2011, p.199), and on Islam in rural areas of Turkey (Hart, 2013). These earlier studies focus only on the connections and changes that develop as a result of migration, rather than examining the ways in which boundaries are established and renegotiated, and translocal families are made. The following section will consider non-migrants' reactions to the *Sufi* Islam of migrants, including examples of resistance towards new religious ideas.

8.4 Boundaries and kin relationships

In Giresun:

> Here [a village in Keşap, Giresun], if someone has a beard and wears baggy trousers and *cübbe* [long cloaks], he is called a *tarikatçı* ['cultist'].[159] Kaan is so different now. He has submitted himself to *tarikat*[160] [*Sufi* order]. He has turned towards that direction [*Sufi* Islam] (Muhammet).

> In Espiye [a district in Giresun], if you wear a *çarşaf* [long enveloping female garment], there are problems. If you come here openly (without a veil), there are no problems. My mum wears a *çarşaf*. She wore it in Gebze. My relatives find her strange. They say, 'What is this?' […] We don't say

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[159] '*Tarikatçı*' is translated into 'cultist'. The term here is ideologically used to define those who are affiliated with *Sufi cemaats* or are known as *Sufis* ('Tarikatçı', 2006). *Sufis* are considered seekers that trace ways of thought, feelings and actions through a series of stages that enable the experience of divine meaning or reality (Çizmeci, 2015). In the extract, *tarikatçı* connotes one who submits him/herself to a path constructed by a *Sufi şeyh*.

[160] *Tarikat* can be translated literally as 'path' or 'way'. In *Sufism*, the term refers to a *Sufi* order that extends across several localities. The term began to be used in the 11th century after orders were formed in memory of spiritual leaders.

anything to them [those who do not wear veils], but they bother her
(Murtaza).

Villagers [in the hometown] have a lot of prejudices. For example, my
brother's daughters, who are educated, told me that these clothes [*çarşaf*]
are an Arabic tradition. Turkish tradition does not include these kinds of
clothes (Hakime).

Muhammet is a male non-migrant and the headman of a village in Keşap. Seven of

his ten siblings have migrated to Gebze. Kaan, his cousin, suggested that I should

conduct an interview with him. Kaan is a male migrant from Giresun, who lives in

Gebze and is affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*. Murtaza, a male returned migrant

from Gebze, lives in the Espiye district of Giresun. After returning home, he started to

read books and watch sermon videos on YouTube. His brother-in-law, Halil (a male

emigrant from Giresun, living in Gebze), put him forward as a potential

interviewee.[161] Hakime is a female migrant from Giresun, living in Gebze, who was

also introduced in Chapter 7.

The interview excerpts above show that there are symbolic boundaries between

migrants and their left-behind families in Giresun. Left-behind relatives construct

boundaries by labelling migrants negatively. The terms 'cultist', 'strange' and 'Arabic

tradition' (as well as 'extremist', which will be mentioned later) all have negative

connotations. Muhammet, a non-migrant, calls Kaan a cultist because of his

behaviour in Gebze. The term is used frequently by non-migrants to refer pejoratively

to migrants who are affiliated with a *Sufi* order. Baki, a male migrant from Erzurum

living in Gebze, states:

The 28th February [1997] has led to prejudice against *cemaat*s. In this
country, a film named *Girdap* was produced. Briefly, the film shows how a
man who affiliates with a *cemaat* becomes a suicide bomber and blows
himself up on a bus, killing many people. Now, those who decide to enter
*cemaat*s are told that you might become a suicide bomber [....] The 28th
February process has estranged people from religion. People with beards

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[161] See Chapter 7 for more information about Halil.

were labelled cultists and perceived as dangerous. These effects remain influential. My parents still think that those images were real.

The 28th February is mentioned by Baki to refer to the military coup on February 28th, 1997 against the coalition government ruled by Necmettin Erbakan (as discussed in Chapter 2). During the 28th February process, the religious elements of society were physically abused, oppressed, excluded, isolated and segregated. The *cemaats* and Islamic-oriented parties were eliminated from the political order, and religious attire, practices and discourses were restricted (Ekinci, 2016). Those who wore religious attire and were members of *cemaats* were also labelled 'extremists', 'reactionaries' and 'cultists' by the *Kemalist* media (at that time, all media organs were supporters of the *coup*), secular elites and universities.

These examples demonstrate that the term 'cultist' is used to project negative images of those affiliated with *Sufi* orders and *cemaats*. The negative labelling of migrants is a constructive strategy that Muhammet, a non-migrant, utilises to create boundaries and remake his own identity. The marking of migrants as 'strangers' and 'cultists', who wear clothes associated with the Arabic tradition (explored later), can thus be considered to be a strategy to devalue *Sufi* Islam and, therefore, distinguish one's religious identity from that of migrants. Further, it can be argued that the use of the term 'cultist' shows that the 28th February process is still influential enough to shape the language of the study participants.

It is also important to consider the roles that the state and the media play in constructing negative images of the conservative and religious elements of society. Giddens (1994) argues that the self reflects the rules and resources of collective structures. Individual identity, choices and decisions are produced, therefore, via institutional factors and social relations. It can be argued, then, that non-migrant Muhammet's identity and boundary-making processes are influenced by state and

the media representations of *Sufis* and *Sufism*. The emphasis on appearance as a factor in the judgement of others is also seen in the stories of residents from Erzurum province.

In Erzurum:

> In the East [Erzurum], people like beards, *turbans* and *cübbe* [long cloaks]. I went to the village for my aunt's funeral. I stayed there. People invited me over to dinner [....] People were talking about me: 'There is a young man with *cübbe* and baggy trousers'. They showed a lot of respect towards me. This was because of these [clothes]. They were respecting the Prophet's *sünnet* [the traditions of the Prophet Muhammed].[162] If I took them off, I would be a normal person [no one would respect me] (Kahraman).

> They [migrants] do not like the village. Their clothes and their characters are changing. Many of them are morally corrupt [….] My brother migrated to Istanbul. Last year, he visited his village with his daughters. He came here wearing shorts. His daughters did not wear headscarves. They walked around the village and people found them strange (Muhsin).

> Being veiled has become a norm here. People follow this norm [….] They [migrant women] do not come here without wearing headscarves. Women here wear *ihram*[163] [a shawl brown, woollen garment flecked with navy blue], but their [migrants'] wives wear *pardesü*[164] [overcoat] or *manto*[165] [ordinary coats]. They cannot wear *ihram* there [in urban areas] (Mustafa).

Kahraman is a male emigrant from Erzurum, who lives in Gebze. He is affiliated with the İsmailağa *cemaat*. Muhsin is a male non-migrant and a follower of the *şeyh* of the *Nakşibendi Sufi* order in Pasinler, a district of Erzurum. I met Muhsin when I was visiting his village. Mustafa is a male non-migrant living in another village in Pasinler. Mustafa is affiliated with the *Kadiri Sufi* order, which is led by local *vekils*. In contrast to Muhammet living in Giresun, Muhsin and Mustafa view migrants who do not wear headscarves and wear 'improper' clothes negatively, seeing them as

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[162] The term *sünnet* can be translated as 'the way', 'method', 'practices', 'customs or 'tradition'. The term is used to refer to the actions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammed, which are believed to complement the divine message of the Qur'an (Esposito, 2003).
[163] An *ihram* is a traditional shawl unique to the Erzurum region and made from roughly woven, undyed sheep's wool embroidered with blue or green patterns (Facaros and Pauls, 2000, p. 475).
[164] A *pardesü* is an ankle-length overcoat worn by women.
[165] A *manto* is a women's long-sleeved winter overcoat that comes in various lengths.

corrupt and strange, thus constructing boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Kahraman indicates that villagers and relatives praise and respect him because of his clothes. This data demonstrates that, in Pasinler (in Erzurum province), those who are left behind accept those who wear religious clothes but exclude those who do not.

Delaney (1991) explains that, in Muslim culture, a woman who wears a headscarf is referred to as *kapalı* ('closed'; 'veiled'), as opposed to *açık* ('uncovered'). Women who do not wear 'proper' clothes indicate that they are unprotected and are thus considered to be immoral (Delaney, 1991, p.39). Muhsin and Mustafa, based in Pasinler, follow this idea, portraying migrant men and women negatively and labelling them 'open', whilst depicting non-migrant women positively and terming them 'closed'. In this way, they draw a symbolic boundary between 'here' and 'there', and between migrants and non-migrants. Just like the non-migrants in Giresun, non-migrants from Pasinler in Erzurum distinguish themselves from migrants. From the interview accounts, the difference is that the Pasinler-based non-migrants praise those who wear religious clothes, while the Giresun-based non-migrants perceive those who wear Islamic clothing negatively.

The possible reasons why those who are left behind in Erzurum have different perceptions of migrants' clothes from those who are left behind in Giresun, then, need to be considered. On this point, Mustafa, as a male non-migrant from Pasinler, Erzurum, states,

> People [migrants] do not change in Erzurum. If they are educated at the *medrese* (Qur'an course) at the village, it is not easy for them [women] to remove their [religious] clothing […]. In the Pasinler district, there were *şeyhs*. We called them *efem*. The *efem* Haci Salih Bilgin [1898–1991] lived here. He had 40 followers. Now, his grandson has become a *şeyh*. There are *sohbets* twice a week here [….] They are so influential upon children and people. They have educated many people.

Existing research shows that *Sufi* Islam still exists in Pasinler. As Günay (1999) finds, the residents of Pasinler have strict religious beliefs and norms, and perform *Sufi* practices (p.172–173). Such *Sufi* orders were not established as a result of internal migration; they started earlier, in the 1950s, as my research participants from Pasinler explained. It can be claimed that these *Sufi* institutions have had a major influence upon the remaking of *Sufi* traditions into a 'living Islam' in these villages. It must be remembered, however, that religious lives in Giresun are different from those in Pasinler. Research into living Islam in Giresun indicates that *Sufi vekils* (representatives) and *şeyhs* (spiritual guides) were active in the districts of Giresun (such as the Güce, Espiye, Keşap, Yağlıdere districts) until the 1960s (Fatsa, 2013). Unlike in the Pasinler district of Erzurum, however, these leaders did not leave written texts or transmit their practices to their villagers or descendants.[166] *Sufi* orders (such as the *Nakşibendi* and *Kadiri* orders) have therefore disappeared from Giresun.

