

EVERYDAY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN LOCAL AND REFUGEE WOMEN

IN A TURKISH TOWN:

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION

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2019

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IN A TURKISH TOWN:
IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND NEGOTIATION

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
English Language Education

by
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2019

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Hasret Saygı, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Everyday Interactions Between Local and Refugee Women in a Turkish Town: Identity Construction and Negotiation

This doctoral project investigates the dynamics of everyday interaction between refugee and local women residing in a mid-size Turkish city. Focusing on social gatherings of local and Iraqi Turkmen refugee women in domestic spaces for one year, the linguistic ethnographic study undertaken in this project explores the dialogical processes through which these women construct and negotiate their stances and identity positions. Regular field observations were supplemented by a total of 70-hour of audio-recordings of spontaneous interactions in Turkish in informal social gatherings, interviews, and home visits. Findings reveal how these interactions were observed to be normative and stance-saturated, and the hegemonic nationalist, religious and patriarchal discourses were all-pervasive. They also show that while the Iraqi Turkmen women's efforts to capitalise on the shared identities resulted in the emergence of "brief moments of tight but temporary and ephemeral groupness" (Blommaert, 2017, p. 35), in the long run, their refugee identity overshadowed other identities which they claimed for themselves.

ÖZET

Türkiye’nin Bir Şehrinde Yerel ve Mülteci Kadınlar Arasındaki Günlük Etkileşim:

Kimliklerin Müzakeresi ve İnşası

Bu doktora projesi Türkiye’nin orta ölçekli bir şehrinde yaşayan mülteci ve yerel kadınlar arasındaki günlük etkileşimin dinamiklerini inceler. Bu dilbilimsel etnografik çalışma, bir yıl boyunca yerli ve Iraklı Türkmen mülteci kadınların ev içindeki buluşmalarına odaklanarak katılımcı kadınların diyaloglar aracılığıyla duruşlarını ve kimlik konumlanmalarını nasıl müzakere edip inşa ettiklerini araştırır. Düzenli saha gözlemleri, sosyal etkinlikler, röportajlar ve ev ziyaretlerindeki toplam 70 saatlik spontane etkileşimin ses kayıtları ile desteklenir. Bulgular bu etkileşimlerdeki söylemlerin nasıl kuralcı ve duruş-doygun olduğu ve baskın milliyetçi, dindar ve ataerkil söylemlerin ne kadar yaygın olduğunu ortaya çıkarır. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, aynı zamanda, Iraklı Türkmen kadınların ortak kimlikleri üzerinden sermaye sağlama çabalarının “sıkı olmasına karşın daimi olmayan ve kısa ömürlü gruplaşma anlarının” (Blommaert, 2017, s. 35) ortaya çıkmasına sebep olduğunu ve, uzun vadede, mülteci kimliklerinin kendileri için iddia ettikleri kimlikleri gölgede bıraktığını gösterir.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I feel fortunate to have been able to work with two supervisors who have contributed enormously to this dissertation.

I am incredibly grateful to my supervisor, Prof. Yasemin Bayyurt. It has been a privilege to work with such a committed and knowledgeable academic. She has been there throughout my Ph.D. education, and has supported me both academically and emotionally. Without her encouragement and openness to new ideas, it would not have been possible to undertake this doctoral project. I have benefitted a great deal from her academic wisdom.

I am also very appreciative of my other supervisor, Assist. Prof. Işıl Erduyan, for her academic support and guidance throughout my thesis writing process. Her insightful comments and constructive feedback allowed me to further the quality of my work as a whole, and to ultimately become a better analyst. I am immensely thankful for the crucial role that she played in the completion of this project.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my committee member Assoc. Prof. Didar Akar. From the first day of my Ph.D. until the very last, she was there. During my doctoral stage, with the incredible lectures she offered on language and identity, she fostered my development as a sociolinguist, and contributed to my overall academic success. I would also like to thank her for the intellectually enriching debates we had in the progress meetings and the critical eye she offered on my drafts. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my other defense committee members Prof. Fatoş Gökşen, Assoc. Prof. Çiler Hatipoğlu and Assoc. Prof. Leyla Martı for having accepted to participate in the defense of this dissertation, and having contributed to preparing this final version.

I would also like to extend this thank you to Prof. David Block for his generous guidance and support during my stay at the University of Lleida in Spain. He helped me to form the theoretical basis of my dissertation and to take the first steps toward developing my dissertation project. I was extremely lucky to work with such a great intellectual and academic mind. I am forever grateful for his contributions to my academic growth.

I would like to express my gratitude to the whole Boğaziçi University FLED family, especially Prof. Belma Haznedar and Prof. Gülcan Erçetin from whom I had the chance to take inspiring courses during the first two years of my doctoral education.

I would like to thank all the academic staff from the Department of Applied Linguistics and the Centre for Language, Discourse and Communication at King's College, London for laying the foundation of my academic career as a sociolinguist and playing such a key role in my academic trajectory.

I would also like to thank Prof. Jürgen Spitzmüller and Dr. Mi-Cha Flubacher, the organisers of the summer school that I attended at the University of Vienna in July 2018. The lectures helped me to strengthen the theoretical framework of my dissertation. I am specifically grateful to the lecturers of the summer school, Prof. Michael Silverstein and Prof. Alexandra Jaffe for their thought-provoking lectures and the valuable feedback that they offered on my dissertation. I am also grateful to Dr. Francesca Helm for having invited me to the Next Generation Global Studies Winter School at the University of Padova in Italy in February 2017. I benefited so much from attending these lectures, and getting precious feedback on my project.

My doctoral education was supported by the scholarship offered by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK 2211-A). I hereby thank the Council for their generous contribution.

I also owe thanks to my friends inside and outside of Turkey, from throughout Europe to the United States. I will always be grateful for the unconditional love and support that they showed me during the more testing times of this work. Each one of them played an important role in my personal and intellectual growth. I would also like to thank my cat, Zeynep, for the support she has provided me through her company.

However, the biggest thank you goes to my parents and sister. As a member of a boomerang generation, in order to do my fieldwork and write my thesis, I went back to my family home. In my most stressful times, my parents, İsmail and Emine Saygı, were there providing patient and limitless support. I also feel obliged to specifically single out my mother for her invaluable contributions to my fieldwork. She went above and beyond by acting as a mediator between me and my participants from both the local and Iraqi communities.

My fieldwork was an inspiring and enlightening process. Living in my hometown again after ten years to undertake this project was an absolutely unforgettable experience. At this point, I would like to express my tremendous gratitude to the women of Kadife Street for opening the doors of their home and welcoming me into their lives. Without the generosity, sincerity, and trust of my participants, this dissertation would not have been possible. This thesis is dedicated to those women of Kadife Street, including my mother.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those women of Kadife Street, including my mother, who were not afforded the same opportunities to chase their dreams, but nonetheless, offered their sincere and relentless effort for the next generation to pursue theirs. In my eyes, they are the true heroes.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

It was the summer of 2014 when anti-refugee protests started, and riots broke out against Syrian refugees in various cities of Turkey where refugees were concentrated. Within the same summer when anti-refugee sentiment was at its peak, in the city of Gaziantep, which hosts over 430,000 Syrian refugees as of 2019, a Syrian refugee killed his landlord. This incident increased the tension in the city further, and ignited hostility toward refugees. A group of locals attacked the workplaces run by Syrians, burned cars which had Syrian licences, and physically and verbally attacked refugees in their neighbourhood (“Murder triggers,” 2014). Similar news came from Turkey’s other border cities such as Şanlıurfa and Kahramanmaraş, and a crowd of people were reported to attack the buildings and shops which were owned by refugees. Along with these incidents, hate speech against Syrian refugees increased both in the mass media and on the social media channels, and various fake news and false allegations about refugees were produced, and circulated through such channels. The report released by Engindeniz and Ataman (2015) shows the increasing discriminatory discourses against refugees from the summer of 2014 onwards both in the mainstream and local media.

It was the same summer I decided to get involved in a pro-refugee campaign with the Syrian and Turkish activists to say stop to the increasing racial aggression against refugees and to demand an internationally recognised refugee status for all the refugees in Turkey. We started to organise panels, demonstrations and cultural events on various university campuses in Istanbul and in the city center. We invited Syrian street musicians to Boğaziçi University to give a concert, and made traditional Middle Eastern food with the Syrians on campus. We prepared a booklet explaining

the most common ten misconceptions about refugees in Turkey, and distributed them through various channels. It was within the same year that I started giving literacy and Turkish classes to Syrian kids, and provided homework support by going to their neighbourhood in Istanbul every weekend for two years. Over time, we managed to build contact with the local schools in the district and with the national education directorate in Fatih, Istanbul. In this way, we could help the Syrian children register for the local schools easier. After a two-month of struggle, we also convinced the local authorities to open the doors of the local school to the mothers of the Syrian children at the weekends to offer free literacy and language courses.

At the end of two and half years of activism in refugee rights and voluntary teaching in Istanbul, I decided to turn my activist endeavours into an academic one. In my master's thesis, I explored language related problems of the male Turkish migrant workers by observing them in their workplaces in London, and discussed the asymmetrical power relations between the migrant workers and their customers. Therefore, I was familiar with the discourse of migration and the related literature. In my Ph.D. studies, I had a chance to get more involved in the literature of migration. By taking Blommaert's (2005) suggestion into consideration, I aimed to develop myself as a social scientist rather than a linguist by taking various courses from other social science departments such as Critical and Cultural Studies, Sociology, and Political Science. By the end of my first two years at Boğaziçi University, I had attended more than ten courses in various disciplines, and took part in three different philosophy reading groups. In this way, I aimed to prepare myself intellectually for my future doctoral project.

With these activist and academic sentiments, I decided to start a doctoral project which would not only academically explore everyday lives of refugees in all

their complexity but also leave a permanent mark on their lives by assisting them to acclimatise to their new sociocultural setting. Because it would not be possible to understand everyday experiences and identity related problems of the refugees without including the locals whom they share the same physical space with, I decided to bring both parties together through my doctoral project. In this way, I thought that I could assist both the refugees and locals to build new communication channels, and to demolish stereotypical information about each other stemming from a lack of knowledge, and this is how the story of this doctoral project began. In the next part, I will further explain my motivation to undertake this project in detail, and discuss its academic and social significance. In the same section, I will also present my research questions. In the following sections, I will discuss the politics of forced migration in Turkey specifically referring to Iraqi and Turkmen refugees, and give information about the sociohistorical and ideological background of the current Turkish politics. Towards the end of this chapter, I will establish the terminology and present the overview of this dissertation.

1.1 Aim and significance

Starting from 2011, Turkey has witnessed unprecedented refugee flow mostly from Syria. According to the official statistics, Turkey hosts 3,635,841 million registered Syrian refugees (DGMM, 2019) along with 368,400 non-Syrian refugees (UNCHR, 2019). While, with over 4 million refugees, Turkey has the world's largest refugee population, the number of refugees abandoning their home is still increasing due to the ongoing violence both in Iraq and Syria. It has been often reported that off-camp refugees who constitute 90% of the whole refugee population live in socio-economically weak conditions without an internationally recognized refugee status

(see İçduygu, 2015). In the last a few years, millions of refugees who seek a better life have crossed the Aegean Sea to reach the European Union borders, and this has led to an increasing movement in the borders of the European Union countries. This has also inevitably brought an international dimension to this crisis. As İçduygu and Millet (2016) address, the conflict in the Middle East will not abate in the near future, and even after it ends, because the infrastructure is largely destroyed in most places, it will not be feasible to return home for majority of the refugees residing both in Turkey and the European Union borders. Therefore, İçduygu and Millet (2016) suggest that as in the case of the other migratory movements in the recent world history, the forced migration of Syrian refugees is going through “admission, settlement, integration and naturalization (acquiring citizenship) stages” (p. 3). For this reason, certain actions need to be taken in order to develop the means of integration for refugees and to find solutions to their immediate socio-economic problems. Considering the social and numerical relevance of this phenomenon in the context of Turkey, it would not be wrong to say that under such sociopolitical conditions, it has become a necessity to conduct research projects which address different aspects of forced migration and to discuss its impact on the lives of refugees and locals.

To this end, this doctoral project explores everyday interactions between the refugee and local women sharing the same neighbourhood in order to understand the dialogical processes through which they construct and negotiate their identities and social relations. In this dissertation, I suggest that in order to find the possible ways of promoting meaningful interaction between refugees and locals and to develop long-term solutions to their structural and interpersonal problems, first, we need to diagnose the social problems in a bottom-up fashion. To this end, I will investigate

how the social actors evaluate and position each other when they get together, and what kind of information we can dig from these discursive practices concerning their ideological linkages and the large-scale structural dynamics. One of the motivations of this doctoral project is to explore how the refugees and locals sharing the same physical space negotiate boundaries and construct sameness and difference when they get together. Another motivation is to make sense of the locals' experience of the increasing diversity as well as the refugees' experience of the sense of otherness in their new physical space. For this purpose, I explore how subject positionings are discursively constructed by the refugee and local participants in a bottom-up fashion, and attempt to reveal the possible ideological linkages between the constructed positions and macrosociological elements. I collected the available sociolinguistic data both from the local and refugee participants to address the two main research questions of this study which are, "How are the stances constructed and identity categories created in face-to-face conversations between the local women and refugee women?" and "How does this challenge or fit into macro level discourses in this context?". While these are the main questions of this dissertation, following the preliminary analysis of the collected data, two specific sets of questions organically emerged from the data, and they are formulated as follows:

1. What stances are constructed, and which identity categories are invoked in relation to monoglot language ideology? How does this challenge or fit into the macro level sociopolitical context?
2. What stances are constructed, and which identity categories are invoked in relation to womanhood? How does this challenge or fit into the hegemonic understanding of womanhood in this context?

As Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) discuss, because debates around migration are often constrained into a mainstream nationalist framework, the intersection of refugee and national discourses is a frequently occurring phenomenon. Today, along with the increase in forced and voluntary migration, we witness the rise of right-wing movements and nationalism in many parts of the world. To this end, within today's political landscape, it is not surprising to observe that national ideology has become one of the main ideological frameworks of this dissertation, and that the nationalist discourse is invoked along with anti-refugee sentiments. Additionally, when the initial observations in the field have shown that the constructed rhetoric in the neighbourhood is in line with the nationalist discourse, it is convinced that it would not be possible to investigate the social relations between the refugee and local women without touching upon nationalism; therefore, it has been chosen as one of the main focuses of this research.

Although the concept of forced migration is not a new phenomenon in the world, refugee studies literature has not developed methodologically and theoretically sophisticated body of works as much as the literature focusing on the other migratory movements. According to Sigona and Torre (2005) because of the methodological challenges emerging from working with the urban refugees who heterogeneously self-settled to every corner of cities, it is difficult to reach them and to follow them up longitudinally. Besides, because of the vulnerability in their legal situation, it is not easy to access refugees who are willing to talk about their past and present experiences with researchers who are potentially seen as outsiders or security threats. Due to these methodological and procedural challenges and also the very recency of this phenomenon in the context of Turkey, there are very few studies focusing on everyday practices of urban refugees at a micro level in Turkey. Besides,

among these studies, the number of studies exploring gender and migration is limited although women and children constitute majority of the refugee population in Turkey. Despite the recent growing body of works addressing the policy and security related issues in relation to the recent mass refugee flows, the number of studies which thoroughly observe identity constructions of refugee women and their everyday relations with the local women in domestic settings is relatively limited. Therefore, by acknowledging the fact that migration itself is a gendered practice as much as an economic and political phenomenon (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Mahler and Pessar, 2006), the gender component has been added to this work, and the key actors of this ethnographic research are chosen among the refugee women and local women. With an in-depth investigation of everyday life at the neighbourhood level, this linguistic ethnographic study aims to fill this gap in the forced migration literature by exploring identity construction of the Iraqi refugee women and their female local counterparts in domestic settings.

Although it is possible to analyse the issue of forced migration both at a macro and a micro level, Sigona (2014) addresses that to approach it at a macro level may result in portraying refugees as homogeneous masses or passive victims of the wars by ignoring their unique stories and experiences. No matter how many collective experiences the world refugees may share, they have many different individual experiences, life stories and social identities which shape the way they are affected by forced migration. For this very reason, Turton (2003) argues that even if the concept of ‘forced migration’ is used to describe the movements of people who have to leave their country for security reasons, despite the use of the word “‘forced’” in the phrase, the act of migration is an agentive movement by its nature. Turton further maintains that dehumanizing language which reduces refugees to numbers is

often used at a policy level in order to explain the impact of the mass migration on the host countries, or to give demographic information about refugees. By challenging this, he argues that refugees should be conceptualised as “purposive actors” who actively take part in their decision-making processes from the very beginning despite certain socio-economic and political constraints. For example, from choosing where to move, when to move and from which route to use to how to rebuild their lives, both the process of displacement and the following processes of emplacement inevitably demand refugees to take certain strategic actions.

Although from friend-to-friend conversations to social media channels, people speak about refugees, generally speaking, they do not have enough information about refugees; therefore, refugees are discussed mostly around certain stereotypical images and second-hand stories. Despite the visibility of refugees both in the Turkish media and in the physical spaces people live in, the number of people who have listened to a refugee’s story from the first person is very rare. In the same vein, De Fina (2003) also addresses the scarcity of research which introduces refugees, or in her case, undocumented migrants to readers in all their complexity, and relies on their subjective experiences rather than objective realities. With this in mind, to obtain as complete picture of the participants and the context as possible, and to achieve “depth” rather than “breadth” (Blaxter et al., 1996, p. 61) an ethnographic methodology is preferred for this research to the collection and interpretation of the linguistic data. Thanks to the spontaneous interaction data collected as a result of one-year fieldwork along with a 6-month preparation stage in the field, different from other research designs which rely on interviews or surveys, this project captures naturally occurring talk between the refugee and local women in all their dynamism and complexity, and in this way, attempts to address a large

research gap in the forced migration literature. To my knowledge, no work has investigated the face-to-face interaction between refugee and local neighbours in Turkey by means of the gathered naturally occurring data. This study will also be the first in Turkish sociolinguistics to adopt a linguistic ethnographic framework in a project which brings refugee and local women together while there are a number of studies exploring inter-ethnic and intercultural conversations in interactional sociolinguistics (see Gumperz, 1982) and linguistic anthropology (see Goebel, 2010). To this end, this sociolinguistic work which attempts to investigate a social problem using discursive materials and linguistic ethnographic methodology is expected to contribute to both sociolinguistic and migration literature in Turkey. This doctoral project also intends to convince researchers of other social science disciplines that sociolinguistics has a lot to offer to explore societal problems.

1.2 Iraqi refugees in Turkey

1.2.1 Politics of forced migration in Turkey

As stated earlier, Turkey has 3,635,841 million registered Syrian refugees as of 2019 along with 368,400 non-Syrian refugees. Due to Turkey's geographical location, which is in-between the Middle East and Europe, people escaping from war either seek asylum within Turkey, or use her as a transit country to reach the borders of the European Union. As a result of the 1951 Geneva Convention signed by Turkey and later re-arranged in 1967, Turkey can only grant refugee status to European asylum seekers. Due to this geographical restriction in the convention, currently, none of the above-mentioned refugee groups has a legal refugee status in the country. Because they are only granted temporary protection by Turkey, some wait for the improvement in their legal status through a change in the refugee protection law, and

others wait to be resettled in a third country by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (henceforth UNHCR).

Following the forced migration of millions of Syrians, the Turkish government prepared the ‘Temporary Protection Regulation’ in 2013 (Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection) to grant certain rights such as free healthcare, education, language, and interpretation services to them. However, this regulation did not bring any change in the status of refugees. In other words, because their refugee status has not been granted by the Turkish state yet, refugees are only given temporary residence permit in the country. Terzi (“Cem Terzi ile Röportaj,” 2017) argues that, despite the past 6 years as of 2017, because the legal integration of the refugees has not been started yet, their blurry legal situation negatively affects their social integration to society. On the other hand, because this new regulation has been arranged by Turkey for the first time since the Geneva Convention was regulated in 1951, this also shows that Turkey has started to recognise her new position as a host country for asylum seekers rather than a transit country.

According to Soykan (2010), the geographical limitation in the Geneva Convention is the result of Turkey’s nationalist approach to immigration. Similarly, Babuş (2006) also argues that contrary to the Ottoman Empire, which had a long tradition of welcoming people seeking refuge, the newly founded Turkish nation-state has prohibited foreigners from obtaining permanent residency or citizenship permit by bringing certain geographical, ethnic and cultural limitations. For example, the Settlement Law of 1934 which was actively implemented in Turkey until 2006 states that only people of Turkish descent and culture were able to apply for migration and citizenship in Turkey. It is openly written in the law that the Turkish state can only accept people as immigrants if their origin is Turk, or if they are

Turkish monolinguals who are closely affiliated with the Turkish culture (see Resmi Gazete, Law No. 2510).