Such differences between areas influence non-migrants' religious identities, as well as their perceptions of migrants. As a result, boundaries are constructed. Levitt and Wong (2014) argue that a distinction must be made between objects and rituals that are in motion and those that are already in place. They add that local and historical elements which migrant religion encounters need to be taken into account, as they enable some things to travel easily, while inhibiting others. This is because places are shaped by their histories (Levitt and Wong, 2014, p.351–352). In this sense, it can be claimed that, in Pasinler, non-migrants' religious lives, identities and attitudes have been shaped by existing *Sufi* leaders and institutions. In addition, the *Sufi* movement serves as an instrument that protects the locality from translocal

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[166] The participants from Giresun tell me that just two *Sufi* orders survive today. One of them is located in the Tirebolu district, while the other is in the Bulancak district. Presumably, however, they are not as influential as those in the Pasinler district because people from different districts attend *sohbets* and practices, such as *Zikir* [remembrance of Allah], there.

influences. These local and historical *Sufi* institutions show that religious lives in rural areas in Erzurum are different from those in Giresun, and, as such, Turkish migrants' perceptions of religion are not homogenous, but heterogenous.

The data demonstrates that migrants' religious attire is a focal point, where the exploration of the boundaries between migrants and non-migrants, and *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam, are concerned. Non-migrants from different districts in Erzurum and Giresun construct a variety of boundaries between themselves and migrants, which are dependent upon the history of the place, existing religious institutions and electronic-media images. The construction of these boundaries through the labelling of migrant relatives can be seen as a counter-measure against change. Thus, although identities are remade, the locale is also preserved. It can also be seen here that there is more than one type of boundary: there is the religious boundary and there is also the rural/urban versus non-migrant/migrant boundary. Through these boundaries, translocal connectivity is negotiated: 'Boundaries can connect groups and may thereby provide opportunities for social engagement "across" the boundary' (Cohen, 1999, p.7). In the following paragraphs, the impact of migration upon kinship will be discussed.

> My brother lives in Gebze. When he visits the village, I meet with him, but his wife always wears her *çarşaf* [long enveloping female garment]. This is in opposition to what we do. I am her brother-in-law; so, what if I see her? We like [respect] the *çarşaf* very much – women here wear it, too. But I do not like her wearing the *çarşaf* when I am there. It shouldn't happen. When they come here now, I don't want to visit them (Naci).

> A man [migrant] who comes from Gebze or Istanbul is pious. He has an Islamic life [performs religious practices and wears proper Islamic clothes] and practices *mahrem* and *na-mahrem* relations [the separation of male and female spaces]. When his [migrant] brother visits him, the men and women sit in different rooms. But his brother will start saying 'What is the meaning of this? I am not looking at your wife; I am your brother'. His brother will describe him as an extremist. In turn, his brother will begin not to visit or talk to him (Naim).

Naci is a male non-migrant living in Pasinler. He is not affiliated with any religious group. Naim is a male non-migrant living in Yağlıdere, a district of Giresun. These two excerpts show that the relationship between migrants and non-migrants has changed as a result of the practice of *haramlık* (room for women)-*selamlık* (room for men), as imposed by migrants.

The interview excerpts show that the imposition of values from other places leads to migrant and non-migrants' brothers wanting to stop visiting each other. It is obvious that *haramlık-selamlık* is performed neither by Naci, nor by the second brother that Naim discusses in his example. Despite the fact that *haramlık-selamlık* can be considered an Islamic practice, it is redefined and reinterpreted here by non-migrant brothers, who are emotionally affected by it. They are portrayed as feeling that their brothers do not trust them: 'I am not looking at your wife; I am your brother'.

Reckwitz (2003) suggests that individuals can be considered to be products of their practices. In his words, 'a single subject "is" (essentially) – even in his or her "inner" processes of reflection, feeling, remembering, planning, etc. – the sequence of acts in which he or she participates in social practices in his or her everyday life' (Reckwitz, 2003, p.296 cited in Scheer, 2012, p.200). Scheer (2012) adds that 'emotions not only *follow* from things people do, but *are* themselves a form of practice, because they are an action of a mindful body' (p.220, italics in original). In other words, emotions can be interpreted as a product of the practices performed by individuals. They are also practices in themselves, in the sense that emotions 'do' things, rather than simply existing – for example, they produce boundaries between 'us' and 'them' and reshape kinship. In the example given above, a non-migrant's feeling of not being trusted can be considered a product of *haramlık-selamlık* or

reconstructed gender relations through religion but, at the same time, it can reshape

kinship relations. In addition, non-migrants' reflections on the practice, such as

negative labelling and the decision to stop visiting, are products of the feeling of not

being trusted. As non-migrants sever their ties with their migrant brothers, the feeling

of a lack of trust produces another practice and self. In short, the practice of *haramlık-*

selamlık has an impact on kinship because the associated emotions lead to the

curtailing of physical co-presence between brothers.

The effects of migrants' and non-migrants' religious differences upon social

relations can be demonstrated via an examination of returned migrants' experiences.

Below, Murtaza discusses his relationship with his uncle, who is a *vekil* at the Menzil

cemaat in Güce:

> There is a *hoca*[167] named Abdullah. He is my mother's uncle. He is so
> influential in the village [….] I do not go to Friday prayers because *İmams*
> are appointed by the state. My mother asked me to go to Abdullah *hoca* [so
> that the *hoca* can persuade him to perform Friday prayers]. I visited him.
> The *hoca* told me, either you follow me, or I will follow you. We talked for
> a long time, but there were no results. He told me that I was going astray.

The extract indicates that a symbolic boundary has been drawn between Murtaza and

his relatives. As discussed in Chapter 7, boundaries exist between parental Islam, *Sufi*

Islam and *Salafi* Islam. Similarly, a boundary is constructed here as a result of

differing Islamic traditions and the violation of the norms accepted by non-migrants.

Abdullah *hoca* is a *vekil* (representative) of *Sufi* Islam, whereas Murtaza follows

Salafi Islam. The *hoca* and his relatives believe that Murtaza has gone 'astray' and

thus project a negative image onto Murtaza, positing that he is outside the 'true' faith

that they have constructed in line with *Sufi* Islam.

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[167] The title *hoca* here is utilised to refer to Abdullah, who is a *vekil (cemaat* representative).

The production of such boundaries thus has an impact on Murtaza's kinship relations, which leads to his loneliness: 'here, I cannot make friends. I do not have any close friends [….] When I start talking about religion, they do not want to listen. It makes me frustrated'. These excerpts show that Murtaza is disappointed with his experience of living in Espiye. His sense of disappointment and feelings of loneliness and isolation are produced due to his lack of social relations, as well as through his own expectations of returned migrants and non-migrants. Indeed, existing research on migrants' post-return experiences has shown that going home can have 'unsettling consequences' (Stefanson, 2004, p.4). This is because there is a mismatch between the imagined return and the experienced return; going back home can be more difficult and emotionally destabilising than settling in a new home (Stefanson, 2004, p.8). According to King (2000), the return is often marked by 'feelings of ambivalence and alienation,' where one no longer feels that one belongs to the community to which one is returning (p.19). In this example, the reciprocal boundary making that occurs between Murtaza and his relatives is combined with Murtaza's post-return experiences, leading him to feel lonely and isolated. It is evident, then, that kinship and friendship ties are influenced by the religious practices and materials introduced by returned migrants.

Even where a temporary return is concerned, there is evidence that migrants' experiences are sometimes unpleasant. For migrant women in particular, changes in attire can cause problems – those who begin to wear *çarşafs* (a long enveloping garment worn by women) after migration, for example, can find that symbolic and physical distance is placed between themselves and their relatives. Hakime gives an account of a return visit to her hometown ten years ago:

> I said to my brother, 'Let's walk around the village'. He said, 'I will not go anywhere with you while you are wearing those clothes [*çarşaf*]'. I cannot forget his words (Hakime).

This extract demonstrates that left-behind family members have a negative attitude towards particular dress codes. Both this extract and the earlier one, in which Hakime's cousins associate the *çarşaf* with Arabic tradition, are relevant here. Hakime's cousins draw boundaries between culture and religion when they make derogatory remarks about *çarşafs*. They distinguish between Arabic and Turkish culture, and between themselves as educated non-migrants and Hakime as an 'ignorant' migrant. Such negative beliefs are transformed into actions when Hakime's brother expresses his unwillingness to walk with her. This discriminatory behaviour against Hakime then becomes a negative memory for her.

It can be claimed here that non-migrants treat migrants as outsiders because of their clothes and religious ideologies. King and Kılınç (2014) make a similar point regarding Turkish migrants in Germany, suggesting that migrants consider Turkey to be a backward country full of conservative people, while non-migrants treat migrants as outsiders, calling them *Almancı* ['Germans'] (p.123).[168] It is implied, then, that migrants dissociate themselves from parental Islam. Non-migrants react to this transformation by labelling the migrants in negative ways, creating boundaries and social distance.

These results indicate that migration (including changes to migrants' religion) and state secular norms and practices influence kinship ties. The migrants' clothes, practices and ideologies can generate perceptions of difference, as well as creating social and spatial distance between migrants and non-migrants. In this way, existing

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[168] The term *Almancı* ('Germans') depicts the migrants as being rich, eating pork, having a very comfortable life in the West, losing their 'Turkishness' and becoming 'Germanised' (Kaya and Kentel 2005, p.3).

social relations are dissolved, and new ones emerge (Şimşek, 2013). It can be argued, then, that migrants' co-presence with non-migrants does not always re-establish family relations and a sense of belonging – far from it.

In addition, the religious elements discussed above can be considered constitutive elements that determine migrants' relations with non-migrants. They can lead to the production of contested social space in a family setting or to diversity in the lives of those who are left behind. At play here is a struggle between migrants and non-migrants for social control. Migrants seek to transform their relatives' houses in their hometowns by bringing in certain religious objects, practices, ideas and norms. On the other hand, non-migrants control spaces by drawing symbolic or even physical boundaries that lead to the exclusion of migrants.

This section has shown that, as Giddens (1991) suggests, 'the self is a reflexive project, in so far as "we are not what we are but what we make of ourselves"' (p.75). This indicates that the self has to be constructed as a part of a reflexive process of connection with social change (Giddens, 1991, p.33). In this sense, non-migrants construct a viable subjectivity, in which the values of a traditional and rural society are reconciled with those of modernity (urban areas, migrants and *cemaats*), which are brought by their migrant relatives.[169] As such, it can be argued that the kinship and social relations are (re)constructed through interaction between non-migration and migration, rurality and urbanity, tradition and modernity, and secular policies and norms. These dialogues render such relationships and left-behind family examples of 'an active translocality in the making' (Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.54).

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[169] The *cemaat* can be considered an urban phenomenon because these organisations were born in urban areas, although their roots can be found in rural areas.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the impact of migrants upon left-behind families. It has exemplified how religious objects, practices, co-presence and desire produce the translocal family. The chapter has shown that religion produces and contributes to our understanding of this translocal family.

The chapter shows that religion is involved in all stages of the production of translocal families. For example, religious obligation (*emr-i bi'l maruf*) creates virtual (through diverse modes of communication, such as telephone calls) and physical (through corporeal travel and visits) co-presence. Additionally, transformations can take place due to the circulation of religious resources or the movement of people. The family can become connected to *cemaats* and constructs beyond the local, and this also enables them to restore the imaginary past. This chapter has also shown, however, that those who are left behind maintain social, spatial and symbolic boundaries as a counter-measure against migrants' religion (whether this is *Sufi* or *Salafi* Islam). Where religion is concerned, differentiation can take place not only between various religious identities, but also between 'here' and 'there', migrants and non-migrants. It can dissolve and re-construct kinship and social relations. It should be emphasised, though, that the frequency/strength of contact and co-presence, the local history and local religion, state secular norms and practices, and the media need to be taken into account in order to understand the role of religion in detail. In short, religion facilitates circulations, change, conflict and connectivity, thus affecting migrants and their relatives.

This chapter contributes to the literature on Turkish internal migrants by filling a gap regarding the circulation of religion and people between provinces (see Küçükcan, 1999; Çelik, 2013; Hart, 2013). I have found that religious obligations,

emotions and practices enable us to understand ties between provinces and connectivity between spaces, places and people. Here, the urban/rural dichotomy is challenged because religious lives in rural areas are depicted not as homogenous, but as diverse, being influenced by local dynamics and history.

New data on the everyday religious practices and materials of migrants and non-migrants has also been provided (see Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2002; Levitt, 2007), and the lack of religious research in translocal-family studies has been addressed (Tan and Yeoh, 2011). Whereas previous research on the translocal family examines events, materials and physical places to determine how families conserve and produce localities (Tan and Yeoh, 2011), the current study highlights the roles of the restoration of the past and the construction of boundaries in the production of these localities. The general emphasis on intimacy, care and the re-establishment of social relationships in translocal-family research has also been challenged, as religion has been shown to create dissociation and distance in the lives of both migrants and non-migrants (see Yeoh *et al.,* 2005, p.308; Tan and Yeoh, 2011, p.46). Overall, it has been demonstrated that religion leads to the creation of different kinds of translocal families, which are shaped continually by interactions, objects, practices and power struggles between different social actors and Islamic traditions (and associated remembered, imagined and real spaces and places). As such, it can be concluded that left-behind families in hometowns are formed via local and translocal negotiations that produce relational and contested familial places. In the following chapter, I will conclude the thesis by discussing the main findings, exploring the contributions of this work to the wider research field and making suggestions for future studies.

Conclusion

1   Introduction

This thesis has explored how religion and migration can intersect with each other by focusing on four research areas: (1) spaces of belonging, (2) boundary construction, (3) the impact of migration on the religious lives of migrants and those who are left behind; and (4) the relationship between *cemaats* and the state. I have employed the concept of 'everyday lived religion' – and, more specifically, everyday lived Islam – in order to understand how migrants and their families use religion in multiple ways during the migration trajectory (Dessing *et al.,* 2013). Furthermore, through the concept of translocality, the interaction between religion and internal migration has been conceptualised by examining the grounding and mobile aspects of migrants' lives. This chapter will briefly summarise the main findings, explain the study's empirical and conceptual contributions to the field, and point to some pathways for future research.

2   Main findings

I have examined the reasons and decisions behind emigration from Giresun and Erzurum to Gebze, and the conditions that migrants face when doing so. The emotions created by changes in location have been considered in detail. The results show that migrant men select their places of migration according to the locations of relatives and *hemşehris*, while migrant women follow their husbands' and parents' journeys. In addition, push-and-pull factors, which often emerge from state policies, contribute to geographical mobility. I have studied Turkish migrants' conditions and their consequent emotions by using the Turkish concepts of *gurbet* ('a place that is not home') and the *gurbetçi* ('one who is away from home'). A *gurbetçi* is described as one who longs for the hometown and is isolated and lonely, feeling foreign in

his/her location. *Gurbetçis* also have a desire to find a new self, new spaces and new relationships. Such emotional aspects of migration are shaped by feelings of dislocation, isolation and loneliness, and unexpected conditions in Gebze – in one's husband's house (for women) or in the workplace (for men), for example. The data indicates that, while religion does not play a role in contributing to the decision to migrate, the sense of rupture with one's religious past – a past shaped before migration – contributes to be a *gurbetçi*.

The life histories examined have shown that migrants can become grounded in multiple locations, including 'here', 'there' and 'elsewhere'. This multi-local groundedness is formulated via a set of complex interactions between conditions, places, emotions, imagination and desires, as well as by the features, properties and conditions of places. I have argued that the process of becoming grounded is temporary and varies from individual to individual. I have divided the life histories into two parts – the transition and re-grounding periods – in order to demonstrate the different ways in which this grounding process takes place. In the transition period, migrants become grounded in the new setting by developing former relationships and visiting spaces that allow them to remember and reproduce the hometown. Here, feelings of care, support, familiarity and trust are enjoyed for some; others, however, experience the feeling of being constrained in such places.

In the re-grounding period, migrants either affiliate with hometown associations so that they can interact with their *hemşehris* (who intimate the hometown, familiarity and trust) or they affiliate with *cemaats*, thus interacting with a religious leader (here, the hometown is not intimated; rather, different times and spaces are imagined). I have demonstrated that grounding experiences are varied due to a number of factors, including pre-migration religious lives, age, conditions, time of arrival and gender. It

291

has been argued that transition and re-grounding are in a dialectical relationship, producing each other. Moreover, religion has an impact on the migration journey here, contributing to migrants' grounding experiences.

These experiences in the area of settlement have been studied in more depth through detailed explorations of hometown associations and *cemaats*. I researched home-making practices in order to consider how, such associations become 'spaces of belonging' for migrants. Here, the notions of 'home' and 'the sacred home' are important. As I have shown, home-making practices (which include imaginative, emotional, spiritual, material and social elements, as well as translocal activities) are undertaken by community leaders, who turn associations into 'spaces of belonging' for migrants. Feelings of 'home' are also created through co-presence with *hemşehris* and/or a sense of 'spiritual brotherhood'. Home-making practices make associations into 'homes' or 'sacred homes' for male migrants because they provide a sense of connectedness to imagined, real and remembered homes, while enabling migrants to form attachments to spaces and locations in Gebze.

In addition, I have argued that the feeling of being 'at home' and the ability to 'make' a home are closely related to homing desires, aspirations, emotions, imagination and memories. Multi-faceted and multi-scalar identities and feelings of belongingness are generated through hometown-association membership. These feelings are related to the familial home, as well as to national histories and territories, and even to the spiritual 'elsewhere'. For *cemaat* members, home making fosters a sense of affiliation to the *cemaat* and contributes to the shaping of the migrant identity. What is important here is that such practices do not foster a sense of belonging to the homeland *per se*, but the hometown does continue to represent a key node of belonging and to be an important source of identity formation for migrants.

Religion is involved in producing 'spaces of belonging' as it contributes to a sense of connectedness and creates intimations of 'home', thus generating various emotions. Significantly, for many migrants, there is a religious movement that accompanies the migration process – away from parental Islam and towards *Sufi* or *Salafi* Islam. Such types of change lead to the reconfiguration of identities and the remaking of migrants' social relations with one another, and thus finding a space of belonging in *gurbet*.

One of my aims in this study was to understand how boundaries are reconfigured after migration and how such reconfiguration is connected with affiliation with Islam. My research reveals that religious affiliation and migration play important roles in redrawing boundaries among migrants in Gebze. Two kinds of boundaries established by migrants have been found to be important: (1) geographical boundaries between 'here' and 'there', and (2) spiritual boundaries between those who are affiliated with differing Islamic traditions. For example, symbolic boundaries are established by migrants between their places of origin and Gebze either by praising parental Islam or, conversely, speaking negatively about parental Islam. Meanwhile, boundaries are established between migrants on the basis of religious affiliation and power relations. Through these boundaries, migrants reaffirm their religious identities, and resist and reject dominant ideologies and authorities. In this way, power over others is demonstrated and consolidated.

In some cases, boundaries are sacralised to the point where their transgression or violation is unacceptable. Crossing such boundaries produces tension, affecting inter-group relations or leading to the appropriation of other Islams. At the same time, however, I have shown that the symbolic boundaries between 'here' and 'there' can serve as bridges that permit social engagement across groups and places. Thus, religion enables migrants to reconfigure boundaries post-migration, permitting

affiliation with different Islamic traditions and even leading to encounters with detractors. As such, it can be concluded that religion is an influential, driving force in shaping internal migrants' lives in Turkey.

Significantly, this study moves beyond Gebze (the migration destination) to investigate how the changing religious beliefs and practices of migrants influence kinship relations and the religious lives of those who are left behind. I have examined the impact of migrants on those who remain via the concept of the 'translocal family'. This study reveals that religion leads to the creation of different kinds of translocal families, which are shaped by the frequency of visits and communications, and are influenced by power dynamics, the use of religious attire, the performance of practices, secular norms and practices, and the media. Relationships are formed between individuals and via associations. I have demonstrated that local factors, translocal factors, and the historical and political contextualisation of *cemaats* need to be taken into consideration when examining the construction of the translocal family. It should be noted that left-behind family members are active agents in the process of creating the translocal family as they contest, and respond to, translocal influences. Moreover, I have argued that the Islam practised in rural areas in Giresun and Erzurum cannot be seen as localised forms of Islam; they also include expressions of Islam that go beyond pre-defined geospatial limits because the locality is formed, shaped, and influenced by the mobility and connectivity that occur via movement, communications and electronic media. Religion, therefore, reconfigures kinship relations and religion in the hometown, just as it influences migrants' lives (particularly for *Sufis* and *Salafis*) after migration.

The final area of focus in this study was the reproduction and subversion of institutional practices and norms by (*Sufi*-oriented) *cemaats*. Although I have touched

upon some answers here, more work needs to be done on the *Diyanet's* personnel, as well as the relationship between the *Diyanet* and *cemaats*. In the end, this was not possible here because it conflicted with the purpose of the thesis: to focus on migrants' *everyday* lives. Thus, I concentrated on examining the different versions of Islam at play in migrant communities – *Sufi*, *Salafi* and parental Islam – and the relationships between the followers of these three types of Islam. In addition, I felt that conducting interviews with *Diyanet* personnel may have been risky because studying the relationship between *cemaats* and the *Diyanet* could be seen as controversial in the eyes of the state authorities. I would have had to ask for permission, and this may have been denied by *the Diyanet* (which could have put the whole project at risk as the state had already given me permission to conduct fieldwork in Gebze).