Kirişçi (2000) argues that being Turcophone affiliated with Sunni sect of Islam has always been the privileged identity since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. This nationalist and sectarian understanding has also been persisted in granting refugee, immigrant and citizenship status to foreigners. For example, the statistics shared by the Turkish authorities shows that while the number of people whose migration was accepted to Turkey between the years of 1923-1997 was over 1.6 million, the overwhelming majority of them were the people of Turkish origin mostly from the Balkan countries known as *muhacir* (Kirişçi 1996). Following the criticism brought by the European Union to the Settlement Law, Turkey revisited this old regulation and made some changes in 2006. However, according to Soykan (2010), while this revisited version does not mention the eligibility criteria in order to immigrate to Turkey, it only defines who are not allowed to immigrate to the country:

(...) foreigners who do not share Turkishness or the Turkish culture, deported persons even those who share the Turkishness and the Turkish culture and the persons who are not allowed to enter Turkey due to security reasons cannot immigrate to Turkey. (Article 4-(1))¹

According to Daniş (2005), even if the underlying motivation behind these definition criteria is nationalism, they are at the same time very flexible and vague criteria because no reliable tool can be developed to measure someone's level of Turkishness or adherence to Turkish culture. Therefore, these criteria can be interpreted and implemented in different ways and at different periods by the state. I will expand this discussion through concrete examples in the upcoming section while discussing the Iraqi Turkmens' recent history of migration to Turkey.

¹ The translation of the article 4-(1) of the Law 2510 is from Soykan (2010, p.8).

As a result, the available regulations and laws related to asylum seeking, migration and citizenship are all interrelated to each other as the one being accepted to a country has the potential of being the citizen of that country in the future. Therefore, these regulations give clues about the country's stance towards and also against certain ethnic and religious categories. According to the human right activist Görendağ ("OHAL'de mülteci hakları," 2017), in order to improve these conventions and to make new regulations in line with the universally accepted catalogue of human rights, the geographical limitation in the Geneva Convention should be lifted and discriminatory practices stemming from these laws and conventions against non-Europeans and non-Turks should be ended. In the next session, after providing some statistical and sociological information about Iraq, I will focus on the migration of Iraqis to Turkey.

1.2.2 Forced migration of Iraqis to Turkey

According to the UNHCR's latest report, due to the increasing violence in Iraq, the number of internally displaced Iraqi people has reached over 3 million, while the number of Iraqis registered to seek asylum in the neighbouring countries has been more than 230,000 as of 2014. Majority of these registered Iraqis currently reside in Turkey. Today, Iraqi people are the second largest refugee group in Turkey following Syrians. The UNHCR estimates that internal and external migration of Iraqi people will increasingly continue in the coming months.

As Taneja (2011) reports, Iraq has always been home to people of diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds although society has been attempted to be homogenised through state coercion, forced migrations and bloody wars over the last few decades. While the lingua franca of the country is Arabic, according to the

Constitution of Iraq, Arabic and Kurdish are the two official languages of Iraq. While bilingualism and trilingualism are typical characteristics of a minimum of 25% of Iraqis, Kurdish, Turkish, and Aramaic of Assyrians are the most-widely spoken minority languages. The three largest social groups in Iraq are Shi'a Arabs, Sunni Arabs, and Kurds respectively (Taneja, 2011). According to the 2015 World Bank records, the literacy rate in Iraq is 79%.

Chanaa (2003) reports that kinship ties play a very important role not only in the everyday lives but also in the economical lives of Iraqi people. According to Daniş (2006), following the embargo imposed on Iraq in 1990s and later the invasion by the U.S.A in 2003, when the Iraqi state could not fulfil the basic responsibilities and failed to protect the civilians, the insecure environment in the country strengthened local communal ties built around religious, ethnic and familial relationship. This situation, at the same time, led to increasing fear and mistrust towards other social groups. Daniş suggests that this traditional social structure built around communitarian and familial relations has been sustained even after the forced migration of Iraqis outside Iraq. She states that when Iraqi people choose a place to seek asylum, familial ties plays the most important role in their decision making. Based on my own observations of the Iraqi refugees in Kırşehir, I can also say that most of the Iraqi refugees have either previous neighbourhood or familial relations to each other, as they have openly stated.

Daniş and Bayraktar (2010) analyse the ongoing forced migration of Iraqis to Turkey in three waves. The first wave of migration to Turkey lasted from 1980 to 2003 until the fall of Saddam Hussein due to the Iran- Iraq war in 1980s, the Gulf War in 1991, and the trade embargoes imposed on Iraq until 2003. After the Gulf War, for example, half a million Iraqis sought refuge in Turkey, which was the

highest number ever recorded in the recent history of Turkey (Danış and Bayraktar, 2010). However, majority of the Iraqis either returned to Iraq or reached Europe during Saddam's rule, and a few thousand Iraqis stayed in Turkey. Danış and Bayraktar discuss the second period of migration of Iraqis to Turkey starting from the invasion of America in 2003 to 2006. They state that, contrary to popular expectations, the situation in Iraq deteriorated after the American invasion, then a sectarian civil war broke out and Iraqi people's migration outside the country increased. The third wave is defined by Danış and Bayraktar as post-2007 period. When the United States accepted to host Iraqi refugees in 2007, most of the Iraqi people who initially reached Turkey for temporary protection, were resettled there.

The influx of Iraqi people has increasingly continued following the ISIS advance in Iraq from 2014 onwards. Until now, hundreds of thousands of Iraqis having fled the ISIS have been hosted by Turkey. Contrary to the previous migration flows of Iraqi people in which Iraqis either stayed in Turkey for a very short period of time to be resettled to a third country or went back to Iraq after their short stay in refugee camps, this time, they have settled in the urban areas across Turkey and built their new lives within Turkey. Due to the Joint Action Plan signed by the European Union and Turkey (see European Commission, 2015), it is much more difficult today than in the past for the refugees in Turkey to reach the borders of the EU because according to this readmission plan, irregular migrants reaching the EU borders over Turkey are sent back to Turkey. Because both the EU and the US closed their borders to refugees coming from the Middle East, Turkey seems to be one of very few available options for the Iraqi refugees to settle. While they are still treated as "guests" similar to Syrians, and not granted legal refugee status due to the geographical restriction in the Geneva Convention, as opposed to Syrians, Iraqi

refugees cannot benefit from the Temporary Protection Law granted by the state of Turkey. While Iraqis qualify for international protection granted by the United Nations, similar to Syrians, they are given access to education and basic health care while they do not have a permit to work except for some exceptional cases (İçduygu, 2015).

In the next sub-section, before moving onto explaining Iraqi Turkmen's forced migration to Turkey, I will give some short demographic information about Iraqi Turkmen.

1.2.3 Forced migration of Iraqi Turkmen to Turkey

Following Iraqi Kurds, Iraqi Turks are the second largest ethnic minority group in Iraq and are speculated to constitute up to 13% of the whole country population (Tok, 2010). While 60% of Iraqi Turkmen are adherents of Sunni sect of Islam, 40% of them are Shi'a (Minority Rights, 2014). Majority of the Iraqi Turkmen have bilingual linguistic repertoire consisting of Iraq-Turkish and Arabic while the new generation may increasingly grow up as Arabic monolinguals. According to Tok (2010), due to the Arabisation policies which aimed to assimilate the minority groups in Iraq, Iraqi Turkmen developed a conservative and closed cultural system as a reaction to the authoritarian regime of the Iraqi governments. Tok further argues that due to the rapid process of modernisation in Turkey following the declaration of a secular republic in 1923, big changes in the lives and cultures of Turkish people have been observed while Iraqi Turkmen could preserve their Ottoman cultural heritage to a large extent. The author supports his claim through the interviews he conducted with the Iraqi Turkmen who argue that Turkey-Turks have emulated European lifestyle; therefore, that they have lost their cultural identity while they could

preserve their heritage culture. Because majority of Iraqi Turkmen live together in the same geographical area in the Northern Iraq which are known as the Turkmen-only cities such as Tal Afar, they may have allegedly preserved their local cultures.

Starting from the foundation of Turkish Republic up until 1980s, migration of Iraqi Turkmen was welcomed and their application to Turkish citizenship was even encouraged and supported (Danış and Parla, 2009). Thanks to the Treaty of Ankara in 1926, the Residence Contract in 1932 and the Friendship and Good Neighbourhood Agreement in 1946, the cooperation between Iraqi Turkmen and Turkey-Turks is aimed to be fostered by the new Turkish state following the demise of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's renouncing her claim over Mosul in 1926 (Danış and Parla, 2009). Besides, Iraqi Turkmen could also be granted Turkish citizenship in a short while following their application due to the Law of Settlement enacted in 1934 (Danış and Parla, 2009). However, Bora and Şen (2009) report that starting from 1940s, both Iraqi Turkmen and Balkan Turks were seen as "foreigners", and some of the leading Turkish intellectuals having high nationalistic tendencies started to question their level of authenticity as Turks. While Balkan Turks were exposed to discrimination for being impure Turks and blamed for Europeanisation (Şen, 2007), Iraqi Turkmen were often blamed for Arabisation (Danış and Parla, 2009). Nevertheless, according to Danış and Parla, Balkan Turks have always been favoured over Iraqi Turkmen who are often seen as step-brothers because Balkan Turks come from Europe, which is the cradle of modernisation and democracy while Iraqi Turkmen are more Eastern and come from Arab territories which are mostly perceived as culturally backward places. As a result, as Danış and Parla address, even if *soydaşlık*, in other words, ethnic brotherhood is important for some Turks, it seems that there may still be a hierarchy among different forms of

Turkishness depending on the geography where they come from.

While external Turks having migrated to Turkey until the end of 1980s from the territories which used to belong the Ottoman Empire were mostly granted Turkish nationality, it has become much more difficult both for Balkan Turks and also Iraqi Turks even to get a residence permit from the Turkish authorities (Danış and Parla, 2009). Following the influx of Iraqi refugees in the early 1990s up till now, Iraqi Turkmens have gradually lost their priority in applying to both residence permit and citizenship. Today, Iraqi Turkmens and Syrian Turkmens are treated same as Iraqi Arabs and Syrian Arabs in their application for asylum. Although the Law of Settlement is still in force, it has lost its operativeness together with the changing policies of Turkish authorities largely stemming from the increase in the number of refugees seeking refuge in Turkey (Danış and Parla, 2009). As a result, contrary to the policies of early Republican era, today sharing the same ethnicity or language does not seem to affect the refugee application process in Turkey.

1.3 Setting the ideological scene: Sociopolitical context of Turkey

Having introduced this doctoral project in general lines, and informed the reader about the politics of immigration in Turkey along with the brief history of migration of Iraqis to Turkey, in this section, I will discuss the sociopolitical context of Turkey around the increasing conservatism and nationalism, and present the ideological background of the current Turkish politics largely around the identity politics of the Justice and Development Party (henceforth AKP) as it has been governing the country from the 2002 onwards, and actively implementing its social and political engineering projects since then. This section is expected to help the reader situate this project in a larger frame, and to create possible ideological linkages between the

current sociopolitical climate in Turkey and the subsequent chapters. Besides, the discussion that will be held in this section in relation to the hegemonic identity politics in Turkey based on religiosity and nationalism aims to help readers understand the dynamics of the relationship between the locals and the refugees in Turkey.

As the recent cross-cultural surveys such as International Social Survey Programme (henceforth ISSP) and World Values Survey (henceforth WVS) demonstrate, there has been an increased inclination towards conservatism and religiosity starting from 1990s to 2010-2014 in Turkey. As a result of this increasing conservative trend in the country, AKP, as a newly founded Islamic-conservative party won the two-thirds of the parliamentary seats in the 2002 national elections. Since then, it has been the most prominent party of the country, and Sunni Turkish conservatives who are also numerically the largest group in the country constitute the majority of AKP's base of support (Karakaya-Stump, 2017).² Alaranta (2016) suggests that the two main discourses laying the foundation of AKP in the last ten years are Sunni- Islamic conservatism and Turkish nationalism, which are fuelled by both Turkey's Ottoman heritage and anti-Western discourse. Alaranta (2016) further argues that nationalism built on Turkishness plays as much important role as Sunni Islam, not only in the foundation of the new Turkish nation-state but also in the identity politics of AKP. Different from the Islamic 'ummah' understanding which distinguishes the whole humanity as Muslims and non-Muslims regardless of their ethnicity, in the political agenda of AKP, Islamic conservatism is blended with Turkish nationalism. For example, the important role of the Turkish Islamic Empires such as the Ottoman Empire in spreading Islam and the excision of Christian

² Sunni Islam is one of the two main sects of Islam. The other one is Shi'a Islam.

population from Anatolia is often proudly articulated and celebrated by the head of the party (“Fethin hesaplaşması,” 2016). According to Alaranta (2016), as opposed to Turkey’s secular republicans, AKP does not see the foundation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923 as a brand new start; instead, Atatürk’s era and the following years are interpreted as the continuation of the historical processes started in 1071 when the Christian Byzantines were defeated by the Muslim-Turkish Empire in Anatolia. While Turkishness is often praised for protecting the Islamic values and heritage in the discourse of AKP, the acceptance of nearly four million Muslim refugees mostly from the Arab countries has been presented to the public as the historical responsibility of the Muslim Turks towards the countries which used to be the part of the Ottoman Empire (Milli Değerleri Koruma Vakfı, 2015). Therefore, the ruling party, which often lays claim for the Ottoman legacy, and in this way, for the leadership of the Islamist countries, as the last Ottoman sultan was also the last caliph³ of the Islamist world, argues that their acceptance of the refugees to Turkey is motivated by the generosity inherited from their Ottoman ancestors who always embraced the oppressed and suffering people in the history (“Başbakan Erdoğan’ın konuşmasının tam metni,” 2012).

Similar to Alaranta’s (2016) arguments, Yeşilada and Noordijk (2010) also suggest that since AKP came to power, one easily can observe the increasing visibility of Sunni-Islamic values in the social and political arena primarily fuelled by the rhetoric of the prominent members of the party. For example, in his speech, the Prime Minister of Turkey expressed his desire to raise a pious generation through educational reforms (“Dindar gençlik yetiştireceğiz,” 2012). In the following years, concrete steps were taken in the field of education to achieve this goal. For example,

³ Social and political leader of the Islamic world

based on the statistics obtained by the Ministry of National Education, the education union Eğitim-Sen (2016) reports that the number of students enrolled in state-run religious schools, namely İmam Hatip schools, rose from 28,000 to 1 million 200 thousand following the 4+4+4 system change in education. As a result of this system change accepted in 2012, as opposed to the previous education system, students can enrol in İmam Hatip schools after the first four-year without waiting till high school.

In line with this recent political agenda, this ethnographic study conducted in an Anatolian town also shows the local women's increasing attachment with the Sunni-Islamic values at a micro level as a possible outcome of this Islamisation process in the country. In the data analysis section, readers will see, in accordance with the hegemonic ideological understanding in the country, how Sunni-Islamic conservatism and Turkish nationalism are reproduced by the local women in their relations with each other and also with the refugee women. Because the refugees accepted by Turkey come from Muslim countries, it may be assumed that they are welcomed by the mainstream society who is increasingly becoming more religious according to the latest surveys.⁴ However, the research studies investigating the degree of social acceptance and integration of the Syrians such as Erdoğan (2014) and Biner and Soykan (2016) report that the refugees are targeted at systematic exclusion and discrimination both at the local and broader levels in Turkey. This situation can be better explained by another WVS result demonstrating that religiosity and tolerance are, in fact, negatively correlated with each other; that is, the more religious the public has become, the less tolerant they tend to become. Therefore, even if locals share similar religious values with refugees, refugees can still be discriminated against because of other possible identity- or practice-based

⁴ The overall 2010- 2014 WVS results show that the Turkish public is traditional and very religious with 68,1%.

differences. The report released by Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu (2009) on the results of the ISSP also suggests that even if the majority of Turkish public claim that religiosity brings tolerance with itself, when they are asked about the concrete situations such as whether they want a neighbour from a different religion or a world view, and whether they support such a person to be a candidate from their party or to express his or her opinion through public speeches and written publications, more than half of the respondents answer negatively. In the case of Muslim refugees, the fieldwork reports cited above demonstrate that despite shared religion and importance attached to religiosity by the locals, locals do not often approach refugees with sympathy. Kalaycıoğlu (2007) suggests that because conservative ideology tends to favour homogeneity over diversity of different cultures and peoples, it is not surprising that it may bring with itself chauvinism and xenophobia since conservatism ideologically desires to maintain traditional and local practices. With this study, we will also see whether argued increasing religiosity and conservatism bring the local women closer to the refugee women due their shared religious identity, or lead to construction of negative collective stances against the refugee communities due to their different identities and practices.

After presenting the sociohistorical and ideological background of the current Turkish politics largely around the identity politics of the governing party, AKP, in the next section, I will establish the terminology.

1.4 Establishing the terminology

In this section, I will both explain the two identity terms I have chosen to define the Iraqi participants and clarify language-related issues. One of the identity ascriptions I will explain is the term ‘refugee’, and the other one is ‘Iraqi Turkmen’. As addressed

in the sub-section 1.3.1, due to the 1951 Geneva Convention signed by Turkey, Turkey can only grant refugee status to European asylum seekers. Therefore, to address both Iraqis and Syrians in Turkey as ‘refugees’ is a legally wrong definition as they do not have a legal refugee status in the country. However, instead of adopting a state-centric approach and taking 1951 Geneva Convention’s definition of a refugee as a basis, in this dissertation, from a sociological perspective, by adopting a human rights-based approach, anyone who seeks asylum in another country due to involuntary reasons is called ‘refugee’. In other words, regardless of the legal status of Syrians and non-Syrians who enter the country to seek asylum due to fear of persecution, they will be addressed as ‘refugee’. Nevertheless, the legal statuses of refugees in Turkey as well as the legal status of the research participants are clarified in detail in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

The second term which may need clarification is ‘Turkmen’. Although Turks living in Iraq are called *Türkmen* in Turkish and ‘Turkmen’ in English, Saatçi (1996) and Tok (2010) state that the term Turkmen has been used to address Iraqi Turks only in the last forty years. According to Saatçi (1996) and Tok (2010), this term has gained popularity in accordance with the political processes, and the underlying motivation behind this label change, which is argued to have been made by the Iraqi government and British authorities, is to break off the relations between the Turks in Turkey and the Turks in Iraq. While Balkan Turks are not addressed as Turkmens, we see that Turks who live particularly in the central Asia and the Middle East are called *Türkmen*. Tok notes that before the 1960s, the term *Türkmen* was not used by Iraqi Turks to define themselves, but majority of them now define themselves as Turkmens. Similarly, because the participants of this research who are the Turkish people of Iraqi descent prefer to define themselves as “Iraqi Turkmen”, “Iraqi” or

only as “Turkmen” depending on the situation, they will be addressed so.

Another issue is related to the linguistic identity of the Iraqi Turkmen participants. The Iraqi Turkmens who participated in this study have bilingual linguistic repertoire consisting of Turkmen-Turkish and Arabic. While the participants call their Turkish ‘Turkmen’, in this study, their code is addressed either as Turkmen-Turkish or Iraq-Turkish. Even if Turkmen-Turkish is closer to Azerbaijani dialect of Turkish, it is mutually intelligible with Turkey-Turkish, but it is influenced by Arabic lexically to a great extent (Haydar, 1979). Therefore, there are lexical differences between Turkey-Turkish and Iraq-Turkish. Finally, in some places, the reader will encounter the term “Ottoman Turkish”. As it will be clarified further in Chapter 6, Ottoman Turkish used to be the administrative and literary language of the Ottoman Empire, and was used only by the ruling and intellectual elites of the Ottoman Empire (Lewis, 1999). Because it was lexically and grammatically influenced by Arabic and Persian to a great extent, it was not intelligible for ordinary citizens who spoke their everyday Turkish (Lewis, 1999).

1.5 Plan of the dissertation

This dissertation is organised into 10 Chapters, and, in this section, the plan of the rest of the dissertation will be shared with the reader. After this long introduction chapter to this dissertation and to the sociopolitical context of Turkey, Chapter 2 will inform the reader about epistemological, methodological and theoretical frameworks of this doctoral project. Chapter 3 will review the key works conducted in the nexus of the main themes of this dissertation. In order to situate the research site better, Chapter 4 will be devoted to informing the reader about the context of this doctoral project. Chapter 5 will discuss the methodological choices and research design of this

dissertation, and will include the researcher's self-reflection on the processes of data collection and analysis. Chapter 6 and 7 are the analytical chapters, and attempt to answer the main research questions of this dissertation respectively. Chapter 8 will summarise the key findings presented in the analytical chapters in the same order with the analytical chapters. Chapter 9 will critically reflect on the findings of this work in the light of the relevant literature. Finally, Chapter 10 will discuss the limitations of this dissertation along with its implications and extendibility to further research.

CHAPTER 2

EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

This chapter consists of two main parts. In the first part, Linguistic Ethnography (henceforth LE) will be introduced to the reader as the methodological framework of this research. The three main components laying the foundations of LE, namely post-structuralism, linguistics, and ethnography will be discussed in separate sub-sections by referring to the relevant literature. In the second half of this chapter, the concepts of indexicality and stance will be introduced to the reader as the main theoretical and analytical concepts, and the implementation of these concepts to do identity research will be discussed in detail.