Below, I will move on to explain the relevance of my results in relation to existing research, and I will elucidate my contribution to the fields of religion and migration studies.

3   Empirical and conceptual contributions

The thesis expands on and challenges existing studies on internal migration and religion, particularly in Turkey, making important empirical and conceptual contributions to research that seeks to conceptualise interactions between internal migration and religion. This is achieved through the employment of the lens of translocality to religion and adding religion as an essential component to translocal studies.

3.1   Internal migration and religion

I wish to point to three significant empirical contributions that this study makes to research on internal migrants in Turkey. The first concerns a critique of the

assumption that secularisation has taken place in Turkey. My study has shown that religion plays a fundamental role in all aspects of migrants' everyday lives, even for those who do not see themselves as religious. Moreover, religion is an important influence on the migration process in general (except where the decision to migrate in the first place is concerned). My findings thus contest the belief that religion withers as urbanisation, rationalisation and science spread. My research contributes to internal migration studies, an area that has not gained as much attention as international migration (Trager, 2005; King and Skeldon, 2010). As has been shown, internal migration is not based simply on economic factors; it is shaped by (and shapes) religious, social and political fields both within the state and beyond.

The second contribution to note is related to the use of instrumental and functional approaches to examine the role of religion in urbanisation and migration processes (see Kıray, 1964; Köktaş, 1993; Günay, 1999; Altan, 2010; Çelik, 2001, 2013). The aforementioned existing studies have focused on how processes (such as urbanisation and migration) are related to social and religious change. When discussing religion and migration, however, the instrumentalist and functionalist approaches offer a somewhat reductionist view, assuming that religion is shaped by, and used as, a response to migration and urbanisation (being utilised to explain, for instance, the differences between rural and urban areas). Furthermore, existing research often overlooks the role of migrants in remaking their spaces of belonging, reconfiguring boundaries, and shaping religious landscapes in places of origin and settlement. By employing life history interviews and a translocal lens, my data has shown that migrants' emotions, desires, memories and imaginations are driving forces in their grounding in Gebze, as well as in the production of spaces of belonging and even in the drawing of boundaries that exclude others from certain social spaces. The

prioritisation of individual agency has permitted me to reduce the emphasis placed on institutional, temporal and social change, and to maintain a focus on the relationship between religion and the self. In this way, the individual is positioned as an active and viable agent in his/her destiny and history.

Lastly, the use of the life history method has allowed me to demonstrate that religious and non-religious experiences tend to have a reciprocal relationship – or that, at the very least, they coexist. For example, *hemşehri* relations can produce a sense of 'spiritual brotherhood', thus intensifying one's feeling of affiliation with a *cemaat*. Similarly, migration enables some migrants to transfer from parental Islam to *Sufi* and *Salafi* Islam. Such a move can be considered an expansion of existing knowledge because it has often been assumed in research on Turkey that there are conceptual boundaries between the sacred and the profane, where internal migration and religion are concerned. Researchers either study religious resources and spaces or non-religious resources and spaces, not both of them together (Saktanber, 2002; Yavuz, 2003; Kurtoğlu, 2005; Hersant and Toumerkine, 2005; Tuğal, 2006; Eroğlu, 2010; Şentürk, 2013; Çizmeci, 2015). My research has shown, however, that the 'everyday lived religion' framework can be harnessed to suggest that, although everyday practices, materials and spaces are not necessarily religious, they are also not separate from religion (see McGuire, 2008; Dessing *et al*., 2013). For example, hometown associations become spaces of belonging through the use of religious artefacts and the organisation of religious events.

My research also makes a significant empirical contribution to internal-migration studies (especially in terms of religion and Turkish associations), and ethnographic research on *Sufis* and *Salafis* (and particularly their everyday relations in Turkey). To date, the temporal aspect of migrants' experiences – social relations,

attachment to the new setting/a sense of belonging, identity construction – have been neglected in scholarship (see Aytaç, 2005; Kurtoğlu, 2005; Şahin, 2008; Çelik, 2013). My study indicates that these experiences are not stable and fixed; rather, they are continuously constructed throughout different phases of the migration trajectory. Another underdeveloped research area relates to the material, physical aspects of the hometown and *cemaat* associations, as well as the function of association leaders in transforming associations into spaces of belonging (Hersant and Toumarkine, 2005; Tezcan, 2011; Kurtoğlu, 2005; Terzi and Koçak, 2014). The data gathered here demonstrates that leaders are active homemakers, who perform practices, use artefacts and organise events that produce a sense of being 'at home'. In the existing literature on internal migration, the focus tends to be placed on physical houses (see Allen, 2008; Kabachnik *et al.*, 2010; Brickell, 2011; Kochan, 2016; Li, 2016). In the present study, the function of communal settings as 'homes' has also been examined, thus enriching this aspect of the research field.

Another significant area of development is that, although some ethnographic studies of *Sufis*' and *Salafis*' everyday social relations have been undertaken (see Atay, 2012; Baylocq and Bechikh, 2012; Kreil, 2012), my research adds parental Islam into the dialogue. This has been achieved in part by considering the hometown as well as the place of settlement. Many previous ethnographic studies of *cemaats* have been localised and have therefore overlooked how migrants' lives are influenced by connectedness between and across different locales – for example, through a sense of attachment to the hometown (Saktanber, 2002; Atay, 2012). It has been argued in this thesis that the hometown (including homes, families and villages) continue to influence migrants' trajectories in Gebze.

This study challenges existing understandings of the intersection of religion and internal migration in Turkey that make a distinction between rurality and urbanity. In earlier research, urban and rural areas, along with urban and rural religiosity, have been treated as distinct from one another (see Uğur, 2004; Meriç, 2005; Şahin, 2008; Altan, 2010; Çelik, 2013). In contrast, I have shown that the surrounding area and processes (such as migration and urbanisation) do not always change migrants' religious identities dramatically; some migrants continue to perform parental Islam. In addition, ties exist between migrants and those left behind, and between *cemaats* in Gebze and *cemaats* in Istanbul. Such ties, relationships and networks demonstrate that religion is not limited to a particular place. The data has revealed that religious lives in rural areas are not homogenous, but diverse; they are influenced by local dynamics and various histories. As such, the religion of neither rural areas nor urban areas can be generalised. By drawing on the work of Giddens (1994) and Asad (2015), I have been able to show that religion should be understood as being open to changes and adaptations. Locality is just one of the factors that shapes religion; faith needs to be examined beyond geospatially defined limits. Below, I will investigate the position of religion in relation to the conceptualisation of internal migration and translocality in more depth.

3.2 From religion to translocality

My research has demonstrated that religion is an influential element in migrants' lives and has an impact on the migration process. For instance, religion enables migrants to turn places into homes and 'sacred homes', and elaborates and maintains boundaries between different migrant groups, as well as between 'here' (the place of migration) and 'there' (the hometown and the people left behind). In addition, this thesis has brought to the fore the experiences and points of view of those who are left behind,

examining the social and religious impact of migration and religion both within the destination and the hometown.

Several examples can be used indicate how my research contributes to the field of translocal studies. I have explored the formation of relationships (for example, the 'spiritual brotherhood'), the creation of emotions (such as spiritual intimacy, healing and purification), the roles of actors (including *hocas*, *şeyhs* and *vekils*), the functions of spaces (such as 'sacred homes'), the place of practices (for example, *sohbets*), the importance of artefacts (like prayer beads), the significance of events and the presence of materials. These elements are often absent from translocal studies (see Appadurai, 1996; Brickell and Datta, 2011; Smith, 2011; Giles, 2015; Kochan, 2016; Maftukhin, 2016).

Additionally, my research brings the spatial and temporal aspects of religion to translocal-studies. Drawing on Tweed's (2006) notions of 'crossing' and 'dwelling', I have argued that religion enables migrants affiliated with hometown associations or parental Islam to forge mental connections with genealogical, locational, familial, national and territorial pasts, as well as with a spiritual 'elsewhere'. Translocal research has emphasised the importance of multiple spatial registers in migrants' lives (homes, families, neighbourhoods, villages and the imagined or remembered mystical hometown – see Brickell and Datta, 2011). My study therefore provides further evidence for this multiplicity, but also adds the concepts of a shared national history and a realm of the spiritual 'other' to the discussion.

I have also shown that the transcendent aspect of religion is related to the notion of translocality. Many translocal researchers examine connectivity between spaces, places and scales, ranging from bodies, buildings and neighbourhoods to cities, regions and nations (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.7). When considering the role of

religion in migration, however, as transnational studies of religion have suggested, researchers must consider not only the ordinary, but also the transcendent (Levitt, 2007, p.64). As Tweed (2006) argues, religion often involves changing one's location from this world ('here') to another ('hereafter') (p.152). The data examined here indicates that religious practices and objects help followers to position themselves not only to the past (such as the age of the Prophet Muhammed), but also in relation to future ('hereafter') and beings (Allah). Religion thus enables migrants to imagine spaces and times, such as hell and heaven – in other words, they are able to remap and expand their spatial and temporal horizons through religion.

Another aspect of the relationship between religion and migration is that religion helps one to interpret how social relations function between migrants and non-migrants. Translocal researchers have tended to concentrate on the ways in which ethnic communities are constructed on the basis of shared geospatial histories and commonalities (see Wise, 2011; Brightwell, 2013). This study has shown, however, that certain social and symbolic boundaries are constructed on the basis of religion, even between migrants with shared geospatial histories and commonalities. For *Sufis* and *Salafis*, the place of origin is irrelevant; the faith is more important. In this way, an analysis of the role of religion challenges the results of studies that focus on the construction of commonalities and shared values, representations and norms. Religion enables migrants to construct new relationships and new shared geospatial histories and commonalities, which transcend the limits of local identity and familial ties.

Existing conceptualisations of the translocal family are advanced in this thesis because my research has challenged the idea that migrants and non-migrants' physical and virtual co-presence leads to the production of intimacy and enables the re-establishment of social relationships (Yeoh *et al.*, 2005; Tan and Yeoh, 2011).

Instead, I have argued that religion can create dissociation and distance in the lives of both migrants and non-migrants. I have also shown that the translocal family is not a singular entity; religion leads to the creation of different kinds of translocal families, which are shaped continually by translocal and local dimensions, such as travelling religion, local history and existing religious institutions.

Life history interviews have a number of strengths, when seeking to understand the intersection of migration and religion. They enable researchers to consider migrants' experiences (such as grounding, searching for a sense of belonging and constructing boundaries) from their own perspectives. Here, the life histories have shown that migrants' experiences in Gebze cannot be disconnected from their experiences in Giresun and Erzurum, or from their future aspirations. The migrants' experiences are shaped by interactive relationships between Turkish socio-history, migrant conditions, social relations/interactions, and places. Moreover, migrants' desires, emotions, imaginations and memories are important here. Perhaps even more significantly, the scrutiny of life histories permits an exploration of the ways in which migration and religion are attracted to each other. It has been shown that non-religious and religious elements are in a dialectical relationship, producing and reproducing each other. Therefore, life history as a method also helps to conceptualise the interaction between religion and migration by providing an actor-oriented and a holistic lens to migrants' lives in relation to religion.

3.3 Is translocality useful in a conceptualisation of religion and migration?

My research has shown that translocality has substantive and functional elements that enable us to explore the interaction between religion and migration. Translocality permits us to examine migrants' experiences of mobility and grounding (Giles, 2015, p.24). The mobility aspect refers to flows, movements and circulations between

302

locations that occur via ties, relationships and networks (Tan and Yeoh, 2011). The grounding aspect of migration refers to the situated nature of migrants in various locales (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Verne, 2012; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Giles, 2015). The framework of translocality (including the notions of 'grounding' and 'mobility') has helped me to answer my research questions, indicating how spaces of belonging are produced, how boundaries are reconfigured, what impact migration has on those who are left behind, how migrant identity is constructed, and how a sense of belonging is achieved.

In addition, I have employed the translocal lens to examine the intersection of religion and internal migration. However, the translocal lens has not been utilised previously in studies about the relationship between internal migration and religion. Therefore, I drew on research regarding international migration and religion (see Levitt, 2001, 2007; Tweed, 2006). For example, Levitt (2001, 2007) emphasises circulations between places and the concomitant transformations of the religious lives of both migrants and those who are left behind. Additionally, Tweed's (2006) notions of 'dwelling' and 'crossing' enable us to interpret the significance of: (1) religious resources (such as materials, practices and artefacts) and (2) physical places in the making of homes and the movement of people across times, spaces and conditions. In this study, these two different elements have been captured by dividing the translocal lens into the mobile (movement and networks) and grounding (simultaneous situatedness across different locales) aspects of migrants' lives (Brickell and Datta, 2011, p.4). My research demonstrates that religion provides migrants with a sense of spatial and temporal connectedness, or an ability to have multi-local experiences. Additionally, religion leads migrants to maintain ties with those who are left behind. Consequently, the transmission and transformation of religious lives takes place both

in Gebze and in places of origin. Translocality, therefore, has been a useful tool through which to consider studies of international migration, as well as conceptualise the interaction between internal migration and religion.

The concept of translocality is also relevant with regard to the multiple spatial connections and affiliations that occur within and across specific localities in Gebze. As I have shown, religious lives and everyday experiences are shaped via the multi-sited nature of the migrants' everyday lives in places of settlement (Saktanber, 2002; Çelik, 2013; Çizmeci, 2015). Translocality thus facilitates an understanding of how migrants' religious lives and experiences are shaped through the multi-sited nature of their everyday lives in Gebze.

The translocal approach provides an effective analytical structure through which to examine the impact that migrants have on those who are left behind. Translocality does not only permit an exploration of how migrants and non-migrants use strategies to mediate distance, foster co-presence and exchange religion; it also enables the ways in which migrants influence the religious lives of their relatives and family members to be considered. Interestingly, as the chapter has shown, those who are left behind are not forgotten *and* are not dependent; they are active and viable agents in their own (religious) lives. The methods used here have allowed us to discover that non-migrants also remake themselves by creating boundaries between 'us' and 'them', migrants and non-migrants. Thus, they have an important part to play in the reshaping of kinship relations. Lastly, it should be underlined that religious institutions, state/cultural history, the media and secular practices contribute to the production of the translocal family.

4   Future research

The work undertaken here suggests that more could be said about the relationship
between religion and migration. Firstly, my study has examined a specific group of
migrants in Gebze. The non-migrant population of Gebze, however, is not present in
this thesis. This is because the population of non-migrants is very small, with most
living on the periphery of Gebze. Existing studies of migration have indicated that
relationships between non-migrants (the majority) and migrants (a minority) can
shape migrants' experiences and everyday religious lives (see Göle, 2012, 2015).
Future researchers on Turkish internal migration thus may wish to select different
localities, in which a significant non-migrant population is present, in order to
investigate this point further. Comparisons between districts could give insights into
the significance of the minority and majority positions, where the interplay between
religion and migration is concerned. In addition, the results of this study represent the
Turkish context, a place where the state's interactions with religion remain
problematic. Institutional policies have a significant impact on migration and religion
in Turkey. In future studies, different countries could be examined to broaden
knowledge about the role of the state in interaction between religion and internal
migration.

Secondly, my focus in this thesis has been on the hometown and religious
associations. They represent a small part of a vast array of social, ethnic, political and
religious associations that have emerged in Gebze in recent years, such as associations
for minority groups (such as Alevi, Shia, Crimean, Kurdish and Syrian refugees,
although the latter group did not seem to have established any associations yet when I
was conducting my fieldwork in 2015). An examination of such organisations could
indicate whether and how *Sufi* and *Salafi cemaats* recruit participants and reformulate

identities, reconfiguring boundaries across ethnicities, religions and regions of origin. Such research could also show how religion permits distinct ethnic and regional identities to be performed and allows spaces of belonging (as well as a sense of belonging) to be produced.

The family home is another area for further investigation. Future studies need to expand the understanding of the roles that parental Islam, gender, generational differences and traditions play in the migration process. In addition, more attention should be paid to the *Diyanet's* recent activities for men, women and children in places of origin and settlement. It could be fruitful to consider how *cemaats* and the *Diyanet* reproduce and reshape themselves by responding to each other's tactics and strategies, as well as how they are moulded by migrants and migration.

Fourthly, future research into internal migration and religion could involve fieldwork in rural areas where migration levels are high. Developing a more detailed understanding of local Islam and the flow of religion from the place of origin to the area of settlement would be valuable as this matter is mentioned in Turkish literature on migration but there is no ethnographic data available at present. Future studies should clarify how the religion of rural areas becomes part of the urban religious landscape. Other related questions include the extent to which religion promotes a sense of belonging to the hometown, and whether religion is used to perform identity in places of origin or is less spatially bound, being translatable to new spaces.

Fifthly, I have shown that social relations, kinship relations and family ties are influenced by religion. The boundaries that are constructed between groups and the social and behavioural implications of these boundaries need to be given attention by the state – and particularly the *Diyanet*. The conflicts and boundaries are not limited to the ones discussed in this study; since the 15th July 2016 *coup d'état* attempt

especially, condemnations, accusations and verbal attacks have continued to occur between various groups and individuals in Turkey. Such issues, I feel, have social and behavioural consequences for the everyday lives of people. This study has touched upon just a small part of the problem. This research is not a policy document; it is not my mission to produce a solution. Future researchers should work with the *Diyanet*, however, to develop new strategies to moderate the effects of lived Islamic identities on the everyday lives of people – and even on politics.

Finally, although my research has focused on interaction between religion and internal migration, the concepts and theories used here are also relevant to examinations of the interplay between religion and international migration. The translocality frame has already been utilised in studies on both internal migration (Brickell and Datta, 2011) and international migration (Wise, 2011; Giles, 2015; Maftukhin, 2016). The present study can be considered a meeting place, in which discussions have been drawn from various areas of research. The translocal lens has been adopted here in order modify and expand such discussions. The data analysis has enabled me to examine internal migration and religion closely from the perspectives of both migrants and those left behind. Future researchers on international migration and religion could use this study in order to establish the differences between the roles that religion plays in internal migration and external migration.

This study is a humble attempt to re-read the interconnections between internal migration and religion, offering a new perspective. Various religious and non-religious stayers and movers have been examined, as have spaces, resources and connections. This approach has enabled engagement with a range of methods, and the empirical and conceptual contributions made to the field of internal migration and religion include the application of a more actor-oriented lens. The thesis specifically

307

traces the changing connotations that 'original' Islam takes through the movement and diversification that migration entails by allowing human encounter and transfer between and across the differing paradigms of parental, *Sufi* and Salafi Islam. As has been shown, religion can be understood as an integral factor in the articulation of the migratory experiences of grounding and the post-migration reconfiguration of spaces of belonging. Here, religion shapes social relationships, creating both geographical and spiritual connections and boundaries among migrant groups and between movers and stayers, and between Gebze, Giresun and Erzurum. It is suggested that the dialectical interaction of migration and religion can be interpreted by scrutinising interactions between state policies, local dynamics, traditions and power relationships (between personal agency and institutional structures, such as the state and associations). Furthermore, this study can be understood as a call for further research to be undertaken on the intersection of internal migration and religion, through which state officials might be given the opportunity to grasp and respond to migrant needs – especially in rural areas. In addition (and, arguably, even more importantly), through such research, migrants can find a voice, helping to raise awareness that Islam is not a single entity; it involves multiple traditions, each of which must be respected and cherished in order for a richer, more diverse social structure to come into being.
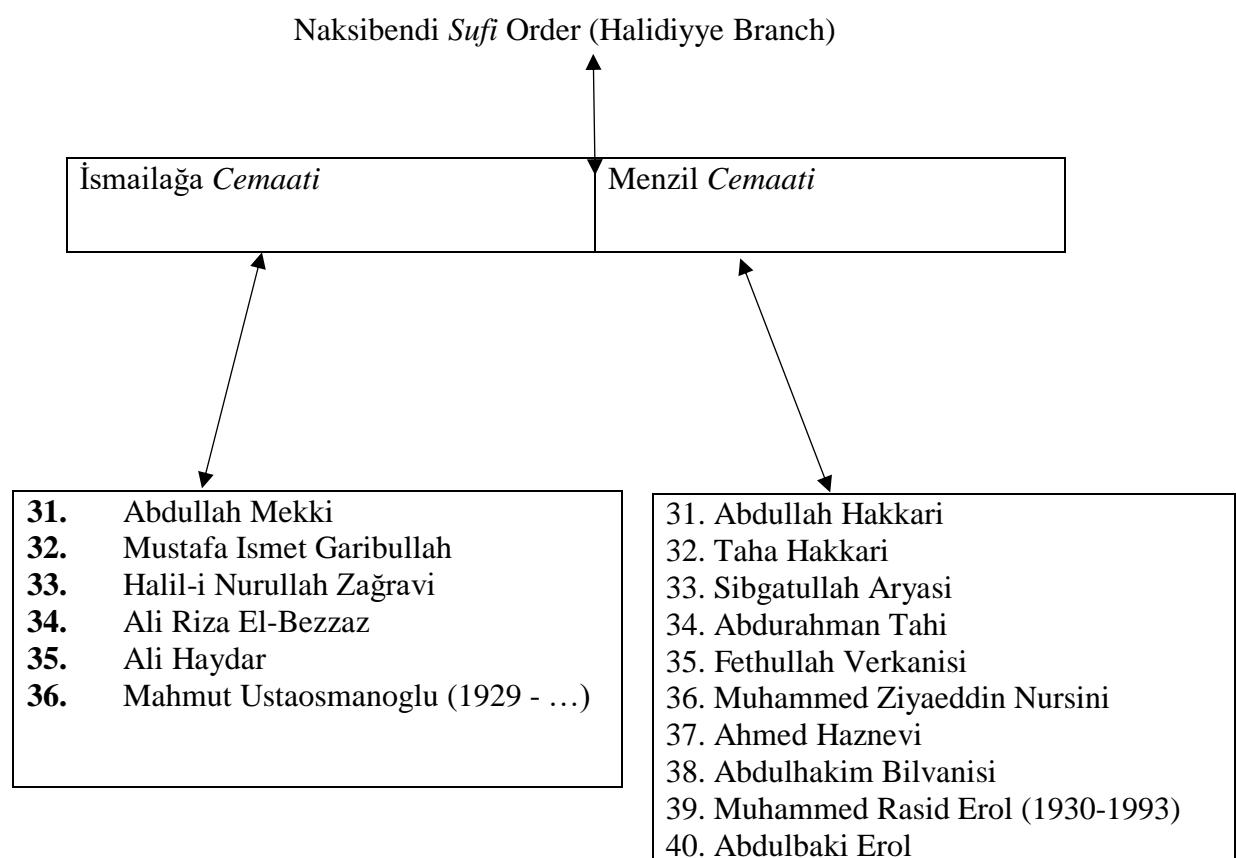
Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of data sources, descriptions and aims