2.1 Linguistic ethnography as a methodological framework

LE is chosen as the primary methodological and theoretical approach to the collection and interpretation of the data in this research project. Even if this interdisciplinary enterprise pioneered by a group of applied linguists such as Rampton (2007), Maybin and Tusting (2011), and Creese (2008) has recently emerged in Britain, its foundational components, ethnography and linguistics, are long-established disciplines in the social sciences. Because this approach is called linguistic ethnography, not the other way around (ethnographic linguistic), we may simply assume that in order to develop this framework, ethnography as a theory and methodology originated in the field of anthropology is appropriated and extended to include socially oriented linguistic way of thinking. Before discussing the tenets and scopes of LE in detail, in the next section, I will situate both LE and this research in a wider disciplinary and societal context and discuss the recent intellectual

developments and societal changes which laid the foundation for LE. Then, I will discuss the linguistic and ethnographic components of LE, respectively. Finally, I will attempt to summarise the methodological tenets of LE and discuss the merits of adopting LE approach for this research.

2.1.1 Post-structuralism as the theoretical basis of LE

The emergence of post-structuralism in France starting from the 1950s onwards can be seen as a reactionary movement against the structuralist paradigm,⁵ which used to be the hegemonic intellectual project between the early to mid-twentieth century.

This new philosophical wave in the social sciences built itself on the critics of arguably rigid, ahistorical and deterministic nature of structuralism (Seymour-Smith, 1986). Along with this new way of thinking, many disciplines in the social sciences took steps to reconceptualise their core theories and practices to bring more contextual, historical and agentive sensitivities. The pioneers of LE such as Rampton (2008) state that this shift can be observed particularly in the field of linguistics. Following the end of the Saussurean legacy in linguistics which strived for creating universal principles to explain language as a system and an object of inquiry on its own, the emergence of post-structuralism has attempted to relativise rigid and deterministic approaches to language and other core social realities such as culture, nation and society with an increasing emphasis it has placed on discursivity, subjectivity and plurality (Rampton, Maybin, and Roberts, 2014).

In line with this purpose, Foucault (2003), regarded as one of the pioneers of post-structuralist intellectual movement, suggests that the things that we accept as truths are internalised and legitimised myths reproduced both through institutional

⁵ Initiated by the linguist Saussure (1959), structuralism is a philosophical paradigm which attempts to explain the universal principles argued to be governing the notions such as language and culture.

practices and also our own social, cultural and linguistic practices. Foucault insists that similar to political regimes of countries gaining their ultimate shape in time as a result of certain power dynamics, truth and falsity are also liable to such power regimes, and in fact, they are the very products of such discursive regimes. Therefore, to Foucault (1991), instead of seeking what reality and the essence of things are, as what we call truth is only the product of certain social dynamics, social scientists should put an effort into understanding the sociohistorical processes of construction, circulation and normalisation of discourses in order to reveal the underlying regimes of truth governing them.

Along with post-structuralism, the important role language plays in organising social life and forming and circulating discourses has been widely acknowledged; and as Maybin and Tusting (2011) indicate, this growing interest in seeing language as a social, cultural and ideological apparatus led to discursive turn in the social sciences. Following the works of Foucault, when the works of the famous Russian philosopher of language, Bakhtin, was translated into English in 1980s, most studies in the field of linguistics were convinced that there was no word or utterance drawn from a neutral and closed system since “every word comes to us already used, filled with the evaluations and perceptions of others” (Hall, 1995, p. 212). That is, every language use is both situational and historical (Bakhtin, 1981). It is partly historical because what is said is borrowed from the previous communication situations that participants have been involved in during their or others’ lifetime. It is partly situational as words are constructed as a response to previous utterances. These dialogical and interdiscursive principles brought by Bakhtin (1981) and Voloshinov⁶ (1973) to language situate every interaction in

⁶ M. Bakhtin published some of his works under the name of Voloshinov and Medvedev, and this is indicated in the translators’ preface in Voloshinov (1973).

histories of use, and necessitate researchers to conceptualise communicative events in more historically and contextually sensitive ways. As a result, today, it is widely acknowledged that discourses we produce are embedded in a historical context, and this context is multi-layered and the result of accumulation of certain political, cultural and social climates. Linguistic ethnographic framework adopted for this research is also the outcome of such a post-structuralist climate, in line with Creese (2008) and Rampton (2008), who discuss this post-structuralist orientation and the influence of Foucault and Bakhtin on their theoretical and methodological perspectives in their writings.

So far, the two main tenets of post-structuralism, discursivity and historicity have been discussed. Another important point relevant to both this research and also LE agenda is the way post-structuralism deals with the relationship between structure and agency. As post-structural theorists such as Giddens (1982) and Wendt (1987) put forward, the relationship between agency and social structures should be conceptualised as mutually constitutive because they have “equal ontological status” (Wendt, 1987, p. 339) in social life and constant and mutual impact on one another. For example, Bourdieu’s (1984) concept of habitus can be seen as a product of such reconciliation efforts between structure and agency in post-structural framework. Even if habitus is defined as the agentive internal disposition of individuals assisting them to deal with the social world, it owes its existence to external realities. While habitus is conceptualised by Bourdieu as a dynamic and generative concept, it is also defined as restrictive because it has both the power of limiting our social action and also enabling them. That is, habitus is defined by Bourdieu as a kind of interplay between individual agency and social structures, and it is not possible to draw a boundary between structure and agency and to establish cause and effect relationship

between them as they are merged into each other with this conceptualisation. It is not only structure and agency dichotomy, in other words, the macro/ micro dichotomy that underwent criticism, but all binary oppositions which were the products of structuralism faced heavy criticism by the post-structuralists for their reduction of complex relationship between concepts to opposite poles and also for imposing on “a violent hierarchy” (Derrida, 1981, p. 41) between them.

This way of theorisation of structure and agency has also paved the way for developing more interest in agent-centered conceptualisations and also the works on identity because agency is granted equal status with structure in this ontological debate brought by post-structuralist critique to academia. With the contribution of this, identity has become one of the key concepts both in the social sciences and today’s social and political order (Weedon, 2004; Block, 2015). The role of post-structuralist theories (e.g., Z. Bauman, 1991; Giddens, 1991) along with the social constructivist theories in growing interest in identity research is non-negligible. Rampton, Maybin and Roberts (2014) argue that together with the critiques both post-structuralists and constructivists offer against the essentialist perspectives which attempt to define the cores of traditional categories of identities such as gender, ethnicity and class, essentialist accounts have largely lost their popularity in the social sciences. Today, in line with post-structural theories, identities are not often treated as clear-cut stable facts, instead they are conceptualised with their fluid, dynamic and context sensitive aspects embedded in certain discursive and historical contexts (see Lemke, 2008).

At this point, it is important to note that this research treats social constructivism and post-structuralism as distinct social theories although both constructivism and post-structuralism have some overlapping principles. The way

both treat structure and agency as mutually shaping (Reus-Smit, 2013), being anti-realist and relativist (Hammersley, 1992); therefore, embracing multiple and subjective realities, show that in general terms they share similar intellectual stances towards social realities and identities, presumably because both emerged in the climate of post-positivism. However, because one can encounter different variations of constructivism defined with certain adjectives such as ‘soft constructivism’, ‘radical constructivism’, ‘critical constructivism’ and so on, it is difficult to define exactly the intellectual stance of constructivism as a social theory, and this broadness and division in the theory makes its distinction from post-structuralism elusive and blurry. Based on my readings on both of these social theories, I interpret post-structuralism as a mid-level critical theory which aims to bridge between everyday world and power mechanisms, and mainstream constructivism as a more bottom-up and relatively more agent-centered and individualistic theory. Both the theorisation of this research and also the adopted methodological approach, LE, are more inclined to post-structuralism although I will draw on constructivist theories especially while discussing identity-related issues since constructivist theories leave more space for discussions on identity while post-structuralists tend to dwell more on reproduction of discourses, social realities and societal inequalities.

It is not only the intellectual climate which led the way for reconceptualisation of ideas in relation to language, identity, culture, society and so on. As Perez-Milans (2015) discusses, the conditions of Late-modernity⁷ from increasing mobility to revolution in communication technology has created considerable contact situations between diverse cultures and languages, and this also

⁷ Based on Giddens’s (1991) theorisation of contemporary society, ‘Late-Modernity’ is adopted in this study to define socio-cultural conditions of today’s societies. Post-modernity refers to the same phenomenon, but as discussed by Harris and Rampton (2003), the word ‘late’ in late-modernity is preferred over the word ‘post’ since today’s modernity is interpreted as the extension and continuation of modernity project rather than the succeeding historical period which we left behind.

has triggered social, cultural and linguistic changes and increased complexities and indeterminacy in social life. It may be suggested that it is not only the post-structuralist attack on structuralism but also this changing sociopolitical landscape of the world that made the structuralist movement in the social sciences a failed project because it is no longer possible to simplify masses into pieces and to create a universal, predictable and stable system functioning in harmony. For example, identity-based social movements all over the world from black social movements to feminist and queer movements play an important role in challenging group stereotypes and dichotomous identity prescriptions such as black and white, man and woman, Eastern and Western and many others both in political discourse and academia. As Lemke (2002) discusses in relation to identity categories, “our loyalties to them are moderated by our multiple lives and lifestyle” (p. 75); therefore, “we don’t have to obey or believe parents, clergy, bosses, governments, or media to the extent that we have other feasible options” (p. 75) in today’s social order. Therefore, today there is an increasing consensus at least in academia that “being neither on the inside nor on the outside, being affiliated but not fully belonging” (Rampton, 1997, p. 330) is a normal state of affairs, and the role of academia is to know how to deal with this inconsistency and dynamicity locally. As a result, in addition to this post-structuralist shift in intellectual context, today, growing interest in exploring local practices and emergent local communities rather than societies and identity categories at large scales, and also the establishment of new situated approaches acting with local sensitivities can be read as a reaction to this new world order which is increasingly becoming unpredictable and ‘superdiverse’ (Vertovec, 2007).

In this section, with a specific focus on language and discourse, I have

discussed the four key elements of post-structuralism which I find relevant both for my research agenda and my methodological approach, LE. These were discursivity, historicity, agency and indeterminacy, and they were addressed in general terms. Because these four points are all in consistency with the tenets of linguistic ethnography, and they all underpin the theoretical and methodological basis of LE, this theoretical section is expected to help readers follow both this section also the rest of the dissertation easier.

2.1.2 Linguistic foundations of LE

While post-structuralist critical thinkers have given way for reconceptualisation of language in more contextual and dynamic ways, theoretical and empirical work conducted within language related fields such as sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have offered new analytic tools and theoretical frameworks for the analysis of linguistic data. LE is derived primarily from North American linguistic anthropology (e.g., Hymes, 1968; Silverstein and Urban, 1996; Duranti, 1997) and symbolic interactionism (e.g., Goffman, 1956, 1974) and sociolinguistics (e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Gumperz, 1982) while post-structural theories discussed in the previous section lay the foundation for all these works.

Dell Hymes, one of the founders of modern sociolinguistics and also the ethnography of communication framework, is no doubt, the most influential figure in LE both for linguistic and also ethnographic side of it. In the title of his article, Rampton (2007) uses “Neo-Hymesian” as an adjective to define their LE project by supposedly laying claim to Hymesian legacy in the field. As a linguistic anthropologist, Hymes (1977) advocated the idea that language could not be dealt with in isolation as an abstract system similar to what structuralist linguists attempted

to do because language and social world were interconnected. Due to the mutual relationship between language and society, he argued that language could only be studied by situating it in a certain context of use and focusing on the whole process of production rather than the end linguistic product. Because Hymes (1968) thought that formal linguistics was very much concerned with exploring universal mechanisms of language as a system and ethnography was not much concerned with the specific role language played in shaping communities and social relations, he developed his new framework. To him, “Saussure is concerned with the word, Chomsky with the sentence, the ethnography of speaking with the act of speech” (p. 90). His new framework, called “ethnography of communication”, addresses speech as a social practice, and adopts both an ethnographic approach for emic documentations and also a linguistic approach for close analysis of units of speech.

Although LE is inspired by the ethnography of communication to a great extent (Shaw et al., 2015), different from LE approach, the ethnography of communication aims at reaching a functional classification and “models of sociolinguistics description, formulation of universal sets features and relations, and explanatory theories” (Hymes, 1977, p.35) across speech communities, which, according to Perez-Milans (2015, p. 4), leads to “a representation of communities as fixed and bounded, and of language as a true reflection of the social order”. Therefore, even if LE and the ethnography of communication share many common principles such as situatedness of language use and in-depth analysis of both linguistic discourse and social context, LE does not adopt a mission such as finding taxonomies or fixed functional variations in speech across communities. Instead, what LE is concerned with is to offer an insight into language related real-world problems causing asymmetrical power relations in either everyday or institutional

life from workplaces to educational contexts (Rampton et al., 2014). Having this orientation, LE's research agenda is closer to another linguistic anthropologist, Gumperz's agenda. While Gumperz's (1982) "interactional sociolinguistics" framework adheres closely to Hymes's tradition, it can be read as the micro version of Hymes's works with its specific focus on both linguistic and paralinguistic details in empirical analysis of everyday language use specifically in cross-cultural situations. According to Rampton (2007) following Hymes's efforts for achieving theoretical reconciliation between linguistics and ethnography, what Gumperz did was to achieve "empirical reconciliation of linguistic and ethnography" (p. 597) with his works addressing how communication works in everyday life and its social consequences.

Both Hymes and Gumperz are associated with linguistic anthropology (henceforth LA) as much as sociolinguistics. Besides Hymes and Gumperz, there are many other linguistic anthropologists such as Michael Silverstein (1976/1995) and Irvine and Gal (2000) who have inspired LE research to a great extent and offered technical vocabularies for linguistic investigations (Perez-Milans, 2015). When we think of the common principles LA and LE shares and similar works they undertake, it is quite expected to ask, 'why to coin the term LE while there is already built sub-discipline called LA'. Rampton, Maybin and Roberts (2014) have a very simple answer for this, which is they all have trainings in the discipline of linguistics, and they do not feel academically secure to call themselves anthropologists. In addition to this, because LE is an interdisciplinary project, it does not restrict itself to the disciplinary borders of linguistics and anthropology. There are also other disciplines such as sociology, politics, education and critical studies they draw on different perspective and analytic tools. For example, American symbolic interactionism

developed by Goffman has also been one of the inspirational areas of interest for LE research. As a microsociologist, the question Goffman (1974) seeks to answer is how our relationship on a daily basis lays a foundation for the realisation of social order, which is in consistency both with the post-structuralist and also LE research agenda with his bottom-up perspective. As a result, as Rampton (2008) refers, Goffman as a sociologist, is also an important figure for the interdisciplinary project of LE as much as the linguistic anthropologists referred earlier, specifically for his contribution to understanding the internal dynamics of everyday interaction. After discussing the theories having contributed to foundation of the linguistic component of LE research, in the next section, I will attempt to explain the ethnographic side of it.

2.1.3 Ethnographic foundations of LE

Ethnography, chosen as the methodological approach of this research for the collection of data, is originated in the discipline of anthropology in the nineteenth century, and has become one of the mostly preferred methodological and theoretical approach across the social sciences. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1987) discuss, there is no one way of defining ethnography as it has evolved over time and has been redefined across disciplines. The traditional definition of ethnography is, “living in the communities of the people being studied, round the clock, with the fieldwork taking place over a relatively long period of time, usually years” (Hammersley, 2005, p. 6). Rampton (2008) as an applied linguist, interprets ethnography as a method that can move an interaction beyond the moment of interaction through its access to personal histories and histories of social relations.

Ethnography is regarded as an “inductive science” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010) since an ethnographic analysis starts from a situated activity and moves towards

macro constructs and abstract theories in order to create relations between empirical findings and the academic literature in the end. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1987) discuss, this move from inwards to outwards may create some potential conflicts among what the available data show, what the researcher as a whole person interpret, and what the theoretical knowledge advocates. For example, what the researcher in the field thinks the participant is doing and what the participant thinks what she or he is doing can be the simplest examples for this, and such a trivial situation may even result in panic and confusion for the researcher while she or he is conceptualising what she or he sees. On the other hand, according to Hymes (1980, p. 89), this situation is what makes ethnography a democratic approach because what participants say is as much valuable as what the researcher envisages. Even if ethnography is a participant-driven approach, different from other similar approaches such as grounded approach, Hammersley (2007) also maintains that ethnographic interpretations rely not only on the data gathered from participants but also on the analyst's own construction of reality. Because such data generate research findings consisting of the subjective accounts of participants and also the analyst, Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue that the research findings cannot "claim representativeness for a (segment of the) population, it will not be replicable under identical circumstances, it will not claim objectivity on grounds of an outsider's position for the researcher, it will not claim to produce 'uncontaminated' evidence, and so on" (p. 18). On the other hand, from another angle, to have subjective data can generate fruitful insights for in-depth analysis because the data consist of first-hand observations and concrete documentations of a real context and real people demonstrating holistically local economies of relations, local language use and local identity claims from participants' own perspective. Besides, in this way, Gupta and Ferguson (1992)

suggest that we can give up our oversimplification efforts on grouping bulk of people whom we have never observed before into large categories of nation, culture and society. To Rampton, Maybin and Roberts (2014), this anti-ethnocentric and bottom-up approach adopted towards participants and the context of research makes ethnography an integral component of their linguistic ethnographic project.

Another important point in relation to the discussion around subjectivity of data and interpretations is that together with the hegemony of post-structuralist thinking in the social sciences, the way ethnography treats objectivity and subjectivity has also changed. Following the discursive turn triggered by Foucault's (1991) idea of 'truth regimes' discussed in the previous section, most contemporary works in the social sciences have given up the idea of realism and objectivity in research because what we accept as truth is related to our previous experiences and also how we co-construct reality with the context and participants. Therefore, from this perspective, truth is nothing but a man-made construction of reality. Today, discussions in relation to subjectivity in ethnography is handled through the extension of this discussion to include the concept of reflexivity. That is, the field researcher acknowledges that both the data she or he collects including the participants and the field researcher himself or herself intersubjectively construct a reality from their perspective. In this way, Hammersley and Atkinson (1987) argue that instead of wasting time searching for the ways of achieving objectivity, which is seen as a pointless task, the same effort should be given for reflecting on their data and positions as researchers during the whole process of data collection and analysis. Hammersley and Atkinson further maintain that "to say that our findings, and even our data, are constructed does not automatically imply that they do not or cannot represent social phenomena" (p. 16). The concept of reflexivity is also quite

important for LE research (see Maybin and Tusting, 2011) because different data may be obtained depending on the position taken by the researcher and participants as a result of the type of relationship they develop; besides, the data may be interpreted differently every time a different perspective is adopted by the analyst. To have such an awareness about both the collection and also interpretation stages of data inevitably leads to better interpretation of the data by encouraging the analyst to do more subtle readings and to dig different propositions every time she or he does the analysis. Because both ethnography and also LE position themselves as interpretive approaches (Copland and Creese, 2015) which assume that depending on how social reality is constructed and made sense, competing interpretations and symbolic representations may come out, to have such multiplicity in interpretation is accepted as a normal state of affairs from both ethnographic and also LE perspectives.

After discussing the main tenets of ethnography, I will turn to how language is treated in ethnography to explore to what extent ethnographic understanding of language is compatible with the way socially oriented view of language discussed in the previous section conceptualises language. Blommaert and Jie (2010) critically explore this issue and maintain that due to the situated approach adopted by ethnography, language is not handled context-less as an isolated system. Instead, language is regarded as social and cultural resource people use to make themselves understood and conduct their social relations. Besides, while dynamicity of language is acknowledged in ethnographic tradition, meanings are thought to be appropriated both historically and socially (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). As a result, both personal histories and histories of actions and relations among participants are taken into account (see Silverstein and Urban, 1996). That the way ethnography treats language

is incompatible with LE's theorisation of language is not coincidental because, as mentioned earlier, LE is largely inspired by LA, the sub-discipline of anthropology, and has imported a good number of analytic terms from anthropology such as indexicality and contextualisation.

2.1.4 Summing up: Methodological foundations of LE

After discussing the historical foundations of LE, and elaborating its linguistic and ethnographic parts respectively, this final section will refer to the two main methodological tenets of LE which emerged after all the intellectual debates of LE researchers around reconceptualisation of language and social life in late modernity. These two methodological principles will also inform the reader about what linguistics and ethnography can offer when they are combined under the label of LE.

The first principle is “the context for communication should be investigated rather than assumed” (Rampton, 2008, p. 2). In line with the principle of discursivity and historicity explained while discussing post-structuralist project in the social sciences, Rampton also holds a Bakhtinian position that every interaction is embedded in a historical and an ideological context, and without understanding the wider social processes surrounding a talk and historical resources brought by the individuals to a conversation, every interpretation will be incomplete. Even if line-by-line linguistic analysis of a situated event can tell an analyst ‘what is happening’ in the local interaction, as Rampton (2006) suggests, the second most important question is ‘how do we know?’, and the linguistic data produced in the moment of interaction may not reveal such information. In such a situation, an analyst needs “holistic accounts of social practice” (Maybin and Tusting, 2011, p. 517) including personal and relational histories of participants and the social event. LE theorises that

such data informing the analyst about wider socio-historical processes can be obtained with extensive long-term data collection techniques of ethnographic methodology. In this way, Maybin and Tusting argue that the micro level linguistic approach can be integrated into more holistic and long-term approach of ethnography.