Data Sources	Descriptions	Aims
Life histories	24 male and 7 female migrants.	To understand (1) migrants' decisions to move, their journeys and their grounding experiences in Gebze; (2) migrants' decisions to become, and experiences of being, members of associations; (3) migrants' experiences of change and continuity in their religious and social lives post-migration.
Semi-structured interviews	• Leaders of 5 associations (representatives of 2 *cemaats* and presidents of 3 hometown associations). • 18 males and 1 female in Erzurum and Giresun.	To understand (1) the roles of representatives and presidents in creating spaces of belonging; (2) the impact of translocal activities on the religious lives of migrants and those left behind, and the kinship relations between them; (3) the boundaries between migrants who affiliate with different types of Islam, and the boundaries between migrants and those left behind.
Participant observations and unstructured interviews in Gebze	Observations of migrants (and their practices, materials and face-to-face interactions) at religious and hometown associations, and in social spaces.	To understand migrants' sense of belonging, identity construction and feelings/emotions.
Participant observations in Giresun and Erzurum	Observations of migrants and non-migrants' face-to-face interactions.	To understand non-migrants' perspectives on migrants, including their religious practices and clothes.

Appendix 2: Lineage: Golden chain

1.   The Prophet Muhammed (571-632)
2.   The first Khalifa: Ebu Bekir (573-634)
3.   Selman-i Farisi
4.   Kasim Bin Muhammed
5.   Cafer-I Sadık
6.   Bayezid-I Bestami
.
.
.
30.   Mevlana Halid Ziyauddin Bağdadi (1779- 1827)

Naksibendi *Sufi* Order (Halidiyye Branch)

İsmailağa *Cemaati*	Menzil *Cemaati*

31. Abdullah Mekki	31. Abdullah Hakkari
32. Mustafa Ismet Garibullah	32. Taha Hakkari
33. Halil-i Nurullah Zağravi	33. Sibgatullah Aryasi
34. Ali Riza El-Bezzaz	34. Abdurahman Tahi
35. Ali Haydar	35. Fethullah Verkanisi
36. Mahmut Ustaosmanoglu (1929 - …)	36. Muhammed Ziyaeddin Nursini
	37. Ahmed Haznevi
	38. Abdulhakim Bilvanisi
	39. Muhammed Rasid Erol (1930-1993)
	40. Abdulbaki Erol

Appendix 3: Descriptive characteristic of participants

1. Participants in Gebze

	Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Origin	Date of Migration	Islamic Affiliation	Date of Interview
1	Adile	F	35	Giresun	1998	*Sufi*	22/4/2015 6/5/2015[170]
2	Adnan	M	36	Giresun	2003	*Sufi*	1/30/2015 9/5/2015
3	Akar	M	37	Erzurum	2004	*Sufi*	27/4/2015
4	Ali	M	65	Giresun	1972	Parental	25/4/2015
5	Anıl	M	40	Giresun	1995	*Sufi*	01/4/2015
6	Aslı	F	37	Giresun	1997	*Sufi*	7/4/2015 11/5/2015
7	Ayda	F	50	Giresun	1988	*Sufi*	3/4/2015 28/4/2015
8	Baki	M	36	Erzurum	2001	*Sufi*	3/2/2015
9	Bayram	M	50	Giresun	1995	Parental	9/4/2015
10	Caner	M	31	Giresun	2004	*Sufi*	22/4/2015
11	Cemal	M	38	Giresun	1989	*Sufi*	27/5/2015
12	Cuma	M	34	Erzurum	1999	*Sufi*	11/4/2015 16/5/2015
13	Dalga	F	40	Giresun	1992	Parental	28/3/2015
14	Dilek	F	*	Giresun	1980	*Sufi*	28/3/2015
15	Ekrem	M	*	Giresun	1970	Parental	25/3/2017
16	Emre	M	46	Giresun	1986	Parental	8/5/2015
17	Ece	F	40	Giresun	2006	*Sufi*	1/6/2015
18	Faruk	M	35	Giresun	1988	Salafi	22/5/2015
19	Fatih	M	38	Giresun	1990	*Sufi*	4/2/2015
20	Fehim	M	38	Giresun	1988	Salafi	7/3//2015

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[170] These dates indicate the second interview dates with the same person.

21	Halil	M	50	Giresun	1982	Salafi	14/5/2015
22	Hakime	F	45	Giresun	1988	*Sufi*	8/5/2015
23	Hamza	M	36	Giresun	2003	*Sufi*	11/5/2015
24	Kaan	M	42	Giresun	1986	*Sufi*	24/5/2015
25	Kahraman	M	33	Erzurum	1996	*Sufi*	4/5/2015 5/5/2015

*Participant preferred not to state.

2. Participants in Giresun and Erzurum

	Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Origin	*Cemaat* Affiliation	Date of interviews
1	Kani	M	85	Erzurum	Parental	9/6/2015
2	Kartal	M	*	Erzurum	Parental	11/6/2015
3	Kaya	M	75	Erzurum	Parental	25/6/2015
4	Kevser	F	32	Giresun	*Sufi*	26/11/2015
5	Mehmed	M	*	Erzurum	Parental	26/6/2015
6	Melih	M	*	Giresun	*Sufi*	4/6/2015
7	Metin	M	60	Giresun	Parental	27/11/2015
8	Muammer	M	60	Giresun	Parental	7/6/2015
9	Muhammet	M	43	Giresun	Parental	7/6/2015
10	Murtaza	M	35	Giresun	*Salafi*	5/6/2015
11	Muhsin	M	50s	Erzurum	*Sufi*	20/6/2015
12	Mustafa	M	32	Erzurum	*Sufi*	22/6/2015
13	Naci	M	74	Erzurum	Parental	22/6/2015
14	Naim	M	*	Giresun	Parental	3/6/2015

3. Leaders of Associations

	Pseudonyms	Sex	Associations	Date of Interviews
1	Nazif	M	Hometown	14/4/2015
2	Necmettin	M	*Cemaat*	15/2/2015

4. Other interviewees

The names of participants listed in this section include those of participants and leaders of associations with whom interviews were conducted, but who were not mentioned in the thesis. I was unable to mention them due to the following reasons: 1) I focused on emigrants from Erzurum, a province in eastern part of Turkey, and Giresun, a province in north-east of Turkey, during my fieldwork because emigrants from these two provinces in Gebze are the most representatives of regional culture and religious lives in Turkey. Also, gathering, visiting and analysing data about migrants from more than two provinces would be difficult in a limited time. This is why the participants from provinces other than Giresun and Erzurum who were recruited at the beginning of my fieldwork were excluded from the thesis. 2) Life histories and excerpts which were the most representative and rich were chosen. The life histories and interview accounts which were limited and short were excluded. The following list, then, offers the background information about these participants who were not mentioned in the thesis:

	Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Origin	Date of Migration	Religious Affiliation	Date of Interviews
1	Orhan	M	49	Muş	1981	*Sufi*	18/2/2015
2	Osman	M	34	Gümüşhane	2008	*Sufi*	27/4/2015
3	Ömer	M	42	Erzurum	1993	*Sufi*	10/5/2015
4	Özkan	M	60	Erzurum	1980	Parental	13/5/2015

313

5	Yakup	M	64	Sivas	1973	Parental	13/5/2015
6	Salim	M	34	Bayburt	1981	Parental	12/4/2015
7	Sadık	M	42	Erzurum	N/A[171]	Parental	21/5/2015
8	Talat	M	52	Giresun	N/A	Parental	28/6/2015
9	Turgut	M	50	Giresun	N/A	Parental	24/6/2015
10	Tuna	M	56	Erzurum	N/A	Parental	18/6/2015
11	Ismail	M	62	Erzurum	N/A	*Sufi*	23/6/2015

	Pseudonyms	**Sex**	**Associations**	**Date of Interviews**
12	Nimet	M	Hometown	29/3/2015
13	Nuh	M	*Cemaat*	16/5/2015
14	Okan	M	Hometown	20/4/2015

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[171] The participants remained in Giresun and Erzurum.

Appendix 4: Sample of interview schedule — migrants in Gebze

A. Background Questions

1. Name
2. How old were you on your last birthday?
3. Sex: Female or Male
4. Are you employed? What is your occupation?
5. Where were you born (rural/urban)?
6. What type of house do you live in? (owned house/flat, rented flat/house)
7. How long have you been living in Gebze?