The second methodological principle adopted by LE is that “analysis of the internal organisation of verbal data is essential to understand its significance and position in the world” (Rampton, 2008, p. 2). That is, without close look brought by linguistics to the locally situated moment on patterns and organisations of language use, we cannot get sight of how social, cultural and historical processes are discursively reproduced at the level of activity and how identities, social relations and meanings are managed locally through linguistic signs in an interaction. As a result, Rampton et al. (2004) advocate that in a linguistic ethnographic design while adopting an ethnographic perspective offers a close reading of the context and the local action, linguistics offers a close reading of the situated language use. In this way, LE researchers argue that such a methodological combination can contribute to “strengthening the epistemological status of ethnography and sharpening the analytic relevance of linguistics” (Rampton et al., 2014, p. 2). In other words, with this technique, while ethnography can be utilised to ‘open up’ relatively more rigid boundaries of linguistics, linguistics can be used to ‘tie down’ flexibility of ethnographic framework (Rampton et al., 2004).

To conclude, because LE researchers hold the idea that “language and social life are mutually shaping” (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2), they suggest that analysing everyday language can give insight into the way how cultural and social codes are reproduced by social actors. This adopted interdependent understanding between

language and social life can be seen one of the basic premises behind the emergence of these two main methodological principles of LE. To this end, holding the two main methodological principles of LE and adopting its basic theoretical premises discussed earlier, this research aims to investigate everyday talk between the refugee and local women by bringing ethnographic approach to data collection together with the discursive analysis of linguistic data. Because as a researcher it is not always possible to interpret communicative actions of speakers solely relying on situated language data collected in the moment of interaction, ethnographic data obtained through long-term observations of participants and social relations are expected to move the research beyond the single communicative situation, and in this way, to increase the interpretive power. Ethnographic methodology combined with the linguistic analysis is expected inform this study not only about the participants' personal trajectories and future aspirations at an individual level but also the internal and external dynamics of their social relations situated in a certain context. In the end, it is expected that the interplay between the moment of interaction and the social and cultural processes will be revealed, and that as LE conceptualises, this research will manage to create links between what it observed locally and the wider social and cultural processes.

2.2 Indexicality and stance as theoretical frameworks

This section is organised as follows. First, I will give a short historical overview of the concept of indexicality originally theorised by Charles Sanders Peirce (1955), and discuss how Michael Silverstein (1976/1995, 2003) as a contemporary linguist and anthropologist has reconceptualised Peirce's concept, and developed his notion of indexical order. Then, I will explain the contribution the lens of indexicality has

offered to the sociolinguistic work on identity. Following this, I will move on to defining the concept of stance from a sociolinguistic point of view, and explain how stance can be utilised as an analytical concept along with the concept of indexicality to do language and identity research. In the final section, I will introduce Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle model, chosen as the analytical framework for this doctoral project.

2.2.1 Silverstein's theorisation of indexicality

As discussed in the previous section, along with the emergence of the post-structuralist trend in social sciences, by moving away from the Saussurean legacy in the field of linguistics, the emphasis has shifted from *langue*, the closed abstract linguistic system, to *parole*, the act of speaking. In this transition, the role Peirce (1955) played in addressing the gap between a signified and signifier and extending Saussure's (1959) dyadic signified and signifier model to include a third layer, interpretant, is important because, in this way, Peirce (1955) shifted the emphasis in the field of linguistics from the fixed and ahistorical denotational functionality of a sign to the dynamic and interpretative process of meaning making. In his triadic model, Peirce addresses three different types of relationship between a sign and an object: an icon, an index and a symbol. While an icon is related its object through a physical similarity such as a real object and its photograph, an index is in coexistence with its object such as an illness and its symptom, or linguistically speaking a subject pronoun and the person it refers to. According to Hanks (2000), "to say that any linguistic form is 'indexical' is to say that it stands for its object neither by resemblance to it, nor by sheer convention, but by contiguity with it" (p. 124). A symbol is explained by Peirce (1955) as a sign having an arbitrary and imaginary

association with its object; therefore, similar to an index, it needs to be acquired through socialisation in a specific community.

In addition to his contribution to the foundation of semiotics, Peirce also became the founder of the pragmatist philosophy. By coining the term ‘pragmaticism’ to define his own method of thinking, he prioritised the practical implication of hypotheses, and brought reflective thinking into the center of the analysis of signs (Peirce, 1905/1998). The social consequences of semiotic actions which Peirce investigated in his works through pragmaticism were later explored in detail by the linguists such as Austin (1961) and Searle (1983), and their works have been served as a foundation for the contemporary linguistic research. Following the reinterpretation of Peircean insights into linguistics along with Austin and Searle’s contribution to this performative and consequential understanding, the key question a linguist asks has increasingly become what a sign does in a specific context rather than what a sign is as an abstract entity. The semiotic theory developed by Peirce was revitalised by Roman Jakobson (1960) with a specific focus on the metalinguistic function of language, and later his doctoral student Michael Silverstein (1976/1995), who is today known as the founder of metapragmatics.

Silverstein’s (2014b) metapragmatics, which is built on the premise that we can only understand the meaning of a sign or speech by looking at its social consequence, primarily explores social and ideological functionality of utterances constructed through linguistic forms which, according to Silverstein (2014a), “bear(s) a connotational significance- an indexical loading” (p. 499). Silverstein specifically draws on Peirce’s term of index to describe “signs where the occurrence of the sign vehicle token bears a connection of understood spatio-temporal contiguity to the occurrence of the entity signalled” (Silverstein 1976/1995, p. 199). In other

words, he uses the concept of ‘indexicality’ to address the dynamic, context-dependency as well as ideological nature of linguistic forms, and describes indexicalisation as contextualisation of linguistic items into a specific cultural, social and political regime over time. According to Silverstein (1976/1995, 2003, 2014b), while indexes can be referential; in other words, directly point to their objects such as deictics of time and space (e.g., this, that, here, now), they can also be non-referential, and their meaning can only be revealed by investigating their social signification in the events of discursive interaction. Silverstein (2003) thinks of referential signs as having first-order indexicality with the objects they point to, and categorises non-referential signs, in other words, meta-signs as having second-order indexicality with the objects they represent. Silverstein (2003) further argues that even if it is crucial to understand the denotational functionality of signs in order to make sense of any utterance, because first-order indexes are directly linked to their objects and explicitly point to the objects they are associated with, the main task of metapragmatics should be to read off from discourse the denotationally implicit indexes, in other words, second-order indexes, such as implied stances, projected identities, and constructed social relations through signs.

Silverstein (2014b) thinks of indexes as having ‘metapragmatic functionality’ because they “point to something interpretable within a definable framework” (p. 146) and are not drawn arbitrarily by speakers from a neutral system. Therefore, they can only be interpreted by understanding how speakers relate certain linguistic signs with objects and by situating utterances in a certain social, spatial and temporal structure. To use Silverstein’s (2014b) term, in order to understand the indexical signification of signs used by any speaker and to make sense of what is presupposed by interlocutors, it is necessary to know the ‘metapragmatic regimentation’ of the

context in which the sign is anchored to. Even in the simplest form of indexical relationship between a sign and an object, such as the use of demonstrative “this” to address a specific object, one must socially and physically locate the object in order to interpret the meaning of “this” because the relationship between a signified and signifier such as demonstratives and their objects is context-specific and temporary. In the case of second-order indexicality, to track the relationship between an index and its object, for example to assign specific social meaning and indexical value to a culturally specific religious index is a more complicated task. Because to make such inferences and to see beyond the verbal and nonverbal signs require certain knowledge about the sociocultural, ideological and interactional frame in which the discursive interaction takes places, an analyst needs to be equipped with such knowledge.

In order to understand the discursive process of indexicalisation between form and meaning and to locate them into specific historical discourse, Silverstein (2014b) draws on Bakhtin’s concept of interdiscursivity, and explores emanation and circulation of signs. He primarily questions how and under which metapragmatic and cultural regimentation these signs gain their conventional meanings and are eventually anchored in specific objects. In this multi-layered and dynamic model, both indexical signs and context are treated as emergent entities which co-construct each other. For example, while indexes are constructed and interpreted through context, context is constructed and interpreted through verbal and nonverbal indexes projected by participants. For this very reason, Kiesling (2009, p. 177) argues that it is through the notion of indexicality that we can conceptualise linguistic practices both as “context-sensitive” and “context-creative”. In other words, as Silverstein (2014b) puts forward, while certain conventionalised indexical orders between signs

and objects are reproduced and reaffirmed through situated linguistic practices, indexical expressions can also be emergently constructed. This situation may eventually lead to a change or transformation in the context they are used and in the social meaning they address.

After situating the concept of indexicality in its historical and theoretical frame, I will extend this discussion on indexicality to include the issue of identity.

2.2.2 Theorisation of identities from the lens of indexicality

As addressed in the previous section, from the lens of the concept of indexicality, signs carry metamessages which point to larger social realities, and such verbal or nonverbal indexes are utilised not only to reflect or reproduce certain social realities and meanings but also to recreate new ones (Gal, 2016). For example, to choose one word over another or to articulate a sound in a certain way may invoke certain social meanings and point to a certain type of people depending on the social, spatial and temporal structure they are used. We also rely on metasigns while socially and linguistically categorising people and positioning ourselves and others as “types of people” (Gee, 2008, p.3). According to Silverstein (2013, 2014b), what makes a metasign recognisable and interpretable is the frame within which it is located, in other words, the sociocultural regimentation which a specific metasign is contingent upon. Referring to Bakhtinian terms such as *heteroglossia* and *polyphony* which emphasise the wide range of voices inhabited in a text, an individual, or a community, Silverstein (2014a) argues that people index certain identities momentarily depending on the position they want to hold in a conversation. Silverstein (2014a) holds the idea that the meaning of a linguistic form is in constant flux, and that its meaning may be manipulated and interpreted in numerous ways

depending on social, spatial and temporal structures. Therefore, he argues that as opposed to Labovian variationist tradition, we cannot assume a direct and stable relationship between any indexical variable and specific identity category. By adopting a Bakhtinian concept, voicing, Silverstein (2014a) suggests that people voice themselves as kinds of people depending on their communicative motivations and societal expectations. For example, if one desires to project a conservative and nationalist persona in a specific time and space, he or she can utilise certain verbal and nonverbal signs conventionally indexing this identity in that community, and voice some characteristics of this persona. Similar to his conceptualisation of identity, Silverstein (2013) treats culture as indexically constructed set of social practices. By adopting Peirce's pragmatism, Silverstein (2014a) argues that "we cannot study culture except by studying its effects on things like discursive interaction" (p. 514). Therefore, to Silverstein (2013), the appropriate question an analyst should ask "is not what is culture, but where is culture" (p. 328) so that he or she can situate it in a specific temporal, social and spatial space, and, as in the case of social identities, can avoid any essential and ahistorical interpretations.

Silverstein (2003) explains the association between an indexical sign and a specific social identity with the term *enregistrement*. According to Silverstein, a specific way of talking, acting, or wearing may gain certain social meanings in a specific context, and be enregistered to a specific community over time. This can be called as a process of typification of certain acts with certain identity categories, or to use Silverstein's term, 'third-order indexicalisation'. While Silverstein (2003) thinks of second-order indexical features as contextualisation cues which are used to identify subject positions, he interprets the stereotypification and essentialisation of indexical features with a specific community as a result of a long historical and

ideological processes as third-order indexicalisation. For example, every time an individual uses enregistered emblematic verbal or nonverbal features, she or he may invoke a certain subject position and be associated with that persona. However, from the lens of indexicality, because “speakers themselves are not embodiments of such stereotypes” (Gal, 2016, p. 118) but just situationally voice certain person-types, such relationality does not allow an analyst to straightforwardly map the use of certain linguistic variables with fixed identity categories in an essentialist way.

According to Irvine and Gal (2000), the equation of indexical features with a specific community occurs when socially and ideologically constructed relationship between a sign and an object comes to be interpreted as inherent. In other words, because the formerly built relationship based on a certain norm of reference disappears, a specific indexical sign and a subject position are naturally thought to resemble each other. In such a case, the sign and object fuse with each other, their relationship transforms and undergoes the process ‘iconisation’ (Irvine and Gal, 2000; Jaffe, 2016). Such a social process potentially brings with itself ‘erasure’ as well, to use Irvine and Gal’s (2000) term. In the process of erasure, “a social group or a language may be imagined as homogeneous, its internal variation disregarded” (p. 38). For example, stemming from the general typification of a Muslim woman, being a Muslim woman may index a submissive character and the practice of head covering. However, while every woman who covers her head cannot be called Muslim, Muslim women cannot be iconised as the women who cover their head and act submissively either. If they are imagined as a homogeneous community who looks and acts in a specific way, the ones who do not conform to this iconic image are excluded from this picture, in other words, erased. For this very reason, from the lens of indexicality, when enregistered forms are used by a speaker to voice a

specific person-type, the goal of an analyst should be to explore the discursive and ideological motivation behind the enactment of a specific stereotype rather than build causal relationship between the indexical feature and an identity category. Rampton's (1995) linguistic ethnographic work which he conducted at a primary school in London can serve as a good model for such a dynamic conceptualisation. As a contemporary sociolinguist, Rampton (1995) explores the incidences in which the students use stereotypical forms associated with other social groups, and coins the term *crossing* to explain the strategy adopted by the students to display their alignment with another group or to signal an aspiration for belonging to another group. Along with Rampton's work, in many contemporary sociolinguistic studies, it has been demonstrated that people can situationally borrow certain verbal and nonverbal cues enregistered to other social groups, and voice them in line with their discursive motivations (see K. Hall, 1995; Eckert, 1989).

Even if the field of sociolinguistics is largely associated with the Labovian variationist research, which has contributed to the linguistically oriented identity studies for many decades, its hegemony in sociolinguistics has been challenged by the anti-positivist and anthropologically oriented blocks in the field. At this point, to understand their critiques on Labovian sociolinguistic research may help us understand the position of the anthropologically oriented works on language and identity better. For example, the quantitative works of William Labov (1963, 1966) which aimed to find a correlation between the use of linguistic variables and social categories were challenged by the leading linguistic anthropologists such as Hymes (1977) and Gumperz (1972) on the basis of his top-down and acontextual approach to identities, and they expressed the necessity of a methodological shift in the field of sociolinguistics towards more ethnographic and interpretative approaches. Similarly,

Ochs (1996) criticises the traditional Labovian variationist research on the basis of its treatment to identities as “investigator-defined” categories and mapping the use of certain linguistic variables with fixed identity categories, which means, according to Ochs (2016), disregarding the agentive and ideological dimension of the act of speaking. Ochs (1992) further argues that linguistic variables can only index certain stances rather than identities, which will be elaborated in the next section on stancetaking. By emphasising the situational dimensions of language use, Silverstein (1985, 2014a) also maintains that linguistic forms do not statically reflect certain identity categories. In other words, he argues that because the meaning a linguistic sign projects depends on its dialogic and situational construction in the moment of interaction, no sign has the power to directly index a certain identity or a personal quality.

When we review the recent works undertaken by the researchers mostly coming from a linguistic anthropological tradition, we see that, in line with the general tenets of post-structuralism (see section 2.1.1), language and subjects are re-conceptualised in a more dialectical and agentive way. It has been widely acknowledged that “members of societies are agents of culture rather than merely bearers of a culture that has been handed down to them and encoded in grammatical form” (Ochs, 1996, p. 416). In other words, by largely adopting a post-structural framework, it is suggested that while one mobilises his or her available cultural and linguistic resources, not only is she or he constrained by the cultural and linguistic codes she draws on but she or he also actively shapes and acts upon them with his or her conversation partner(s). As we come today, although one may see the increase in the number of publications oriented towards more ethnographic and qualitative methods, there are also important works of sociolinguists which adopt a third way

between Labovian variationist research and the linguistic anthropological works, and opt into incorporating Labov's (1966) study of linguistic variation and identity into a more situated and dynamic framework by drawing on both post-structural identity theories in social sciences and Silverstein's metapragmatics in the field of linguistics (e.g., Eckert, 1989, 2008; Johnstone et al., 2006). For example, by adopting the elements of Butler's theory of performativity and Silverstein's (1976/1995, 1985) reconceptualisation of indexicality, in her famous ethnographic work where she conducted in a high school in Detroit, Eckert (1989) explores how different friendship communities at school, namely middle-class 'jocks' and working class 'burnouts', manipulate language to index their social membership to particular local communities at school. Instead of interpreting linguistic variables as fixed features of a student's specific identity, Eckert explores how such variables are performatively and strategically used by students in their social practices to achieve their social goals such as projecting a certain persona and producing their own stylistic repertoire to index their membership. As a result, Eckert (1989, 2008) concludes that variables do not possess a stable social meaning and their indexical functionality may change depending on the ideological field it is used. She offers the concept of 'indexical field' to explain the potential meanings of metasigns used in a particular community. To Eckert (2008), certain variables may have indexical value, and all the connotative associations in relation to a specific variable constitute its indexical field. Which meaning will be picked up, how the sign will be interpreted, and what kind of ideological field it will be embedded in depend on how the event of discursive interaction unfolds, how interpersonal relations are built, and which positions the participants take up. For this very reason, in line with the principle of indexicality, according to Eckert (2008), the primary role of an identity researcher should be to

reveal the ideological processes of indexicalisation between certain linguistic forms and identity categories by problematising the taken-for-granted associations between the two.

Having discussed the indexicality researchers' approach to identity research, in the next section, I will introduce the concept of 'stance' which is used as the analytical concept of this doctoral project, and explain how it helps us along with the principle of indexicality to do identity research.

2.2.3 Sociolinguistic approach to stance

Generally speaking, the concept of stance refers to a speaker or writer's act of evaluation; therefore, it is a subjective and value-laden social act. Because stance as an analytical concept is theorised differently across disciplines, as Englebretson (2007) puts forward, it is difficult to discuss it on its own without situating it within a specific academic tradition. In this dissertation, a sociolinguistic perspective is adopted to approach the concept of stance. The sociolinguistic approach to stance is largely influenced by Peirce's (1955) indexicality principle and Silverstein's (1976/1995, 2003) metapragmatics which were discussed in the previous section. It also draws on Bakhtinian perspective which rejects conceptualising language as a neutral system (Bakhtin, 1981), and suggests that "language is always addressed and dialogical" (Lemke, 2002, p. 72) because "every word comes to us already used, filled with the evaluations and perceptions of others" (J. K. Hall, 1995, p. 212). Therefore, the sociolinguistic approach to stance holds the idea that that every utterance, including the one claiming neutrality, reflects a certain ideological position while some utterances may be more stance-saturated than others (Jaffe, 2009).

According to Irvine (2009), there are three most commonly encountered types of stance in the sociolinguistic literature. One of them is ‘epistemic stance’ which represents a truth value of stance concerns in interpersonal relations. According to Jaffe (2009), epistemic stance displays index a certain regime of knowledge and are mediated to build power relations in a conversation. A second type of stance is ‘affective stance’ which are used to construct emotional and attitudinal evaluations. The third type of stance is ‘interactional stance’, and concerns identity positionings and interpersonal relations in discursive interaction. While the earlier work in sociolinguistics tends to focus on the epistemic and affective dimensions of constructed stances (e.g., Ochs, 1990; Biber and Finegan, 1989), more recent work on stance largely focuses on the dialogical dimensions of constructed stances (e.g., Jaffe, 2009; Du Bois, 2009). Even if the degree of importance given to the types of stance may change from one work to another, Englebretson (2007) argues that every act of stance comprises of affective, epistemic and evaluative dimensions which are all realised subjectively and dialogically, and is embedded in certain social, cultural and ideological frames.

According to Jaworski and Thurlow (2009), what makes the concept of stance a powerful tool to investigate the relationship between individuals and ideologies is its subtle and inferential nature because despite its social significance and indexical loadedness, stance displays often go unnoticed. While stance displays may play an important role to challenge the prevailing order of social relations and power asymmetries, they may also contribute to normalisation and continuation of hegemonies through their conventional and habitual reproduction. Due to its role in reproduction and legitimisation of ideologies, sociolinguistic stance is often utilised to reveal the relationship between the moment of interaction and the larger social and

political context and to problematise taken-for-granted correlations between language and identity categories (see Ochs, 1996). In line with the latest trends in sociolinguistics, stance is conceptualised as a both linguistic and a social act which is intersubjectively constructed at an interactional level in an interplay with the wider sociocultural field. For this reason, it is argued that “stance cannot be reduced to a matter of private opinion or attitude” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 171). Adopting such a locally and globally sensitive approach to stancetaking necessitates to theorise it as a dynamic and creative social act which can only be inferred doing a microanalysis of interaction along with a macroanalysis of the larger ‘sociocultural field’ to use Du Bois’s term. Such a dynamic and sociohistorical conceptualisation inevitably demands to do subtle readings by situating the constructed stance to three intersecting analytical levels which are personal, interactional and ideological.

As a result, by conceptualising stance as a multi-layered act, a sociolinguistic approach to stance disfavours reducing stance displays either to a personal and ahistorical attitude or to abstract linguistic items. After introducing the sociolinguistic approach to stance, I will explain how the concept of stance can be utilised to do identity research.

2.2.4 Stance and identity

As discussed in the previous section, every time one projects a stance towards an object or a person, she or he reveals information not only about his or her subject positions, but also his or her affective and epistemic orientations towards other groups. In other words, through our constructed stances, not only do we claim specific identity positions for ourselves but we also assign people to certain identity categories. Because stance as “the smallest unit of social action” (Du Bois, 2007, p.

173) can give sociolinguists an opportunity to trace the relationship between talk-in-interaction and social identities, it is often instrumentalised as a mediating tool which indexes social identities. In the same vein, Jaffe (2009) also suggests that “stance can be read as a more or less direct sign of a position, identity, or role with which an individual wishes to be associated.” (p. 10). She further argues that what we call identity is indeed “the cumulation of stances taken over time” (p. 11). Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue that “identities may be linguistically indexed through ... stances” (p. 585); therefore, they also maintain the idea that identity research can widely benefit from the concept of stance. Drawing mainly from the social-constructivist and post-structuralist thinkings, because stance-based identity research conceptualises social identities as dynamic and context sensitive enactments which are constructed and negotiated through social, cultural and historical processes, they are also in alignment with the latest conceptualisation of identities as a performative, emergent and dialogic act.

To explain in detail how sociolinguistic stance can be used as an explanatory tool between language and social identities, one needs to refer to Ochs’s (1992) inspirational work on indexicality and stance. By challenging the essentialist conceptualisation of social identities in sociolinguistics which attempts to create a direct link between a linguistic variable and an identity category, Ochs (1996) argues that social identities are accomplished at a discursive level rather than a grammatical level. She further argues that grammatical structures can only index stances rather than identities. Therefore, Ochs maintains that identity research should be performed at two levels: the first level is to find out which stances linguistic data index, and the second level is to identify the relationship between the constructed clusters of stances and identity categories which are thought to co-occur.

Ochs (1996) theorises the role of stance as a kind of mediator between linguistic forms and identity categories, and for her, what we call identity is the constellation of stances. For example, while the use of diminutive affixes in Spanish may directly index a stance of sympathy, it cannot directly address a person type (Ochs, 1996). Besides, the meaning of the diminutive affixes is context-specific, and may index different stances in different contexts such as sarcasm. While it is possible to have a first order indexical relationship between a linguistic form and stance, it is rarely possible to form such a direct relationship between a linguistic form and an identity category. To give another example, certain linguistic items such as ‘tag questions’, which are assumed to be the prototypical features of femininity and hesitancy (see Lakoff, 1973), have indeed an indirect relationship with gender (Ochs, 1992). First, tag question may be used by men as frequently as women depending on the discursive motivations of speakers. Second, while a tag question may directly index a stance of hesitancy in one context, it may project an assertive stance in another context, for example, when it is used by a police officer during an interrogation. Therefore, Ochs (1992, 1996) maintains that linguistic forms and social identities are indirectly related to each other, and that stances which act as mediator between two may invoke different social meanings depending on how they are contextualised. According to Jaffe (2009) “political and ideological processes may ‘naturalize’ some of these indexical relationships such that they are treated as having a direct, even iconic connection to social identities” (p. 13). For this very reason, the imagined association between certain stances and identity categories such as femininity and hesitancy is often ideological, and most of the direct associations conventionally made between identities and social acts are indeed based on stereotypical imaginations. However, because the original associations between

forms and structures are erased, their connection is historically and ideologically naturalised (Irvine, 2001).

As a result, sociolinguistic stance has contributed to identity research by drawing attention to the process of indexicalisation between language and identities mediated by stance, and conceptualising stance as indirect indexes of identities. Following numerous works some of which have been cited in this section such as Ochs's (1992, 1996) epitomic research on stancetaking, the indexical nature of stance has been widely acknowledged, and stance as an analytical tool has been incorporated into numerous works in sociolinguistics (see Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). In this way, the hegemonic indexical relations between ways of talking and identities which are often taken for granted as social facts have been increasingly dealt with in a processual way, and reconceptualised in a more dialogical and contextual fashion. After discussing the role stancetaking plays in reproducing ideologies and performing identities, in the final section, I will elaborate Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle model which may serve as a good model to the reconceptualisation of the relationship between stance and identity in a more dynamic and dialogic way.

2.2.5 Du Bois's stance triangle model

While Du Bois (2007) shares the general principles of the sociolinguistic approach to stance which are elaborated in the previous sections, his concept of stance consists of three simultaneous social acts which are evaluation, positioning and alignment. Du Bois suggests that every time a stance act is performed dialogically, social actors engage in the work of evaluation which targets at a certain stance object, take up a position for themselves and others in relation to that object, and negotiate their

positions by choosing to (dis)align with their interlocutors. In other words, when a social actor evaluates an object, she or he unavoidably reveals information about himself or herself through the position she or he takes up in relation to that object, and this results in being positioned in a certain way. Stancetakers who engage in the process of reciprocal positioning process invoke and negotiate different systems of truth and values by being involved in an alignment process the achievement of which, according to Du Bois, is a matter of degree rather than a “binary choice” (p. 162) as the constructed stance can be contested, transformed or reinforced depending on the subject positions and social relations that are desired to be established. The alignment process is essential to continue the talk because while the stancetakers build on each other’s stances during a conversation, they make their opinion public, and this inevitably brings with itself an implicit or explicit reaction and a follow-up negotiation process. Therefore, Du Bois argues that such an intersubjective process requires a shared frame of reference and an activation of shared indexicalities because, otherwise, neither evaluation which invokes certain value system nor alignment which demands negotiation on a shared ground can be meaningfully realised.

While investigating stance acts, Du Bois (2007) asks three main questions which are ‘who is the subject taking up the stance?’, ‘what is the object of his or her stance?’, and ‘what is the previous stance the stancetaker is responding to’. Even if Du Bois theorises stancetaking as an emergent and temporal act, he suggests that stancetaking practices are built on each other in a Bakhtinian sense; therefore, they have a history, present, and future. By adopting the principle of historicity, he implies that every individual constructs a trajectory of stances. This trajectory can be argued to have a consistency in itself to a certain degree, and this coherence which

can be longitudinally observed across time and space informs an analyst about social actors' identity repertoires and meaning making processes. Such accumulated stance displays can be utilised as important resources to reveal the individual and group identities as durable structures in a Bourdieusien sense.

As a result, in line with the sociolinguistic approach to stance and the principle of indexicality, by theorising stance displays as indexes of the social, political and cultural world, Du Bois builds a linkage between the local interactional discourse and macro social world, and his stance triangle model contributes to revealing both intersubjective and ideological dynamics of discursive interactions.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is organised into three key sections each of which aims to inform the reader about the key works in the relevant topics. The three themes chosen to organise this chapter are nationalism, migration and gender which are the cornerstones of the present dissertation. In each section, specific attention will be given to the identity aspect of the construction of nationalism, migration and gender, and the role of language in constructing the related discourses in social life, in specific, in the lives of migrants will be addressed through sub-sections. The first section is dedicated to reviewing the key works in nationalism specifically in its relation to language ideologies and migration. The second section will review the works critically exploring the role of language in the process of migration. The third section will focus on reviewing the works investigating the construction of womanhood, specifically in relation to language and migration.

3.1 Construction of national identity

3.1.1 Construction of the discourse of nationhood

Although the construction of the nation-state ideology is a relatively recent phenomenon which dates back to the late eighteenth century following the Enlightenment and French Revolution (Anderson, 1991), Billig (1995) argues that it has already been deeply embedded in the way we perceive the world. It has become the normal state of affairs in today's world order as if it had existed for a long time, and is perceived as "banal, routine and almost invisible" (p. 15). Gellner (1983) argues that we come to a point where "a man (sic) must have a nationality as he must

have a nose and two ears” (p. 6). Because the constructed ideological basis of nationalism has been forgotten, the concept of nationhood has increasingly become to be seen as an inherent quality as if one cannot live without it. Therefore, Billig (1995) maintains it would be wrong to see nationalism as merely an identity ascribed to people by erasing its ideological aspect. Because nationalism functions as a “psychological machinery” (Billig, 1995, p. 7), he argues that it inhabits in us and governs the way we interpret social realities. While the analogy between national identity and a psychological machinery implies its internalised and naturalised ideological basis, this analogy also suggests that nationalism does not have to be performed explicitly to ensure its existence as it resides in us without being switched on or off.

One of the most widespread definitions of a nation is “an imagined political community” (Anderson, 1991, p. 6). Anderson⁸ (1991) argues that the nation is based on an imagined membership because, even in a smallest nation-state, majority of its members do not know each other, but they still have images of each other in their minds, and feel affiliated. While Anderson develops his thesis on nationalism further by explaining how national identity is constructed by ruling elites through benefiting from the advancement in print capitalism, Billig (1995) explains how commitment to a nation-state membership is ensured through people’s previous loyalties such as shared religion, ethnicity and language which people are already affiliated with. Drawing on Tajfel’s (1982) social identity theory, Billig (1995) argues that the national identity owes its existence to the creation of distinct selves from others such as the construction of ‘us’, the members of a nation, and ‘them’, foreigners. For

⁸ The main thesis of Anderson’s book *Imagined Community* is how national ideology is instrumentalised by ruling elites to legitimise their power, and to this end, how advancement in print capitalism is utilised to create strong ties among members of a national community.

example, he says that by speaking in praise of its members, national discourse creates a distinct border between themselves who are attributed certain positive qualities and others who are attributed to derogatory stereotypes. Because the continuity of a national community is ensured through reproduction of this ideology, for Billig, it is necessary for the members of a nation to sustain their membership loyalties on a daily basis through contributing to the reproduction of discourse of ‘us’ and ‘others’.

3.1.2 Construction of national identity and migration

According to Blommaert and Verschueren (1998), nationalism and cultural anthropology⁹ are the two main discourses having shaped today’s migrant debates in Europe. Blommaert and Verschueren argue that most of the arguments presented against immigrants in Belgium are fuelled by Flemish nationalism which, like in many other national contexts, is inspired by the idea of linguistic and cultural homogenisation. From a mainstream nationalist logic, Blommaert and Verschueren suggest that if the members of a nation want to preserve the privileged position they hold, they are in a way obliged to construct a rhetoric which problematises immigration as a threat to their nation.

When we consider the processes of nation-state formation that the countries such as Turkey (see Aslan, 2007), Belgium (see Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998), Malaysia (see Caroiona-Lopez, 2014), Indonesia (see Paauw, 2009) and many others have been through, it is clearly noticed that the social and political actors aiming to form a nation-state took certain steps to homogenise their citizens linguistically, ethnically and culturally for the sake of bringing order through national unity and

⁹ In order to rationalise the discriminatory practices, Blommaert and Verschueren (1998) argue that, the nationalist anti-refugee discourse also appeals to the traditional cultural anthropological logic which essentialises the distant cultures and people with certain stereotypes and presents them as backward from a progressive ethno-national logic.

singularity. From this logic, it is quite understandable to assume that immigration can potentially disrupt the desired monolingualism and monoculturalism. Besides, unknown others may benefit from the state's limited economic and social resources while, from a mainstream nationalist position, these resources exclusively belong to the citizens of the nation. According to Cooke and Simpson (2012), whenever the members of the nation-states feel themselves under threat, as in the case of the acceptance of non-members inside their communities, nationalist sentiments tend to increase. The underlying motivation behind this fear is the possible disruption of the desired uniformity and homogeneity by outsiders because from a nationalist perspective "the ideal society should be as uniform or homogeneous as possible" (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998, p. 117).

In the literature, there are a large number of studies showing the close relationship between anti-migrant discourses and increasing support for ethnic-nationalism (e.g., Mierina and Koroleva, 2015; Bonikowski and DiMaggio, 2016). Today, along with the increase in forced and voluntary migration, we witness the rise of right-wing movements and nationalism in many parts of the world from Europe to Australia. When we consider the European far-right parties such as France's National Rally (RN), Britain's Independence Party (UKIP) and Germany's Alternative for Germany (AfD), we see that they build their ideologies on anti-migrant and anti-foreigner discourses along with ethnic nationalism.

After presenting the short overview of the construction of national ideology and touching upon its intersection with migrant discourse, in the next section, I will attempt to explain how language is specifically instrumentalised to construct a national identity and, along with it, monoglot ideology.

3.1.3 Construction of national identity and language

Even if language can simply be defined as a tool to communicate, it has always been more than that due to its symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). Language is, in many cases, conceptualised as a clear and an immediate sign of in-group and out-group membership to a social group (McNamara, 2005). Because the intellectual and political elites who aimed to construct a nation-state were supposedly well aware of the symbolic function of language, they embarked on nation-wide projects in different parts of the world to plan which code to choose as a standard language, which symbols to choose to represent the words in the language, and then to disseminate these language ideologies and reforms to public.

Aslan (2007) argues that the social actors know that “a common language was necessary to make people think and feel alike” (p. 251); therefore, great efforts were given, for example, in the newly founded Turkish Republic to implement language reforms which includes script change, language purification efforts and restrictions brought to the use of languages other than Turkish in public spaces. After hundreds of years of the Ottoman legacy, the key figure of the Turkish nation-building project, Atatürk aimed to construct a new nation displaying adherence to Western values and to the idea of a homogeneous nation-state as opposed to the previous ethnically and culturally diverse imperial regime (İçduygu and Kaygusuz, 2004). Similarly, referring to Indonesia’s nation-state building process, Paauw (2009) explains how language was instrumentalised as one of the main tools to strengthen the Indonesian national identity, and argues that from the social actors’ perspective, “language was both the symbol and the vehicle of that unity” (p. 5). These examples can be increased, and one can easily draw parallelism between the

language policies implemented in one nation state and another because they are constructed upon similar ideological basis, that is, nationalism.

Blommaert (2006) defines the way nation-state ideology approaches language with *monoglot ideology* referring to Silverstein (1996), who used this term earlier to label the English-only policies adopted by the United States. Similar to all other constructed ideologies, because monoglot ideology also “operates to make people forget that their world has been historically constructed” (Billig, 1995, p. 37), Blommaert (2006) argues that monoglot ideology comes naturally to people as if it was the normal state of affairs; therefore, it is often taken for granted as the one and only truth. Monoglot ideology has a deep effect on generating and fixing identities, social and linguistic theories and language policies, each of which is explained by Blommaert as the impacts of monoglot idealisation on individuals and societies. Blommaert further suggests that because monoglot ideology interprets the use of languages other than the hegemonic code as a threat to its national unity, it attempts to prevent unwanted linguistic plurality by restricting the use of other languages through top-down policies, and this leads to the creation of a false equation between a nation and a language. For example, from a monoglossic logic, if one is from Turkey, it is automatically assumed that he is a Turk, and he speaks Turkish. This false equation brings with itself a reductionist understanding to identity politics and also results in erasure of cultural and linguistic pluralities within a nation. As a result, national ideology, which brings with itself a monoglossic vision, potentially leads to an essentialist interpretation of identities.

The concept monoglot ideology is adopted by many scholars in the field of language to define the ideology of monolingualism. For example, referring to competing discourses constructed through monoglot and heteroglot ideologies, Solis

(2003) investigates how different narratives within Spain approach national identity, and analyses Catalan and Spanish narratives on national identity. In her dissertation, Balsa (2014) explores the monoglossic and heteroglossic stances constructed by the international students and university staff towards the use of Catalan and Spanish along with other languages at a Catalan university, and criticises the rigid monoglossic stance adopted by the Catalan university for the sake of fostering the use of Catalan. Garcia and Torres-Guevara (2010) critically explore the imposed monoglossic ideologies prevalent in the U.S. education system with a specific focus on U.S. Latinas/os, and argue that the education system ignores the needs of bilinguals for insisting on taking monolingual English speakers as the norm of reference for teaching and assessment.

Similar to Blommaert's account for monoglot ideology, Gogolin (1997) argues that top-down dictation of monolingualism as the intrinsic attribute of a nation leads to the creation of *monolingual habitus* which would "incline agents to act and react in a certain way" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 12), and produce certain practices, assumptions and visions in relation to this monolithic vision. While Bourdieu adopts the notion of 'habitus' to explain how generating rules of social order are formed, internalised and reproduced in social relations as a result of accumulated history, the reason for Gogolin to prefer this term to define monoglot ideology is to emphasise the deep-seatedness of this monolingual belief in our everyday lives, and to reveal the tacit guidance this embodied way of thinking provides us.

As discussed so far, while nation-state projects tend to impose certain ethnic and linguistic identities to their members for the sake of bringing unity, they arguably shape the way people interpret the social world as well. As a result, whether it is defined as monoglot ideology or monolingual habitus, the main argument is that

while nation-state projects impose certain ethnic and linguistic identities to their members for the sake of bringing unity, they arguably shape the way people interpret the social world as well. Under such a social and political reality, according to Heller (2008), what a sociolinguist needs to do is to discursively de-legitimise the hegemonic nationalist discourse by critically investigating both its historical contextualisation process and its actual realisation in practice. In this way, she argues that we can seek “ways of describing the re-inscription or re-entextualization (Silverstein and Urban, 1996) of old discourses of language, community and identity” (p. 516). After giving a short overview of the construction of national identity and the instrumentalisation of language to this end particularly in the context of migration, in the next section, I will review the sociolinguistic studies exploring the relationship between language and migration.

3.2 Language and migration

Linguistic signs are indexical (Peirce, 1955; Bakhtin, 1981; Silverstein, 1976/1995; Ochs, 1990) as they have histories of use, are related to other signs, and point to larger social realities. This addressed and dialogic nature of language, as conceptualised by Bakhtin (1981), enables subjects to construct their selves and to negotiate their positions. It is often through language the borderline among people and social groups are drawn, and belonging of the newcomers to the local community is confirmed, contested and negotiated by locals (Shutika, 2011). As Blommaert (2005) puts forward, this unique social function of language makes it a prime site of negotiating identities and mediating social relations.

As addressed by numerous sociolinguists (e.g., Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998; Piller, 2012; Heller, 2008, 2013; Duchene, 2008) language has power both to

facilitate interpersonal relationship and to segregate people from one another by leading to social exclusion and inequality to access resources. Especially in the process of resettlement in a new country, language plays a key role to adjust newcomers to their new communities and to increase their life chances ranging from employability to acceptability (Flubacher et al., 2016) because everyday struggle of migrants to be accepted as legitimate members to their new communities often necessitates to build meaningful relationship with the people whom they share the same physical space with. In numerous studies published in the discourse of migration, language is conceptualised as the key tool to get involved in the social life actively and to pursue everyday needs as fully-functioning social beings (e.g., Allan, 2013; Flubacher et al., 2016). In the recent language and migration research, it is often conceptualised that while linguistic proficiency of newcomers develops, their perceptions towards different people, norms and behaviour also develop at the same time, because it is assumed that through their active participation into new society, they learn to categorise people, and certain verbal and non-verbal behaviour (see Hall, 1995; Roberts, 1996; Ochs and Schieffelin 1983). For this reason, the role of language in the lives of migrants is, beyond simply being a tool for verbal exchanges, an existential and identity-related matter closely related to their societal legitimacy.

Although learning the local language makes changes in migrants' lives by opening up new doors and affecting life chances, according to Ruedin (2011), despite the dogma of language in many publications and policies, language does not guarantee inclusion and acceptance. As opposed to the research studies cited above, there are numerous studies problematising the taken-for-granted equation between knowing the local language and gaining right to enter local communities and accessing the material resources (e.g., Norton, 2000; Flubacher, 2013). For example,

a study conducted by Bass (2014) shows that Francophone African immigrants in France are one of the least integrated groups to the French society. Besides, it is suggested that knowing language does not guarantee economic integration as there are many unemployed immigrants despite their linguistic proficiency as in the case of many Francophone and Anglophone immigrants in France and Britain. For example, according to the national integration report (CAS, 2012) released in France, immigrants including the citizens who migrated from the former colonies of France are the groups suffering from the economic crisis and unemployment the most. Similarly, Piller's (2012) study conducted in Australia shows that while the lack of linguistic proficiency in the local language negatively affects the life chances of a migrant, having linguistic proficiency in the local language does not guarantee accessing to social and economic resources in the country.

At this point, it may be useful to include the issue of legitimate speakership to this discussion from a sociological point of view in order to understand the reason behind the falsity of the equation between knowing the language and gaining access. According to Bourdieu (1991), one needs to have legitimate competence in a language to be accepted as a member of the speech community rather than only having the knowledge of the grammatical rules. For him, what is called linguistic competence is an entirely social construct, and depends on the social position of the speaker and the hegemonic linguistic ideologies. Besides, according to Bourdieu (1991), because every interaction takes place in a market each of which is governed by its own rules and principles, the profit one can make from his or her linguistic capital is a contextual matter, and depends on the power dynamics in the field. Bourdieu (1991) argues that due to "unequal distribution of the chances of access to the means of production of the legitimate competence and to the of expression" (p.