B. Now, I would like to ask you some questions related to your religious life before moving to Gebze.

1. Could you tell me your earliest memories concerning religion? (such as your religious life as a childhood and teenager)

   a. Were there any influential religious people or figures when you were a child or a teenager?
   b. Were there any specific moments in your life when religion became increasingly more or less important in your everyday life?

2. Can you tell me about your daily religious practices before coming here?

   a. Did you pray five times a day?
   b. Did you fast every Ramadan?
   c. Did you read the Qur'an? If so, how often?

3. Prior to coming here, did you belong to a *cemaat*?

   a. If so, how/when/where/did you became a member of the *cemaat*?

C. Now, I would like to ask you questions concerning your migration experiences, including decision making and planning the journey.

4. Since you have decided to move to Gebze, can you tell why you decided to move here?

   a. When did you decide you wanted to live in Gebze?
   b. Why did you want to live in Gebze, but not any other place?
   c. How did you arrive here? With whom? By what means?
   d. What did you bring with you (personal effects, pictures, symbols, or food)?
   e. Did you ask your parents to pray for you?

D. Now, I want to ask questions related to do your settlement experiences in Gebze.

5.   Can you tell me your initial impressions of Gebze?
6.   Who did you first meet?
7.   When did you decide to belong to this *cemaat*?
8.   What does being a good congregant (member of a *cemaat*) mean to you personally?
9.   Since you joined this *cemaat*, what are the main things that have changed in your religious life or about yourself?
10.   Since you have become a member of this particular *cemaat*, do you feel you have left your 'old self' behind?

   a. Do you still socialize with the same friends in Gebze you had before you were a member of the *cemaats* and in the places of origin?
   b. Now, are most of your friends become members of the *cemaat*?
   c. Do you communicate with the same friends who lived in your place of origin?

11.   What does the *cemaat* mean to you?

12.   Can you tell me about your daily prayers? For example, daily prayers [*namaz*], fast [*oruc*], reading sacred texts [*Qur'an and hadis*], *zikir,* and *rabita.*
13.   Do you participate in female gatherings or sermon provided by a female preacher (*hoca*) at home (only for female participants) and by a male preacher (*hoca*) at *cemaat's* building (e.g. a Qur'an Course, foundation, or a mosque)?

   a. Do you think the role of women has been changed since you moved to Gebze?

14.   When questions arise over ritual and practices, who do you seek out for advice? Why?

E. Now, I want to ask you questions related to your observations in Gebze.

15.   Do you think there are significant differences you have seen and experienced between religious life here and where you come from?
16.   Do you think that there are regional differences in religious lives in Gebze? (Appearances, practices, or rituals)
17.   Do you think religious teachings at the Mosque are different from *cemaats'* teachings?

   a. What does the *Diyanet* (the Presidency of Religious Affairs) mean to you?

316

18. Do you feel that the *Diyanet* is successful in meeting people's religious or other needs here (such as a sermon delivered in the mosques on Friday [*khutbe*], preach [*vaaz*], and Qur'an Courses)? Why/why not?

    a. On average, how many times do you go to the mosque to pray each day?
    b. Have *İmams* influenced your religious lives in any way?
    c. Do you think that the sermons (preaches) at the mosque are useful for your everyday religious life?
    d. In your opinion, has *Diyanet* changed its attitudes toward *cemaats* since 2002?

19. Have you had any particularly powerful religious experiences that we have not discussed already?

F. Now, I would like to ask questions related to 'translocal linkages' you have developed.

20. Are you aware of being from this city or region? If so, how?
21. Do you participate in events and meetings organized by your hometown association?
22. Do you maintain links with people in your place of origin? For example, do you call your relatives, friends, and others in your place of origin? Through what mode of communication? (phone, Skype, social media(Facebook))
23. Where do you consider your home to be (Gebze/place of origin)?
24. Have you ever sent remittances (e.g. money, ideas, artefacts, dress etc.) to places of origin? By what? How often?
25. Do you visit there? When/on what occasions/ how often do you visit there?
26. Do you invest in and give to charity to your place of origin?
27. Do you want to live in Gebze after your retirement?
28. Have you ever considered moving to the place of origin or moving to other places? Why or why not?
29. Finally, in terms of your identity, which of the following terms would you either identify with or shy away from when defining yourself?
Categories: Ethnicity: Turk, Kurd or Laz; *Cemaat* affiliation Kadiri, Ismailağa, Menzil; and Spatial Affiliation: Your place of origin, Gebze, and Mecca. What other terms would you use to identify yourself?

    a. Which one of these is the most important to you? Why? What does it mean to you?
    b. Which one of these mostly represents you and your experience it in your everyday life?
    c. Does this term that you selected change in different times or different places?
    d. Where do you belong most?

G. **Closing the Interview**

30. Is there anything you would like to add?

    a. Do you think this study is useful in comprehend your everyday life, religion, practices, and identity?

    b. What questions would you ask if you were conducting this study?

    c. If you could say one thing to me, your friends, parents, and *cemaats*, *Diyanet*, or the Turkish government about your experiences as a migrant, a *cemaat* member, and a labour worker, a housewife, a farmer and so forth, what would you say?

Appendix 5: Sample of information sheet and consent forms in Turkish and in English

a. Bilgi Formu

Ben Hasan Ali Yılmaz, İngiltere'de Lancaster Üniversitesi'nde sosyoloji bölümünde doktora öğrencisiyim. Sizi Türkiye'de iç göçmenlikle din arasındakı etkileşime bakan projeme katılmaya davet ediyorum. Karar vermeden önce; projenin neden yapıldığını ve katılımınızın ne anlama geldiğini anlamanız önemli. Lütfen, aşağıda sunulan bilgileri dikkatlice okuyunuz. Eğer daha fazla bilgi sahibi olmak isterseniz veya anlamadığınız bir nokta olursa, lütfen bana sorunuz.

Araştırma ne ile alakali?

Bu araştırma Gebze'deki iç göçmenlerin gündelik dini yaşamlarını, kimlik oluşumlarını ve aidiyetlik hissiyatının göçmenlik sürecinde nasıl oluştuğuna bakıyor. özellikle, bu çalışmada göçmenlik sürecinde gündelik dini yaşamınızın, kimliğinizin ve dini ibadetlerinizin değişip değişmediğini değistiyse nasıl değiştiğini anlamak istiyorum. İlaveten, araştırmam göçmenligin, memleketinizdeki arkadaşlarınızın ve ailenizin dini yaşamını etkileyip etkilemedigini etkilediyse de nasıl etkilendiğini de bakacak.

Eğer çalişmaya katılırsam bana ne sorulacak?

Eğer calısmaya katılmak isterseniz,

1. 90-120 dakikalık röportaja katılmanız ve röportajda sorulan sorulara cevab vermeniz istenilecek. Röportaj soruları aşağıdaki konular hakkındadır: 1) göçmenlik deneyiminiz, 2) Gebze'ye gelmeden önceki ve sonraki dini yaşamınız; ve son olarak 4) gündelik yaşamınız ve dini ibadetleriniz. Sizin isteğinize bağlı olarak, röportajlar ses kaydına veya bir not defterine not alınacak.

2. Evinizi ziyaret etmeme izin vermeniz istenilecek. Eğer izin verirseniz, gündelik dini yaşamınızı görmek ve anlamak icin evinizde 30 dakikaya kadar sizinle zaman geçirilecek. Bu ziyaret esnasında, size gündelik yaşamınızla alakalı sorularda sorulacak.

Ayrıca şunu da vurgulamak istiyorum: eğer eşiniz veya çocuklarınız evde olurlarsa, erkek bir araştırmacı olarak evinizi ziyaret etmem zor ve uygun olmaz, o yüzden ailenize ve size uygun olacak bir zamanda evinizi ziyaret etmek istiyorum (erkek katılımcılar için).

3. *Cemaat* Derneklerini ve hemşehri Derneklerini ziyaret etmek isteyeceğim. Sizden bu konuda da yardım istenilecek.

Verdigim bilgiler gizli ve güvenli olacak mı?
Evet, sizinle alakalı toplanacak bütün bilgiler gizlilikle korunacak ve bu bilgilere sadece ben erişeceğim. Sizden toplanacak bilgiler ve özel yaşamınız aşağıdaki adımlar atılarak gizlilikle korunacak.

1. Röportajınızın ses kayıtları şifreli bilgisayarda kilitli bir dosyaya transfer edeceğim ve saklayacagım. Aynı zamanda kayıt yapan cihazda bulunan ses kayıtlarını sileceğim. Röportaj kayıtlarını yazıya geçiriceğim. Türkçe olan röportajlar tezimde kullanmak üzere İngilizce'ye çevireceğim.

2. Bütün dosyaları (Türkçe ve İngilizce röportajınızın yazı formu ve ses kayıtlarını) araştırma bittikten sonra en az 10 yıl boyunca parolo korumalı bilgisayarımdaki kilitli bir dosyanın içinde saklayacağım. Sonra bütün dosyaları sileceğim.

3. Soruların ve notların (evinizi ziyaret esnasında aldığım notlar) kağıt kopyaları Lancaster Üniversitesinde bulunan ofisimde yer alan kilitli dolapta güvenli olacak şekilde doktora derecesi verilene kadar saklayacağım. Sonra, kağıtları tarayacağım ve parola korumalı bilgisayarımda 10 yıl süre ile saklayacağım.

4. Röportajlarinizin yazı formunda ve notlarda siz tanimlayabilecek olan bütün bilgileri (isiminiz ve iletişim bilgileriniz) kaldıracağım. Asıl isminiz dışında size başka bir isim verecegim. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınızı gizlemek için sizin ikinci isminiz (örnek: Bekir) gerçek isminiz (örnek: Ahmet) yerine kullanacağım. Bu kullandığım isim gelecekteki raporlarda ve yayınlarda kullanacağım. Böylece, sizin isminizi hiçbir şekilde verdiğiniz bilgilerle iliştirmeyeceğim.

Araştırma katılmak zorunda mıyım?

Bu araştırmaya katılımda gönüllülük esastır. Çalışma esnasında veya 30 Haziran 2015'e kadar çalışmaktan çekilebilirsiniz. Eğer çalışma esnasında, çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçerseniz, bana söyleyebilirsiniz. Çalışmadan çekildiğiniz andan itibaren, sizden topladığım bilgileri sileceğim veya yok edeceğim. Fakat, çalışma bittikten sonra, benimle 0531 259 3214 no'lu telefondan iletişime geçip çekilme kararınızı bana bildirebilirsiniz. Ama bunu 30 Hazirana kadar yapmanız gerekir.