56), some people are left outside of the game by being de-legitimised both linguistically and socioculturally. According to Bourdieu (1977), these people who are left outside of the linguistic market are the ones who are not seen as “worthy to speak and listen” and who are not given a “right to speech” (p. 648). For this reason, he eventually argues that having linguistic capital does not bring automatic recognition to the capital holder.

Similarly, when we consider the issue of ‘unequal investment’ (Norton, 2000) in a conversational exchange from a sociolinguistic perspective, we may reach a similar conclusion. For example, as Noble (2009) argues, if the local community is not open to cultural diversity and not willing to make a meaningful exchange with a newcomer, no matter how linguistically proficient she or he is, communication will be doomed to fail because to build healthy communication is not unidirectional, but a reciprocal process which requires investment of both parties. Therefore, as Norton (2000) addresses, a meaningful linguistic exchange requires the involvement and investment of both migrants and locals to ensure mutual understanding which provides a foundation for promoting interaction between local and the migrant groups. As a result, because language is a social tool and speaking is a dialogical enterprise (Bakhtin, 1981), unequal investment between speakers is another important factor which may hinder communication between majority and minority groups.

Although he does not dwell on the issues of legitimacy and unequal investment in a conversation, Goffman (1956) argues that one should have certain traits and attributes to have a positive self-image in the eyes of others, and suggests that these traits and attributes are often products of the dominant culture. Therefore, from Goffman’s perspective, knowing the local language and being accepted is not a

straightforward equation because no matter how much linguistically competent a refugee is, his or her acceptance to the new society depends on the image he or she projects onto his or her interlocutors. Heller (2013) also explains the interplay between the process of learning a local language for a newcomer and gaining access and legitimacy by saying that:

Language policy generally is framed in terms of rational choice: if we want it to be so, it shall be. But to act in those terms is to ignore the interplay of material and symbolic resources and the role of ideologies of language, culture, class, and nation in organizing the social and the moral order (...) Despite globalization and the emergence of post-national discourses, these ideologies and their attendant practices remain powerful. Their transformation will likely produce new struggles, which it is our job to identify and explain. (p. 189)

According to Heller (2013), linguistically intolerant environments are often created and mitigated by the national ideologies and culture industries. As a result of this ideological process, languages, dialects and accents are ranked hierarchically as if one was intrinsically superior than the other despite having no linguistic basis. In this way, she argues that language is turned into a gate-keeping tool which only gives a small privileged group a right to enter. Heller further argues that this highly ideological process is interrelated to the socioeconomic and political order, and used by the states to control the distribution of wealth and life chances in society and to decide who is worthy for citizenship. According to Heller, this is the hidden agenda behind the devaluation and stigmatisation of periphery cultural and linguistic practices, and imposition of certain language usages through language tests and citizenship exams.

So far, in this section, I have reviewed the works critically discussing the role of language in the process of migration particularly from a language ideological perspective. Before moving onto the next section, I will lastly inform the reader about the recent trends in sociolinguistic works on migration exploring migrants'

identity and linguistic repertoires. When we review the recent studies conducted with migrants in the field of sociolinguistics, along with the ‘narrative turn’ in social sciences (Atkinson and Delamont, 2006; Block, 2015), we see an increase in the number of publications using narrative analysis. For example, Baynham (2006) explores the Moroccan migrants’ life stories and settlement narratives, and specifically focuses on the projection of national and religious identities through the interviews he conducted. Similarly, De Fina (2003) focuses on how Mexican undocumented workers present themselves and others in their narratives with a specific focus on their ethnic identity-work in interaction. One can also notice the increasing number of studies exploring everyday interaction in multicultural, to use the more popular term, *super-diverse* (Vertovec, 2007) settings. For example while Blackledge, Creese and Hu (2015) explore small shop owners’ interaction with their customers in a marketplace with a specific focus on their multilingual communicative repertoires, Blommaert (2014) explores the creative usage of Dutch in a barber shop run by a migrant in line with their emerging sociolinguistic needs, and the creation of their own way of talking Dutch which he calls “oecumenical Dutch”. Wessendorf (2010) has similar research conducted in a super-diverse neighbourhood of London to explore everyday interaction between the majority and minority groups. In such research studies conducted in the most diverse neighbourhoods in the world, different from the context where this doctoral project is carried out, diversity is defined as a normal state of affairs, and the use of languages other than the national language is often seen as a mundane and an ordinary matter. In such research contexts, as Wessendorf (2010) addresses, “difference becomes ordinary and commonplace, because most people come from elsewhere” (p. 8).

In the next section, I will focus on the construction of gender through language. After reviewing the recent sociolinguistic work on gender in general, in the second half of the next section, I will extend the literary discussion to include the discourse of migration by exploring the studies focusing on womanhood and migration.

3.3 Construction of womanhood, language and migration

3.3.1 Gender in sociolinguistic research

Over the last few decades, there has been a growing body of research which has been conducted to understand the manifestation of gender through language. During this passage of time, there have been theoretical and methodological shifts in language and gender research towards more dynamic and context sensitive interpretations. Sociolinguistic works on gender are often investigated under three approaches which are deficit and dominance approach, difference approach and the recent social constructivist and performative approaches (Uchida, 1992). In this sub-section, I will inform the reader about each approach to give an overall idea about language and gender research before moving onto the revision of gender and migration research.

The deficit and dominance approach is often associated with Lakoff's (1973) famous study on lexical and syntactic exploration of women and men's speech. Based on her observations and insights into men and women's talk, in her famous study, Lakoff argues that women use tag question and hedging devices more than men, and relates the use of these grammatical features with arguably women's tentativeness and lack of confidence stemming from their hierarchically weaker position in society. Later on, Lakoff's (1973) study underwent criticism for creating a direct relationship between linguistic variables and identity categories. For

example, as addressed in Chapter 2 while discussing indexicality and stance, Ochs (1992) argues that linguistic features such as tag questions are context-specific, and index different stances in different situations depending on how they are contextualised. Ochs eventually argues that, similar to other identity categories, gender is also accomplished at a discursive level rather than a grammatical level. The second approach, namely the difference approach, builds its arguments against the deficit and dominance model by arguing for the legitimacy of both men's and women's talk. As opposed to the previous model which claims that women have incompetent and powerless speech style (Lakoff, 1975), the leading figure of this model, Tannen (1990) suggests that despite the fundamental differences between men and women's speech styles, both are legitimate in their own right. She explains the alleged difference with different socialisation stages men and women have gone through since childhood, and argues that being aware of these stylistic differences would minimise the miscommunication between men and women. Goodwin's (1990) study which investigates different play habits of boys and girls is often used as evidence for their having different sub-cultures and speech styles. In this study, it is suggested that while boys play in large and hierarchical groups by competing against each other, girls play in small and egalitarian groups by cooperating with each other. As a result, while boys learn to be assertive and speak in an assertive way, girls learn to be cooperative and speak in a supportive way.

The social constructivist and performative models, which are also called third-wave feminist works, basically challenge the essentialist and dichotomous logic adopted by the previous sociolinguistic works which reduce the whole social being of an individual to his or her gender. One of the basic premises of this anti-essentialist block is to theorise gender, in other words, "doing gender" (West and

Zimmerman, 1987) as a situationally motivated and achieved social practice managed in discourse (see Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1999; Cameron, 1990), and to reveal how identities are discursively constructed and negotiated in the moment of interaction through identity works. Therefore, in these dynamic models, with the inspiration of post-structuralist trend (see Chapter 2) in social sciences, identities are not seen as a priori and stable categories (Bauman and Briggs, 1990). By grounding identities in interactional work, they underscore the joint processes of construction and negotiation of identities within a specific interactional situation (Bucholtz and Hall, 1995). For example, as addressed in Chapter 2, sociolinguists such as Eckert (1989) argue for exploring gender in language as a local and subjective practice and in an intersection with other social identities such class and ethnicity. By adopting some elements from Butler's (1990) theory of performativity which suggests the idea that "gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated act within a highly regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance" (p. 33), Cameron (1995) argues for treating gender as a set of discursively emergent social practices regulated by the social, cultural and political structures. To put it simply, the emphasis in the recent performative models on gender has been on both the performance of subjective gendered practices in the moment of interaction and the reproduction of the structures of social life through such practices which are thought to be embodied and internalised. In other words, doing gender is conceptualised both as reproduction and recreation work.

At this point, one can argue that Butler's performativity closely aligns with Bourdieu's (1977, 1998) concept of habitus which has been touched upon throughout the dissertation even if Butler (1997) herself finds Bourdieu's approach to identities more conservative and deterministic than her own take. Based on my readings on

both Butler's (1990, 1997) performativity and Bourdieu's (1977, 1998) habitus, I suggest that the concepts such as embeddedness and embodiment are important for both of them because both accept the importance of social and ideological structures which function as tools to legitimise social order and to construct social realities which subjects often take for granted. However, different from Bourdieu, Butler (1998) builds a dialectical relationship between social structures and performances. In other words, she argues that every time one performs, she or he both reproduces the hegemonic discourse and reconstructs it. Therefore, to her, as Nentwich et al. (2014) explains, "the social and the discursive are co-constitutive, so people create their legitimacy as they speak" (p. 14). However, in Bourdieu's (1991) conceptualisation of social life and actors, one cannot find much emphasis on transformation and recreation of habitus through such discursive practices although he still leaves the door open for the collective reconfiguration of habitus referring to the concepts such as 'heretical subversion' and 'symbolic revolution' (Bourdieu, 1991). However, based on my interpretation, these concepts address a big societal discursive change rather than an individual action which one can discursively achieve in a bottom-up fashion.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the theoretical position of this dissertation is clearly in the anti-essentialist block. By reconciling discursive approach at a micro scale with structural and ideological interpretations at a macro scale, in my interpretation of gender, I will attempt to be in between the strictly essentialist and constructivist models. Besides, in line with the third model or wave of gender studies, rather than investigating gender in isolation, as the reader will notice in the analytical chapters, the investigation of womanhood in discursive interactions will be

done in conjunction with other discourses such as conservatism, and nationalism and migration.

After shortly reviewing the sociolinguistic works on language and gender, in the next sub-section, I will review the works on gender and migration, and specifically explore the construction of womanhood in the process of migration.

3.3.2 Construction of womanhood in migration research

As Donato et al. (2006) address, most of the early studies on gender were conducted in the field of linguistics, and investigated how language was used by men and women. Along with a linguistic turn in social sciences from the late 1980s onwards and the epistemological shift towards post-structuralism, Donato et al. (2006) argue that gender studies have been specifically associated with study of discourse and linguistics. Together with the pioneering works of ethnographers on gender and migration, it has been widely acknowledged that migration itself is a gendered practice as much as an economic and political phenomenon (Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Mahler and Pessar, 2006), and the gender component has been increasingly added to the study of migration. Even if the gender component was incorporated to earlier migration studies in 1960s and 1970s, Mahler and Pessar (2006) maintain that it was often conceptualised as one of the variables in a quantitative way, and womanhood was treated as a binary opposition of manhood rather than an achieved practice managed in discourse. Therefore, between these dates, they report that the studies exploring gender and migration were based on a comparison of men and women migrants similar to what we have observed in language and gender studies until the end of 1980s. According to Boyd and Grieco (2003), even if we can interpret the inclusion of gender component in the 1960s and 1970s as an

advancement, as both female and male migrants were represented in such works, the way gender was treated was simplistic, and the role of women in the process of migration was depicted in a passive way in the shadow of patriarchal understanding. However, starting from the 1980s, along with the advancement in feminist movements both inside and outside the academia, Boyd and Grieco (2003) report the increasing sensitivity towards the role of gender in migration with a specific focus on women.

For example, from the 1980s up till now, there has been a large number of research studies exploring in particular migrant women's status in family, society and labour market following migration. While some studies show the positive impact of migration on women's lives in terms of their access to education, employment, and gender equality both in society and inside family contexts (e.g., Temin et al. 2013, Martin, 2004; Petrozziello, 2013), there are also studies showing the experienced status loss and marginalisation of women following migration. For example, Çağlıtütüncigil's (2015) study shows how the educational and professional skills of the Moroccan women are de-valued by their new communities in Catalonia. Through her detailed analysis, she explains the de-capitalisation and de-classing processes the Moroccan women have gone through, and addresses the negative impact of migration on Moroccan women's lives in particular stemming from hegemonic gender ideologies. To illustrate, one of her research participants, Nadia is well-educated lawyer knowing Arabic, French and Spanish, but she has to end up seeking a job over a long period of time as her previously acquired capitals are not recognised. In the end, she decides to improve her Spanish and get certificates in child-care programs, and ends up being a care worker in her new community. Çağlıtütüncigil describes this process Nadia has gone through as de-capitalization

and de-classing as her previously acquired capitals are devalued by her new community. Çağlıtütüncigil relates this process of de-classing with hegemonic gender ideologies as many Moroccan women are able to find jobs in certain sectors which are traditionally associated with women such as cleaning and caretaking, and she eventually argues that every stage of migration should be conceptualised as gendered experience. Similar to this study, there are many other studies in the literature of migration showing different employment trajectories in particular migrant women go through such as domestic work (e.g., Andall, 2000), care work (e.g., Choy, 2000) and sex work (e.g., Kempadoo, 1998).

Apart from such studies showing how migration affects in particular migrant women's lives in labour market, there are also studies in relation to negative representation and perception of migrant women especially in the intersection of womanhood, ethnicity and sexuality. For example, referring to Page Act implemented in the United States in 1875, Mahler and Pessar (2006) report that the entry of Chinese women as immigrants were restricted due to their typification as sex workers and fear of the loss of the ethnic purity among whites in the country. Relating the earlier works with today's works on gender and sexuality in migration, Mahler and Pessar (2006) argue that the representation of migrant women as sexual beings is an ideological othering practice which contributes to the reproduction of both patriarchal ideologies and white supremacy, which eventually results in marginalisation of a woman as a migrant and a racially other as well. As a result, when we review the recent works on migration, as Donato et al. (2006) address, we can clearly see "the feminization of migration" (p. 4) as the visibility of women as agentive subjects is increasing, and their struggle with hegemonic gender ideologies following migration is increasingly being dealt with. In this way, each study

specifically exploring gender along with migration automatically reinforces the idea that migration itself is a gendered process.

CHAPTER 4

SITUATING THE RESEARCH SITE

This chapter is designed to inform the reader about the contexts in which this linguistic ethnographic research took place. I will start this chapter by offering the demographic profile of the city of Kırşehir and Kadife Street which is the assigned pseudonym of the street where the ethnographic data were collected. I will, then, discuss the demographic profile of the refugees registered in Kırşehir, and give some legal information about their rights and status in Kırşehir. After covering the objective realities about the city and refugees in general, from my own subjective lens, I will share some ethnographic details about the everyday life in Kadife Street, and the general attitude towards the refugees in the neighbourhood. Following this, relying on the ethnographic details in my fieldnotes, I will also share my reflection on the neighbourly interaction among the women of Kadife Street.

4.1 Kırşehir and Kadife Street: Demographic profile

Kırşehir is a city located in the Central Anatolian region in Turkey with its 150,000 population. The city has a border with the capital of Turkey, Ankara, and it is situated 180 kilometers South-East of Ankara (see Appendix A, Figure 1). The unemployment rate in Kırşehir is 13,4 (TÜİK, 2017), and majority of its population consists of blue-collar workers. Properties in the city of Kırşehir are sold for between €30,000 and €80,000. According to the report published by the Ministry of Development (2013), Kırşehir's ranking in Turkey's socioeconomically most powerful city index is 40 among 81 cities of Turkey (see Appendix B, Figure 2); therefore, Kırşehir is close to average but nearer to the least developed end of the

development continuum (see Appendix C, Figure 3). According to the income distribution statistics (TÜİK, 2016), Kırşehir is in the region which has the lowest income inequality in Turkey. Legislatively speaking, from 2004 to 2019, Kırşehir was governed by mayors whose political party affiliation was AKP, the conservative Muslim party which was addressed in Chapter 1. Up until 2019, while AKP had the largest base of support in Kırşehir, the second most popular party was MHP, the far-right nationalist party. However, in the last local election held in March 2019, the candidate of the secularist Republican People's Party (CHP) won Kırşehir municipality after a twenty-five-year legacy of the right-wing parties in the city.

Kadife Street where I conducted my fieldwork is a few hundred meters away from the center of the city, and it is part of the one of the largest neighbourhoods of the city which has around 20,000 population. This neighbourhood has a predominantly working-class population. The majority of the men in Kadife Street either work as manual labourers, or own small businesses such as repair shops while the vast majority of the women do not work. Despite the increasing number of apartment blocks sprouting almost everywhere, the neighbourhood has playgrounds, parks, mosques, fountains, and some small shops such as supermarkets, off-licence shops and hairdressers. The neighbourhood where Kadife Street is situated does not have any social spaces such as coffee houses, bars or restaurants where people can socialise because the men go to the city center to socialise in tea houses, and women often socialise in their private spaces or in the playgrounds and parks.

Until a few years ago, Kadife Street was not a place where people were continuously coming and going, and it was nearly impossible for a person to come across people from other nationalities or hear a language other than Turkish, except for Kurdish, which is still rarely heard in the neighbourhood. While some locals

proudly claim a historical ownership over their grandparents who were born-and-bred locals of Kırşehir, people who moved to the city of Kırşehir from its villages tend to feel inferior to those who are the real locals, the “*yerli*”s of the city. For example, there is a story of a man told by the elderly people of Kırşehir. The main character of this story is a man who can cure people with ancient techniques. While he has been living in a village of Kırşehir, he decides to move to the city and to dedicate himself to curing people there. The locals accept him, but give him a nickname *göçmen* (migrant) as he is from a village of Kırşehir, not yerli. Ahmet, the name of the character, is so much offended to be called “Göçmen Ahmet” (Migrant Ahmet) that he develops cancer, and dies of agony. This story, whether it is right or wrong, tells a lot about the local people’s approach to migration. The threshold of the locals to call a person “a foreigner” is, in general, so low that even a person from another village can be seen as an outsider, and marked with such exclusivist labels. This story also shows the way migration is interpreted by many people in Kırşehir as something unwanted and undesirable because, for Göçmen Ahmet, to be labelled as *göçmen* caused him to die. Therefore, one can easily assume that the general atmosphere in my research site is different from the atmosphere in big metropolitan cities and historically migrant receiving European cities because, similar to other small Anatolian cities, Kırşehir used to be proud of its preserved homogeneity until a few years ago. Its people, despite the demographic changes in the recent years, are still emotionally attached to their city and neighbourhood, and, in general, feel part of their geographic community. After this introduction to Kırşehir and Kadife Street, I will give some legal and demographic information about the refugees in Kırşehir.

4.2 Refugees in Kırşehir: Demographic profile

As discussed in Chapter 1, due to the Geneva Convention signed in 1951, Turkey does not grant a legal refugee status to people seeking asylum from non-European countries, but provides temporary international protection until the person is transferred to a third country by the United Nations (UN). While waiting for the completion of this process, the asylum seekers are placed in certain cities which are called “satellite city”. Kırşehir is one of these satellite cities where particularly Iranian, Afghan and Iraqi asylum seekers are placed in. Similar to other satellite cities, Kırşehir also has a certain quota for placement, and depending on the number of asylum seekers placed in Kırşehir, the following year, no new asylum seeker may be allowed to register in the city. For example, while between 2016 and 2017, the Ministry of Interior declared that Kırşehir was one of the satellite cities which was open for placement, from the 2018 onwards, the city closed its doors to asylum seekers as the number reached around 6,000 by the end of 2016 and doubled in 2017, by reaching a total of 13,897 asylum seekers. The numbers obtained by Kırşehir Immigration Office are given in Table 1:

Table 1. Number of Foreign Nation People in Kırşehir in December 2017

Nationality	International Protection	Temporary Protection	Residing for Other Reasons	Total
Iraq	8,180		1,407	9,587
Afghanistan	2,591		50	2,641
Syria	1	915	12	928
Iran	351		1	352
Other countries	175		214	389
Total	11,298	915	1,684	13,897

Here, we see that non-Syrian people qualify for international protection granted by the United Nations while Syrians qualify for the protection offered by the state of

Turkey thanks to the regulation arranged in October 2014. However, as discussed in the first chapter, both Syrian and non-Syrian refugees, either registered to the UN or Turkish authorities, are given access to education and basic health care while they do not have a permit to work except for some exceptional cases (İçduygu, 2015).

Even if the rights of the refugees are determined by certain legal regulations, how they are implemented in practice may vary. For example, despite the legal rights refugee children have in order to access free education, non-Turkish children in Kırşehir are not allowed to register for the local primary schools in their neighbourhoods, and they are automatically sent to a school built specifically for the refugee children in the city. The school is in the rural area of Kırşehir. Although the refugee children are provided a free transportation to school, the children aged 6-10 years have to walk till the meeting points to take the transport as all the bus stops are installed around the city center. Although it was initially said that the role of the school in which the refugee children attend to is to provide them one year preparation by teaching them Turkish literacy and language before they are registered for the Turkish schools, there are refugee children who are held in that school for three years because, by using school overcrowding as an excuse, the local primary schools in the neighbourhood do not accept to register them.

Another important legal issue that should be elaborated is about the registered refugees' right to movement. According to the regulation, refugees are not allowed to travel outside the city which their addresses are registered in. To ensure that the registered refugees do not leave the city, one member from each household goes to sign at the police station every week. For example, as discussed here, there are certain satellite cities which refugees can register in. After they register in one of them, the regulation urges them to stay there. If there is an emergent situation, such

as they need to receive treatment in a hospital outside the city, they can get permission from the local police, and leave the city for a certain period. Therefore, if a refugee cannot find a job in Kırşehir, or wants to move to another city, she or he cannot because of this restriction on the refugees' freedom of movement.

However, before this regulation started in 2017, the Iraqis in Kırşehir used to hold a different identity card which is called *insani kimlik* (humanitarian identity), and it did not have such a movement restriction, and they could choose which city they wanted to live in, and could travel wherever they wanted inside Turkey. For example, thanks to this, all the Turkmen Iraqi refugees I knew in Kadife Street chose Kırşehir on purpose because they had relatives here. Therefore, now, in Kadife Street, all the Iraqi refugees are acquainted with each other from the city of Tal Afar in Iraq, and the other Iraqi residents are either their relatives or previous neighbours from Tal Afar. However, from 2018 onwards, because Kırşehir does not accept new asylum seekers, until the quota restrictions are lifted, their relatives some of whom are still waiting in the camps near the border of Iraq and Turkey cannot head to Kırşehir, and be registered here as a legal asylum seeker.

After giving some demographic and legal information about the refugees in Kırşehir, in the next section, I will contextualise the people of Kadife Street in detail by focusing on the everyday lives of the local women and refugee women.

4.3 Contextualizing the local and refugee women's lives

All the women whom I worked with for this research share the same neighborhood, and live in the same street called Kadife Street. Because they are all housewives, their whole life is based in their neighbourhood. Due to the conservative lifestyle of majority of inhabitants residing in this neighbourhood, the women do not socialise in

public spaces, for example in cafes or restaurants, with their friends. Instead, they often get together in private spaces for example in their female neighbours' homes when their husbands are at work. When the weather gets warm, the local women socialise with each other on the park benches in the neighbourhood, in the playground where they bring their kids to entertain, and by the fountain where they fill in their bottles daily to drink fresh mountain water. The women spend most of their time with domestic duties from looking after their kids and husbands to housekeeping. Because most of their close relatives migrated to the other cities of Turkey for either employment or marriage, their female neighbours are the ones whom they contact the most.

Based on my observation, there are very few social activities that the local women and their husbands do together such as going shopping and visiting relatives. Even if their husbands have time after work and a day off, I observe that they prefer to socialise with their male friends in all-male tea houses called "*kahvehane*" in Turkish. Majority of the adult women residing in this neighbourhood did arranged marriages before their 20s in accordance with their parents' wishes. Majority of them perform the core practices of Sunni-Islam, and wear in accordance with Islamic rules. The local women are, in general, monolingual Turkish speakers while there are a few Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals. While they are mostly literate in both Turkish and the Quranic Arabic, the women over 60 are mostly literate only in the Quranic Arabic since they have never gone to school. Since the Quranic literacy is often learned through informal courses offered voluntarily in the neighbourhood, to acquire the Quranic literacy is more accessible for the local women than the Turkish literacy.

When we consider the everyday lives of the refugee women in the neighbourhood, it may be suggested that their lives are not dramatically different from the local women's lives. However, the workload of the refugee women can be said to be more as they often live in very crowded homes with their extended family members. Nevertheless, the Iraqi women I interviewed argue that their workload in Iraq was much more than now as they used to live in big detached houses with a big yard, and that to clean the whole house and to take care of their yard were more tiresome for them. Therefore, the Turkmen women who were born and raised in a country life do not find the life in the city, in other words, the life inside their flats, tiresome. All the Iraqi Turkmen women I interviewed report that they got married at around the age of 13 to one of their relatives with arranged marriages, which is not a very unusual situation for the local women as they also did arranged marriages at around the age of 18. Although the Iraqi Turkmen women also wear hijab and long dresses covering the whole body except for the face, hands and feet similar to the local women, their dressing style can still be distinguished from the local women's style at first glance from the way they put on hijabs to the fabric of their clothes.

The Iraqi Turkmen women in the neighbourhood often socialise only with their relatives who also migrated from Iraq to Kırşehir. Even if they have other Iraqi Turkmen neighbours who migrated from the same town, they do not much prefer to visit each other as they do not want to encounter a man who is not their relative during their home visit. Daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law often share the same home, and the daughters-in-law report to have less mobility and freedom than their mothers-in-law as, based on my observation, they are responsible for only domestic duties. Therefore, she says, as long as they do not have a necessity to leave home, Iraqi young women are urged to stay at home. Even if the place to go is a market, the

Iraqi Turkmen women in the neighbourhood, especially the younger ones are not much allowed to go out alone. If a single Iraqi girl or a daughter-in-law needs to go out, her husband or mother-in-law accompanies her. At this point, it can be said that the local women in Kadife Street have more freedom of movement than the Iraqi Turkmen women. When the local women have something to do in the downtown, they can go out alone and do their work. Especially the new generation, for example the local women's daughters, are often permitted to socialise with their girlfriends outside home after school while majority of the Iraqi Turkmen girls who reached puberty are not even allowed to go to school, and they are urged to wear hijab.

After I contextualised the local and Iraqi Turkmen women's lives with the main lines in this section, I will share my reflection on the general attitude of the locals towards the refugees in the neighbourhood.

4.4 General attitude towards refugees in Kadife Street

In the neighbourhood where I carried out my fieldwork, there are refugees from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Syria who have been residing here for two to three years. Despite the passing of time, I observed that there were very rare instances of good neighbourhood relations between the refugees and locals in Kadife Street. In general, I can easily say that the refugee residents have a negative image in the eyes of the locals, and are accepted as a threat to the well-being of the locals. The refugees are often seen by the locals, similar to the mainstream Turkish society, as uneducated, lazy bloodsuckers who came to Turkey instead of fighting in their own country to enjoy the comfortable life presented to them effortlessly and for free by the generous Turkish government. Similar to what is observed mostly in the migration literature, the refugees in the neighbourhood are often blamed for everything going wrong. For

example, the local women frequently claim that the price of meat, fruits and vegetables has increased with the arrival of the refugees because refugees are rich and have purchasing power. Because of this negative prejudice, most of the refugees in the neighbourhood have to live their lives without moving ahead of their refugee identities. However, no matter what the locals think about them, there are refugees who invest their energies in getting recognition and building relations with the locals, and in complying with the local norms. For example, while there are refugees who do not offer greeting to the locals because they are not offered so, there are also refugees who continue offering their friendly greeting to their local neighbours even if their greetings are not accepted, and I observe that they do so until reciprocity is established. Therefore, depending on the dynamics between both parties, different interactional routines can be constructed.

During my one and a half years stay in the field, I witnessed and heard a few brawls between refugees and locals while none of them caused a serious injury. In general, the locals do not want to share the same apartment with the refugees, and do their best to prevent them renting a flat from their apartments. While the owners of the newly built flats do not rent their flats to the refugees, the owners of the oldest flats which need renovation often look for refugees to rent their apartments in order to make profit by overpricing them. While the refugees in Kadife Street have to pay an overpriced rent to hire a flat, they are not often welcomed by their neighbours in their new apartments. For example, in some apartments in Kadife Street, Turkish residents sign a petition asking for expelling refugees from their apartments. Despite these negative examples, there are also some local women, although relatively lower in number, offering help and friendship to the refugee women in Kadife Street. In

this dissertation, one can find many examples of both the moments of tension and friction and the moments of friendship between the refugee and local women.

In this section, I shared my general observations about the general attitude towards the refugees in the neighbourhood. In the next section, I will describe the neighbour to neighbour interactions among the local women by referring to the broad patterns of themes and the types of social events. Before moving onto the analytical chapters, it is expected that the next section will help the reader understand not only the context of the research sociologically but also the nature of the neighbourly contact among the local women sociolinguistically.

4.5 Neighbour to neighbour interaction in Kadife Street

The types of social events that bring the female neighbours together in Kadife Street are mainly well-organised events such as Gold Days and the Quran reading sessions, and spontaneous events in which the local women visit each other. Women's Gold Day is a form of social gathering quite popular in Turkey and among the local women in this neighbourhood. A group of women visit each other monthly in a cycle, and in every gathering, guests bring a previously fixed amount of money to the hostess. In this way, women not only save money but also socialise with their favourite group of neighbours periodically. The second most popular event, the Quran reading sessions, are often held on Fridays among the local women to read the Quran verses together. Apart from such organised gatherings, there are also spontaneous gatherings among the neighbours, wedding ceremonies, birthday celebrations, condolence visits and other types of community and interpersonal events.

Despite the variety of events popular among the local women, I observe that the difference between these social events has recently become blurry. The structure and the content of all the gatherings are becoming more and more similar, and they are merging into each other as the religious content of these events is increasing. For example, religious discussions and the Quran readings were normally done in the Quran reading sessions on Fridays or on special days. However, from an ordinary gathering among the local women to their Gold Days, holding religious discussions and reading the Quran have recently started to occupy an important place. Due to the increasing conservative trend in Turkey as discussed by the academics widely such as Yeşilada and Noordijk (2010) and Karakaya-Stump (2017), even an ordinary gathering can be turned into a religious event by the women, as they believe that the religious component makes the gatherings worthwhile for all. For example, while the women are gossiping about earthly affairs on one of the Gold Days, one of the local participants may warn the others by saying that “*Allah’ın kelamı konuşulmayan yerde boş konuşulmuştur*” (“in a place where the words of God are not uttered, there is empty talk”) and end both the discussion and the gathering.

The topics chosen for such gatherings in the neighbourhood are very repetitive. The general themes are often religion-oriented and gendered. Exchanging their childbirth and mothering experience, discussing women’s decorative handicraft hobbies such as new styles in needlework and lacework and showing each other sample motifs consist of the themes of their conversation. Their conversation about cooking techniques, cleaning and food shopping also situate the local women in a domestic space which is again traditionally associated with womanhood. In addition to womanhood and motherhood, religion-oriented themes also dominate the local women’s conversations. As mentioned earlier, nearly in every gathering, the women

read verses from the Quran and pray together. Following the Quran readings, they spend large amount of time discussing Muslim rituals and practices. As a result, shared gendered and religious identities become the two important elements of such gatherings.

Another interesting point I observed in these gatherings is the local women's braveness to openly criticise each other's utterances and social practices. Even if their criticism, they think, may threaten the person's face, they prefer to openly critique each other's social and cultural stances and practices because they report that they see this as a moral responsibility given by the God to them. Nevertheless, when the women's critique to each other concerning morally and religiously acceptable social practices leads to a conflicting situation, they give an effort to reach reconciliation. For example, at the end of hotly-debated discussions, I observe that they often ask for forgiveness to each other with a half Turkish half Quranic expression *hakkını(ızı) helal edin* (forgive me if I have done something to violate your right) and expect the other speakers to say that they forgive them by saying *helal olsun* (here, too). The use of this adjacency pair is both a cultural and religious practice, and it is mostly uttered at the end of an interaction or as a farewell sentence. It functions to exchange mutual apologies of both parties for any intended or unintended misbehaviour. In this way, based on the Islamic belief system, both parties verbally confirm that they will have no claims against one another when they are reunited by the God in the day of judgment. In some serious cases, a responder may reject the request of the speaker by giving negative answer to her apology by saying *helal etmiyorum* (I don't forgive), and in this way, she claims that her rights are violated, and she will call the offender to account for her misbehaviour after death. In the women's gatherings I have observed so far, the women could positively

exchange their apologies, and managed to end their debates by getting each other's blessings.

In the next section, I will offer a sneak preview of my one-year fieldwork by sharing my reflections on the first gathering between the refugee and local women. The goal is to lay the groundwork for the analytical chapter by informing the reader about the general attitude they developed towards each other in the first face-to-face meeting.

4.6 Ethnographic details of the first gathering

Although the refugee women who have been invited to participate in the local women's gatherings for one year have been in the neighbourhood over two years, they did not have any previous contact with the local women before this fieldwork. With this research, it was made possible to bring the two parties together. Because the locals and refugees do not merge with each other apart from some exceptional cases, without an external intervention, it could not have been possible to observe their interaction.

Based on my observation, the initial meetings of the local women and refugee women were like boundary encounters in which they tried to negotiate boundaries and to find out their samenesses and differences. In the first gathering between the local women and refugee women, the Iraqi women could not manage to be involved in talks actively. One of the reasons is related to the difficulty of following the conversations in Turkey-Turkish dialect for the Iraqi Turkmen women. Second, I got the impression that because the Iraqi Turkmen women felt that they were being watched by the local women, they acted more self-consciously by monitoring their actions. Because I know the two invited Iraqi women from our previous encounters, I

know how much they like to talk and even to dominate conversations. Therefore, I felt that they stayed passive and subordinate not only in the first gathering but also in the following gatherings with the local women. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the first meeting between the refugee and local women gave both parties a chance to get to know each other for the first time even if they had shared the same neighbourhood for two years. While all the local women had some opinions which they largely reached through media and second-hand stories, for the first time they gained first-hand experience about the issues concerning refugees by means of this gathering. On the first Gold Day, from different languages to cultures, they touched upon various topics to get to know each other. When the Iraqi women presented themselves as Iraqi Turkmen whose first language is Turkmen and second language is Arabic, they all discussed the refugee women's bilingual and minority situations in Iraq.

Some of the local women in the gathering seemed to have some negative prejudice against refugees in the country because they thought that refugees were given some social and economic opportunities while the citizens were deprived of basic needs no matter how hard they worked. However, thanks to this first real and meaningful contact with the refugee women, the local women were able to ask their questions openly such as how the refugees sustain themselves economically, to what extent the state offers them social benefits and so on. Despite this friendly atmosphere, towards the end of the first three-hour gathering between the two parties, a heated debate broke out because of the local women's accusatory manner towards the refugee women. Nevertheless, both parties managed to soothe the situation when the local women asked for forgiveness using "hakını helal et" ("forgive me if I have done something to violate your right") expression, and the

local and Iraqi women reached a reconciliation thanks to the performative power of this expression. The other gatherings following the first meeting were milder because after the first gathering, some of the local women criticised their friends' discriminatory manner towards the Iraqi women, and asked them in person for not causing such a conflict again. Some of the local women I talked to following this gathering think that they should have avoided topics which would potentially cause conflict. According to them, because the Iraqi women were, above all, guests who came their home, their refugee or foreign identities should not have been made an issue. While this situation is explained by the rule of hospitality in the local culture where I do my fieldwork, it is described as a rule of socialisation in sociology. In relation to this, Simmel (1950) states that:

sociability is the game in which one does as if all were equal, and at the same time, as if one honoured each of them in particular. This reduction of the personal character which homogenous interaction with others imposes on the individual may even make him lean over backward. (p. 46)

Therefore, I think that what my local participants wanted to achieve is similar to Simmel's (1950) theorisation of "rule of socialisation", and the reader should bear this rule in mind while pondering upon the spontaneous interaction data that will be presented in the analytical chapters.

After situating the research site by introducing the everyday life in Kırşehir, Kadife Street and its women, in the next chapter, I will discuss my methodological choices.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This methodological chapter aims to inform the reader about the research design and the methodological choices made to collect and analyse the data. In the previous chapter, the social context where the ethnographic data were collected was depicted in detail. I will begin this chapter by explaining the rationale behind choosing this particular research site to collect the ethnographic data. In the following section, I will discuss in detail how I gained access to the community. Then, I will introduce the participants in general terms, and this section will be followed by the description of the main data collection techniques, namely, participant observations, audio-recordings of spontaneous interaction in neighbourly visits, fieldnotes, interviews and home visits. In the subsequent sections, I will discuss how the data were transcribed, analysed and interpreted, and I will, then, hold separate discussions around ethical issues and validity concerns. I will finalise the methodological chapter by discussing the impact of my orientations and positionality on the data I collected and on the relationship I developed in the field.

5.1 Selecting the research site

In the previous chapter, I explained in detail the demographic and ethnographic details about Kırşehir and Kadife Street. In this section, I will briefly explain the main motivations behind choosing this research site in order to carry out my doctoral project. To date, most of the migration studies in Turkey have been conducted in Turkey's biggest metropolitan city, Istanbul. Although several studies have been conducted recently in the border cities of Turkey such as Gaziantep and other

metropolitan cities such as İzmir and Ankara, one can still recognise the lack of studies in other contexts. In that sense, I suggest that, as a small central Anatolian city, Kırşehir can offer a different perspective through its authenticity and originality.

My primary motivation for choosing Kırşehir to do this one-year fieldwork is to make use of my own personal background and social network to “authenticate as well as assist fieldwork” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 26). Because Kırşehir is the city where I was born and lived until the age of 18, I was familiar with its cultures, people, and local language. Besides, I had already established links with the people living there as my parents still live in Kadife Street in Kırşehir. When I started my fieldwork, I expected that choosing the place where I grew up and collecting the data in a language which I have spoken since I was born would give me an invaluable insider perspective. As a member of this community, I assumed that I would manage to turn my pre-existing personal ties and shared sociocultural backgrounds into an advantage in order to obtain my data. As a result, I chose a context where I did not need to spend a long period of time adjusting and getting to know the people, their cultures and languages. Therefore, as opposed to the conventional anthropological tradition of doing ethnographic work in distant and exotic places, by answering the call for bringing Anthropology back home (Hymes, 1996), I chose to focus on a geographical space where I am a born-and-bred local. I will elaborate the advantages and disadvantages of choosing my hometown to do ethnographic research further in this chapter especially while discussing ‘gaining access’ (5.3) and ‘researcher’s positionality’ (5.9).

5.2 Gaining access

Since I started my university education at the age of 18, except for the summer and semester breaks, I have spent the last ten years outside Kırşehir. After I had started my Ph.D. in Istanbul, I worked in a community center run by the Syrian refugees, and spent all my weekends and summer holidays in the community center learning Arabic in the center and teaching Turkish to the Syrian kids in the neighbourhood in which this community center was situated. Because I had already acclimatised to Istanbul, and built a good network there, I was not sure about returning home to conduct this one-and-a-half-year fieldwork. However, the idea of bringing refugee and local women together in Istanbul did not sound achievable to me, first because I did not know the locals in the neighbourhood where I worked as a voluntary teacher, and second, I did not know the dynamics of that neighbourhood. On the other hand, although I did not have any contact with the refugees living in Kırşehir, I knew almost all the local women residing in Kadife Street, and I had a family home in Kırşehir where I could use as a meeting point to bring the refugee and local women together.

The idea of going back to my hometown in order to do my fieldwork began to develop during my stay as a visiting Ph.D. student in the University of Lleida, Spain in 2016. First, I shared my plan with my mother, who have resided in Kadife Street for over forty years, on the phone. Because she has a group of friends with whom they have organised Gold Days for over eight years, I asked her how likely it was to invite the female refugees residing in Kadife Street to their gatherings. Although she was not sure about the feasibility of such research as she did not know the refugees in the neighbourhood, she sounded enthusiastic to cooperate with me, and encouraged me to give it a try. From August 2016 onwards, after my six-month stay

in Lleida, I started living in Kadife Street, and stayed there until the end of my fieldwork, January 2018.

Because the local participants of this research are the women whom I have known since I was a child, I did not need to get their permission to gain physical entry to their community. In August 2016, I turned up on one of the Gold Days, and roughly shared my idea with the local women about doing research with the local and refugee women. I asked them some general questions about the refugee women living in Kadife Street to understand their general attitude towards them and everyday relationship with them. I also tried to learn whether they could help me get to know the refugee women in the neighbourhood. I got the impression from the local women that they were willing to help me. As the people who have known me since I was a child, similar to my same-aged peers, they wanted me to finish this long-lasting student life and to embark on an adult life by building my own family. Therefore, I felt that they approached emotionally to my research proposal. On the other hand, they stated that they were not familiar with taking part in such research, and were unsure about how they could help me. As they apparently felt themselves not knowledgeable enough to take part in such a project at a university level, they explicitly asked me what they could offer to an educated person as primary or secondary school graduates. I thereupon tried to encourage them, and explained my motivation to conduct this research.