Eğer araştırmaya katılmaya karar verirseniz, sizden iki nüsha olan onay formunu imzalamanızı isteyeceğim. İmzalı onay formu ve bu bilgi formu sizde kalacak. Fakat, çalışmaya katılmak için biraz düşünmek istediniz. Bu durumda, yukarıda verilen telefon numarasından beni arayarak kararınızı bana bildirebilirsiniz. Böylece biz, toplanacağımız yer ve zamanı ayarlayabiliriz.

Bu araştırmanın sonuçları ne olacak?

Bu araştırmanın sonuçları rapor halinde benim doktora tezimde ve gelecekte yayınlayacak olduğum makalalerde kullanılacak.

Herhangi bir risk var mi?

Bu araştırmaya katılmanın hiçbir riski yoktur.

Araştırmaya katılmanızda size bir faydası var mı?

Bu araştırma katılmanın size herhangi bir faydası olmamasına rağmen, sizin katılımınızla beraber göçün, dini yaşamı, kimlikleri ve aidiyet hissiyatının nasıl etkilediğini anlamamıza katkı sağlayacaktır. **,**

Şikayetler:

Araştırma ile ilgili olarak şikayet etmek isterseniz, bana söyleyebilirsiniz veya benimle irtibata geçebilirsiniz.

Hasan Ali Yılmaz (araştırmacı)
Email address: h.yilmaz@lancaster.ac.uk
Tel (mobile): 0532 359 32 14

Araştırma ile ilgili bir şikayetiniz var, ama benimle konuşmak istemezseniz; danışman hocalarımla iletişime geçebilirsiniz:

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Lancaster Üniversitesinde araştırmacılar tarafından yürütülen tüm araştırma projeleri Üniversitenin şartlarına tabidir.

Lancaster Üniversitesi Araştırma Etik Komitesi (UREC) Bildirgesi:

Lancaster Üniversitesi Araştırma Etiği Komitesi (UREC) üyesi bu çalışmayı incelemiş ve onaylamıştır.
http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/depts/research/ethics.html.

b. Onay Formu

Lütfen isminizin baş harfini, kabul ettiğiniz şartın sağ tarafta yer alan kutulara yazınız. (örnek, Ahmet: A)

1. Bilgi formunu okudum ve anladığımı tasdik ediyorum. Formda bana soru sorma hakkı verildi ve bu sorulara tatmin edici cevablar almış bulunuyorum.

☐

2. Verdiğim bilgiler araştırmacının doktora tezinde, yayınlayacağı raporda, ve makalelerde benim ismimi belirtmeden kullanacağını anladım.

☐

3. Bütün sorulara cevab vermek zorunda olmadığımı anladım.

☐

4. Anlıyorum ki, araştırmacı evime ziyaret edecek ve *cemaat* ziyaret ederken benden yardım alacak.

☐

5. Beni tanımlayan bilgilerin gizlilikçe saklanacağını ve onların araştırmacıdan (Hasan Ali Yılmaz) başkasına gösterilemeyeğini anlıyorum.

☐

6. Bu bilgiler araştırmacının şifreli bilgisayarda kilitli dosyada 10 yıı boyunca saklı kalcağını anladım.

☐

7. Araştırmaya katılmamın tamamen gönüllülük esas olup, çalışma esnasında veya 30 Haziran'a kadar çalışmadan ayrılabileceğimi, ayrıldığım takdirde ses kayıtlarının ve notların silineceğini veya yok edileceğini ve bu bilgilerin daha sonra kullanılmayacağını anladım.

☐

8. Yukarıdaki araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Lütfen, çalışma süresinde ses kaydı yapılmasını mı yoksa not alınmasını mı kabul ettiğinizi uygun kutucuğu işaretleyerek belirtiniz

☐

    1. Araştırmacı çalışma esnasında ses kayıt cihazını kullanmasını kabul ediyorum.

☐

    2. Araştırmacı ses kayıt cihazının kullanılmasını kabul etmiyorum, fakat araştırmacı not alabilir.

☐

Katılımcının adı/soyadı   Tarih   İmza

Arastırmacının adı/soyadı   Tarih   İmza

Appendix 6: Sample of information sheet and consent forms in English

a.   Information Sheet

My name is Hasan Ali Yılmaz and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at Lancaster University. I would like to invite you to participate in my research project about the relationship between internal migration and religion in Turkey. Before you decide whether you want to take part in the research, please take your time to read the following information carefully. Please feel free to ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information about the research.

What is the research about?

This research looks at how migration affects your everyday religious lives, practices, ideas, and identities. I am particularly interested to know if and how your everyday religious life, identity, and practices have changed in migration. Additionally, the research looks at how the religious lives and practices of your relatives and friends in your place of origin have been affected by migration. For this reason, I will talk to people who live in your place of origin.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?

If you would like to take part in the research,

1. You will be asked to participate in a 90 to 120 minutes interview and to answer the questions about following subjects, including: 1) your migration experiences; 2) your religious life before and after migration; and 3) your everyday life and religious practices. I will record your interview on a tape recorder or will take notes in a notebook, depending on your wish.

2. You will be asked to allow me to visit your home. If you do, I would like to spend up to 30 minutes with you in order to understand how religion is a part of your everyday life (for example, how do you decorate your home?). During my visit, I might also ask questions about your everyday life (such as where do you go shopping?) and your everyday religious practices. I will record your responses on a tape recorder or take notes in a notebook, depending on your wish.

I would like to add that I recognize that when your wife and children are at home, my visit (as a male) can be difficult and inappropriate. I will therefore arrange to visit your home at a time in which is convenient to you and your family (for male participants only).

3. You will be asked if you would be willing to spend time with me at the *cemaat's* centre.

Will my data be confidential?

Yes, all the information that I collect about you will remain confidential and only I will be able to access the data. I will keep the data collected from you confidential, and maintain your privacy by taking the following steps:

1. I will transfer the audio recordings of your interview to my password-protected computer and store them in an encrypted file, and will then delete them from the original recording device. Later, I will transcribe the audio recordings of your interview into text form (which I will then translate into English to be used in the thesis and future publications).

2. All files (Turkish and English transcriptions and audio recordings of your interviews) will be stored in an encrypted file in a data file store at Lancaster University for a minimum of ten years after research is completed. They will then be deleted.

3. I will securely keep paper copies of questionnaires and the notes (which will be taken during the visits and conversations with you) in a locked cabinet in my office at Lancaster University until I have been awarded the doctoral degree. Then I will scan the paper copies, and securely store them in an encrypted file in my computer for a minimum of ten years. Then I will destroy them.

4. I will make anonymous the typed version of your interview and the notes through the removal of any identifying information, including your name and your contact details. I will assign you a pseudonym (a fake name). I will use the pseudonym instead of your real name in order to disguise your participation. I will use the same pseudonym in future reports or publications, so that your real name will not be attached to the information in any way. To remember your name, I will prepare a list pairing your name to the assigned pseudonym. The list will be kept separate from all research materials and be available to me alone. The list will be stored in an encrypted file in my computer for a minimum of ten years. Then I will delete the list.

What will happen to the results?

The result of this research will be summarised and reported in my thesis and may be submitted in part published academic journals.

Are there any risks?

There is the potential risk that you may find some of the interview questions about your personal experience and life story to be sensitive (such as your experiences of settlement in Gebze and economic problem before coming Gebze). However, in this situation, I will not put any pressure on you to continue your response. I will ask you if you would like to carry on with the interview, prefer me to switch off the audio recorder, would like to take a break, or require other support (a list of both professional and religious counsellors will be available). You might want to continue

participating in the research, but if you would like to withdraw from the research entirely, I will delete the audio recording of your interview and destroy the notes. However, I do not expect any risks to you participating in this study other than those encountered in day-to-day life.

Are there any benefits to taking part?

You are not likely to benefit directly from participating in the research. However, your participation will contribute to a wider understanding of how migration impacts internal migrants' religious lives, everyday lives, identities and practices.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary, so you may refuse to participate or decide to withdraw from this project during the research or at any time up until 30th June 2015. If you choose to withdraw from the project during the course of the research, you can tell me in person. All the data collected from you (e.g., audio recordings and the notes) will be deleted or destroyed as soon as you withdraw from it. However, if you wish to withdraw from this project after the research has taken place, you can give me a call or contact me at (531-259-3214) or at h.yilmaz@lancaster.ac.uk to inform me your decision. However, you should give your decision by the 30th June 2015.

If you do decide to take part in this research now, you will be asked to sign a consent form. However, if you want to take time to decide, you may do so. Please, contact me by phone when you decide to participate, so we can arrange a time and a place in which you would like to meet.

Complaints:

If you wish to make a complaint or raise concerns about any aspect of this research, you can tell me in person or contact me directly:

Hasan Ali Yılmaz (researcher)
Email address: h.yilmaz@lancaster.ac.uk
Tel (mobile): +90 531-259- 3214

If you wish to make a complaint or raise concerns about the research, but do not want to speak to me, you can contact my supervisors:

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All research projects that are carried out by investigators at the Lancaster University are governed by requirements of the University.

Lancaster University's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) Statement:
A member of Lancaster University's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) has reviewed and approved this study.
http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/depts/research/ethics.html.

b. **Consent Form**

Please initial the boxes at the right of each statement you agree with (for example, Ahmed: A).

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' for the above research. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions, and these questions have been answered satisfactorily.

□

2. I understand that any information given by me may be used by the researcher in his Ph. D thesis, future reports, articles or presentations without identifying me by name.

□

3. I understand that I do not respond any questions that I do not wish to answer.

□

4. I understand that the researcher will visit my home and spend time with me at the *cemaat's* centre that I belong to.

□

5. I understand that all information that is obtained in connection with this research and that can be identified with me will remain confidential. I understand Information gained from this research that can be identified with me may be released to no one other than the principal researcher (Hasan Ali Yılmaz).

□

6. I understand that this information will be kept in an encrypted file on a password-protected computer and, after the research is completed, will be retained securely for 10 years in a Lancaster University file store.

□

7. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the research project during the research or at any time up until the 30th of June 2015, and that as soon as I withdraw from the project, the audio recordings of my interview and notes that the researcher gather about me will be deleted or destroyed and not be used. After the 30th of June 2015, the data will remain in the study.

□

8. I agree to take part in the above research.

□

9. Please, indicate whether you agree to be audio taped or taken notes during the research by checking the appropriate box below.

□

    1. I agree that the researcher can use an audio recorder during the research.

□

    2. I do not agree that the researcher can use any recorder device, but the researcher can take notes in a notebook.

□

Name of Participant   Date   Signature

Name of Researcher   Date   Signature

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