During my first month in Kadife Street, I attempted to use the networks of the locals sharing the same apartments with the refugees to get to know them. In June 2016, in the month of Ramadan, my mother met Kadime, the Iraqi Turkmen woman, in the mosque, and they became friends. In August 2016, we met Kadime incidentally near the fountain. She was filling her bottles, and chatting with the

women over there. My mother introduced me with Kadime, and she invited us to her home to introduce me with her granddaughters, as she thought we could be friends. Thanks to this short conversation and also my mother's previous acquaintance with her in the mosque, I managed to gain entry to Kadime's home. On the following days, I met Ele and Farah through their local neighbour, Hasibe who is one of my close relatives in Kadife Street. As her husband died at a young age, and her children moved to the other cities of Turkey, Hasibe lives alone in her flat, and often socialises with her neighbours in the yard of her apartment. Her neighbourhood is like her universe, and she is very open to getting to know other people. The moment I asked Hasibe to introduce me with her Iraqi neighbours, she took me to Ele's home, and I found myself drinking tea in Ele's home and chatting with Ele and her daughter-in-law, Farah. In the following days, I met Sonya, an Iraqi woman, in the playground while playing with my nephew. At the end of our conversation, we exchanged our addresses and invited each other to our homes. In the following months, while I was developing close relationships with Kadime, Ele, Farah and Sonya, I was also being introduced to other Iraqis living in the neighbourhood by means of them.

When the month of September came, I had already gained entry to my Iraqi neighbours' home. I did not introduce myself to them as a researcher because, first of all, I did not initially feel so. As I will discuss in section 5.9, it took me some time to feel like a researcher in my own hometown. As stated by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 90), "the comfortable sense of being 'at home' is a danger signal", and during this preparatory stage which took six months, I attempted to train myself to feel like a researcher, and to make what is seen familiar and quite normal to me 'strange' by intellectually distancing myself from the field. Besides, because I was in

the stage of planning my proposal, I took it slow, did my observation, and built good contacts with the local and refugee residents of Kadife Street. Since I moved to my hometown in August 2016, my priority had always been to build meaningful relations with my local and refugee neighbours, to make new friends, and to learn about the languages and cultures of the Afghan, Iraqi and Syrian residents.

While working on my research proposal during one semester, with Kadime's granddaughters, we started to exchange our languages. Three times a week, we got together either in Kadime's home or in mine. While I taught them Turkish, they taught me Arabic. Although Kadime's granddaughters are Iraqi Turkmen because they grew up in an Arabic speaking city, Mosul, they did not know Turkmen-Turkish. Therefore, they wanted to learn Turkey-Turkish. Similar to what I did in Istanbul, in Kadife Street, I started to teach Turkish, and also helped Ele and Sonya's children learn Turkish literacy and complete their homework. During my stay in Kırşehir, I was motivated to do my best to make a difference in the neighbourhood, and this ethically made me feel more comfortable as I never wanted to collect my data and disappear from the field without giving anything back.

After spending three months in the field, I was sure that, first, what I was interested in was "worth researching", and, second, "researchable" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Following this three-month decision-making stage, I clearly shared my research plan with Ele and her daughter-in-law Farah although the local women knew my plan to some extent. Because I did not have a job, and was not married, I was primarily identified as the daughter of X and Y. Therefore, even after I shared my plan both with the locals and Iraqis, they continued seeing me primarily as X and Y's daughter who was a student; therefore, they did not take me seriously as a researcher. I assume that, throughout this research, being not taken seriously by my

participants helped me entertain the possibility of collecting spontaneous data, and preserve the authenticity of the events as my existence in the field was not questioned, or found odd and threatening.

When I explained my plan with Ele and Farah, Ele told me that she would ask this to her husband. Because Ele's husband was a big fan of fishing similar to my father, they had already become friends, and we started making family visits to each other in the evenings. My father talked to Ele's husband on my behalf as I was not still seen as his adult counterpart. I managed to get consent from them to participate in the local women's gatherings once a month, and to record their conversations. Although I wanted Kadime to come along with Ele and her daughter-in-law, Farah, to the gatherings of the locals, Ele, who knows Kadime from Tal Afar, expressed her antipathy to Kadime, and did not want to join the local women's gatherings with Kadime. Because I thought Ele and Farah could be more suitable for this research as Kadime was a very strong character, and may not get on well with the locals for one year, I decided to choose Ele and Farah as my main participants. Therefore, I asked permission from Kadime to audio-record some of the conversations between me and her in my home visits. Similarly, I also asked permission from Sonya only to audio-record some of the conversations between me and her in my home visits. After I obtained the consent from my Iraqi participants in November, I started collecting the data in January when I received my ethical permission from the university. In this way, I had three months more to show my enthusiasm for this research to my participants and to develop trust. I assume that this gap also gave my participants time to get used to the idea of coming together with the local women, and being audio-recorded.

After getting consent from the Iraqi women, I started negotiating with the local women. While they did not reject Ele and Farah's participating in some of their gatherings, they did not accept to make a home visit to them. While my initial plan was to involve the Iraqi women to the Gold Day, because the local women did not approach positively to the idea of going to their home, I could not integrate Ele and Farah to the Gold Day because on the Gold Day, until one circle is completed, everyone must visit each other in turn. While some of the local women said that they could host the Iraqi women at their home, I felt that some did not like this idea. Therefore, by making some changes in my actual plan, I decided that even if the Iraqi women would not take part in every Gold Day, they would be invited to other kinds of gatherings such as the Quran recitations, and random visits along with some of the Gold Days. Besides, I decided to choose my home as the main meeting point for the two parties as it was the place both parties felt more comfortable to be in. As a result, even if Ele and Farah were invited to the gatherings taken place in other local women's home, majority of the gatherings took place in my home.

In this section, I discussed in detail how I got into the field, and gained access. As getting into the field and gaining access stages overlapped with each other, I explained the whole process chronologically in one section. In the next section, I will introduce my key participants.

5.3 Participants

Before introducing my participants, I will briefly explain my motivation behind choosing to work specifically with the Iraqi Turkmen and an all-female research group. Because most of the Iraqi Turkmen in Kadife Street are bilingual speakers of Arabic and Turkmen-Turkish, generally speaking, they can communicate better with

the locals than other ethnic refugees. Because having a shared language is one of the first conditions for generating rich interactional data for this specific research which aims to bring refugees and locals together, it is preferred to work with the Iraqi Turkmen. As a female researcher, because to conduct an ethnographic work with Iraqi Turkmen men and to contact them frequently for one year would not be possible due to their conservative lifestyle, it has been decided to work only with female participants. Therefore, this has become an all-female research project which includes the local and Iraqi Turkmen women.

In total, the number of the local women who participated in the gatherings are 15, while the number of the Iraqi women is 6. Among 15 local women who appeared in one or some of the interaction data, 5 of them are the mothers, mothers-in-law or sisters of the 10 local women who are the core members of this friendship network. The core members are Rukiye, Melike, Naciye, Nadire, Zehra, Sevda, Çiçek, Gelin, Zülviye and İsmînur, and the peripheral members of these gatherings whose participation was not as frequent as the others are Pamuk, Pakize, Ayten, Sincan and Hasibe. Although the core Iraqi participants of this research are Ele, Farah and Kadime, the ones who most frequently participated in the gatherings are Ele and Farah. Ele and Farah participated in all the events except for one. Sometimes Ele brought her 50-year-old sister-in-law, Duha, and 25-year-old daughter, Amina, to the gatherings. Kadime and her close friend Sebe participated in only one Gold Day event, and it was the one which Ele and Farah did not appear in.

Among the local and Iraqi participants, in this section, I will focus on only six women. While the first three women are the Iraqi Turkmen women I worked with, the other three are the local women. The reason for choosing these six participants for this section is due to the frequency of appearance of these characters in the

analytic chapters. Because I will continue giving contextual information about the participants throughout the analytical chapters, this section aims only to introduce the characters in general terms.

5.3.1 Ele

Ele is an Iraqi Turkmen woman in her mid-40s from the district of Tal Afar which belongs to Mosul. She is a primary school graduate housewife. She speaks Turkish and Arabic, and she is literate both in Arabic and the Quranic Arabic. At the age of 13, she married her uncle's son, Husam, and gave birth to ten children. Ele lives in a flat in Kadife Street with her husband, children, grandchildren, and her daughter-in-law. She spends nearly her whole day doing housework, and meeting the needs of her family members together with her daughter-in-law, Farah. Ele and her family used to live in a big detached house in Tal Afar before they came to Kırşehir in January 2016. They used to have their own car, a house, and a large vegetable and fruit garden. Because her husband's salary was high enough to sustain the whole family back in Iraq, Ele reports that none of her sons used to work in Iraq while, here, even her 10-year-old son has to work to support his family instead of going to school. Similar to other Iraqi Turkmen residents in Kırşehir, their reason for choosing Kırşehir is their relatives in Kırşehir who came here from Iraq earlier than them. While Ele managed to bring her nine children with her from Iraq to Turkey, one of her daughters stayed in Mosul. Therefore, she closely follows the news on TV about the ongoing war in Iraq, and actively uses her mobile phone and internet to connect with her daughter.

When the Turkmen city of Tal Afar, which had been under the occupation of the ISIS since June 2014, was retaken by the central Iraqi army in September 2017,

the central government of Iraq called for some officials such as teachers and doctors and mechanics to return their works. Because Ele's husband is an official working for the Iraqi government, he was also called to resume his work; therefore, Husam had to leave Kırşehir in October 2017 despite the risk of death or injury in Iraq, but one month later, he returned to Kırşehir because of his lack of access to basic needs in Iraq. While this whole stage affected the family, his returning home relieved the members of the family. While Ele is enthusiastic to build a new life in Kırşehir for herself and her family, and invests her energy in making friends in her new space, such incidents affect her motivation to socialise with the local women and to adjust to her new life.

5.3.2 Farah

Farah is an Iraqi Turkmen woman in her mid-20s. She got married to Ele's son, Omar, at the age of 13 with an arranged marriage. Farah and her husband are also cousins similar to Ele and her husband. Farah shares the same flat with her husband's family. Similar to Ele, she is also a primary school graduate housewife. She speaks Turkish and Arabic, and she is literate in Arabic. She has three children, and gave birth to her third baby in August 2017. Although when I first met Farah, she said that, similar to Turkish women, she wanted to have no more than two children, due to her husband's insistence, she gave birth to her third child. Based on my observation, Farah is less conservative and pious than Ele. She likes listening to Arabic pop music and watching Arabic and Turkish TV series. She enjoys experimenting with different hair styles on her daughter and nieces, and polishing her own nails and designing them by mixing different colour nail polishes. For this reason, she is often criticised by Ele. She came to Turkey one year before Ele and her

family along with her husband and children. Therefore, Farah has been in Kadife Street for nearly three years.

In my conversations with her, Farah often reports that she is content with her life in Kırşehir more than Tal Afar, and does not consider going back to Iraq even after the war ends. She likes socialising with people, but as a daughter-in-law of the family, she is not allowed to socialise by going out alone. Even if the place to go is a market, a wedding or a funeral of a relative, it is often Ele who has a right to go. Therefore, apart from visiting some neighbours and relatives along with Ele, Farah spends most of her time at home helping Ele in housework. Because, rather than Ele, it is primarily Farah's responsibility to host the guests of their home, Farah spends most of her time in the kitchen. Therefore, whenever I went to visit them, I felt that I could not spend enough time with Farah. Even if Farah is a dominant character similar to Ele, due to Ele's power coming from being the mother of Farah's husband, Farah is often overshadowed by Ele even in her conversation with other people. Therefore, despite knowing her for one and half year, I have always wished to spend more time with Farah as I still think that I do not know her as much as Ele.

5.3.3 Kadime

Kadime is an Iraqi Turkmen woman in her late 50s from Tal Afar. She did not receive any education at school; therefore, she is illiterate. However, she is a bilingual of Arabic and Turkish, and she also knows some Kurdish. Kadime has 11 children, and lost her husband in a mosque bombing in Iraq. Kadime's husband used to be married with two women, and when he died, Kadime and the other woman drifted away, and she came to Kırşehir to seek refuge with her sons and grandchildren in January 2016. Because she had family members having migrated to

Kırşehir from Tal Afar, she chose Kırşehir for migration. She lives in a flat in Kadife Street with her sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren. In most of our conversations, Kadime often proudly refers to her wealth in Iraq, and expresses her deep sorrow for losing everything they had and turning into people in need of help. Kadime's sons who share the same home with her work in Kırşehir as construction workers, and look after their family. However, Kadime is unhappy about this situation because her sons ended up working in low-paying jobs under difficult conditions in Kırşehir while they used to be one of the richest families in Tal Afar.

Kadime is a very pious and conservative woman. She spends most of her time socialising with people from her balcony on the ground floor. Therefore, most of the local and Iraqi women know Kadime. Whenever there is a wedding or a funeral in the neighbourhood, even if she is not invited, it is Kadime who first goes there as she feels that this is her moral and religious responsibility. She also attempts to sustain her religious and traditional practices in her new physical space as well. For example, while most of the Iraqi women such as Ele and Farah often cover their traditional clothes by wearing a long and loose coat similar to the local women, Kadime proudly wears her traditional clothes. The local women who do not know Kadime's name often describe her with her dress style.

5.3.4 İsmınur

İsmınur is a Turkish woman in her early 50s, and has lived in Kadife Street for over 40 years. She is a monolingual Turkish speaker. She was born in one of the villages of Kırşehir to a peasant family. When she was studying in a high school, she got engaged, and left high school. She did an arranged marriage at the age of 19, and has two children. While she is a housewife, her husband retired from a blue-collar job.

İsminur is my local facilitator who accompanied me in my every single interview with the local women and refugee women. She also helped me arrange the gatherings at her home. Although I was born in Kırşehir and share the same cultural and linguistic practices with the local women, because I had been away from my hometown for university education since the age of 18, and because I have neither wifely nor motherly roles in society, I did not feel confident enough to open a dialogue with the local and refugee women alone. Because I thought İsminur is a true insider who speaks the same language both with the local and refugee women, I proposed her this position, and she accepted it.

Similar to the other participants in this research, İsminur is a pious woman, and literate in the Quranic Arabic. She has a good relationship with her neighbours, and she is known as a mild and an easy-going person who does not enjoy conflict. Different from the other local participants, she socialises with the Iraqi Turkmen women in the neighbourhood outside this project, and acts as a mediator between the local and refugee communities in Kadife Street. For example, she collects food and clothing donations from the local women, and distributes them to refugee families in Kadife Street. She contacts the owners of the flats on behalf of the refugee families, and tries to persuade them to rent their flats to refugee families. Therefore, generally speaking, she has relatively more welcoming and friendly attitude towards her refugee neighbours than the other local participants.

5.3.5 Melike

Melike is a Turkish woman in her early 40s, and has lived in Kadife Street for nearly 10 years. She is a monolingual Turkish speaker, and literate in Turkish and the Quranic Arabic. She is the only born-and-bread local of Kırşehir on the Gold Day as

the other women were born in the villages of Kırşehir. Melike is a primary school graduate, and did an arranged marriage at the age of 18. She is a housewife, and is married to a man who works in a blue-collar job. She has four daughters. Two of her daughters go to a religious school known as İmam Hatip Schools. Although she says that the reason for her to start wearing a headscarf is her jealous husband who insisted her on changing her wearing style after marriage, she reports to be content with her conservative lifestyle. She is in general talkative and outgoing. She enjoys watching television series about the Ottoman Empire, and, in her talks, she often shares her nostalgia for the glory days of the Ottoman Empire.

Apart from her friends on the Gold Day, she has an affiliation with a religious community in which they regularly get together to read the Quran and talk about religion. She enjoys sharing what she has learnt in this community with her neighbours. She sometimes invites her friends from the religious community to the Gold Days so that both groups can mingle. She also encourages her local friends to participate in the events organised by her religious community. Apart from the Gold Days, Melike does not prefer to socialise with her refugee neighbours.

5.3.6 Naciye

Naciye is a Turkish woman in her 50s, and has lived in Kadife Street for over 20 years. She is a primary school graduate. She is a monolingual Turkish speaker, and literate in Turkish and the Quranic Arabic. Naciye was born in a village to a peasant family. Before she moved to Kadife Street, she used to live in a village. She did an arranged marriage at the age of 17, and has four children. While she is a housewife, her husband retired from a blue-collar job. All her children are married and have

decent lives. Therefore, she lives alone with her husband. She enjoys spending most her time in the park near the apartment socialising with the other local women.

Similar to other local women, Naciye has a conservative lifestyle, and regularly performs her religious practices. Apart from being a member of the Gold Day, she has also an affiliation with a religious community in which they regularly get together to talk about Islam and the Quran. Because the religious communities Melike and Naciye participates in are different ones, they often argue with each other about the correct way of performing a religious practice. When they cannot find a common ground, which is often the case, they call their hodjas to get their opinion. As a result, similar to Melike, Naciye is also a conservative and pious woman who defines her religious identity as her core identity. Similar to Melike, apart from the Gold Days, Naciye also does not prefer to socialise with her refugee neighbours in the neighbourhood.

5.4 Collecting the ethnographic data

From August 2016 until January 2017, I shared the same neighbourhood with my research participants, and spent most of my days making home visits and observing their interactional practices. After getting the ethical permission, I started my recordings from January 2017 onwards, and continued collecting the data until January 2018. During my one-and-an-half-year stay in Kadife Street, I observed many different community events organised by the local and the Iraqi Turkmen communities in the neighbourhood. The types of settings in which I participated include women's Gold Days, neighbourly visits, religious gatherings, wedding ceremonies, birthday celebrations, condolence visits and so on. Only a few of these

encounters were recorded because in most cases I did only observation in order not to put the participants under pressure and to preserve the naturalness of the context.

In total, I audio-recorded the interaction between the refugee and local women amounting to around 25 hours of spontaneous interactions. I completed the group and individual interviews with 24 local interviewees amounting to 15 hours of recording, and made home-visits to three Iraqi Turkmen families amounting to 30 hours of recorded conversations. In total, I recorded 70 hours of conversations, and wrote more than 20,000 words of observational fieldnotes with 40 different entries. Some of the participants appear only once in the data because they were either interviewed once or participated in the Gold Days as the close relatives or friends of the regular participants. Therefore, there are, in total, 10 local and 3 Iraqi Turkmen core participants who are involved in most of the recordings I have done throughout the year. In this section, I will explain how I collected my ethnographic data by introducing my data collection tools and procedures I followed to utilise each of them.

5.4.1 Participant observation and fieldnotes

Participant observation was the first and primary tool I used not only to collect my data but also to make sense of the research site as a whole. When I entered the field in August 2017, even if I did not know what to focus on, I knew that I was interested in exploring the interactions between the refugees and locals in the neighbourhood. Therefore, I tried to spend as much time as possible outside socialising with the women, visiting the open market and the playgrounds in the neighbourhood and wandering around. Whenever the local women gathered at one of the neighbours' home, I tried to participate in them, and engaged in often aimless conversations with

them. During this 6-month exploratory stage, which I call my preparation for a more systematic fieldwork, I attempted to make contacts with the refugee women, established good relationship with the people in Kadife Street, and decided what I wanted to do exactly, with whom, and how. What I did during this exploratory stage can be called ‘covert participant observation’ because my role as a researcher was not clearly situated and articulated. Although I told both the local and Iraqi women that I was interested in writing about them, I did not take any formal step in that direction until applying for an ethical permission and explaining to them clearly what I was interested in.

Blommaert and Jie (2010) suggest that “fieldwork should not be just reduced to data collection, because essentially it is a learning process” (p. 27). In the same vein, by immersing myself in a site where I would embark on systematic data collection period, I started to develop certain ideas, built certain connections across people and events, in other words, “patterns of expectations” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010, p. 30) about the social events and people. I developed certain understanding towards the dynamics between the refugee and local women, and tried to learn the history behind different actors. In my conversations with the women of Kadife Street, I sometimes asked them some points that I could not make sense of, and attempted to see the world from their point of view. In order to reflect upon what I observed in various settings, I wrote up fieldnotes. Because in the exploratory stage of my fieldwork, I did not do audio-recordings, fieldnotes were the primary tool I used to record events and conversations. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) discuss, fieldnotes are conventionally handwritten, and ideally written up while observing. However, I preferred to write my fieldnotes after I came home on my laptop because I wanted to pay attention to the moment of observation rather than

talking to myself by jotting things down on a piece of paper. When I overheard a very interesting dialogue or witnessed an event worth remembering in detail, I used my mobile phone for note-taking.

Over time, after starting my participant observations in a more systematic and formal manner, my role as a researcher became more explicit, and my observations turned into overt participant observation as the participants knew that they were being recorded. In order to systematise the overt participant observations that were combined with audio-recordings, I followed the schedule of the Gold Days which took place every month, and ensured the participation of the Iraqi women to the local women's gatherings once a month. Although my primary observation site was inside home, I continued my participant observations throughout the year outside home in public spaces socialising with people and simply observing the flow of everyday life. Therefore, along with my regular overt participant observations, there were a large number of social events which I participated in as a covert participant observer without making my researcher identity visible. These were mostly the cultural events such as weddings, family visits during religious festivals, birthday celebrations, condolence visits and other spontaneous neighbourly interactions. In such events which I participated in with my family members, I was acknowledged by other participants as a daughter of X and Y. However, different from my previous participation to these events as a member of Kadife Street, this time, I attempted to approach them with a more scientific and reflective orientation by questioning things which I had never questioned in that way before.

In overt participant observations, during which I used a recording device to save the spontaneous interaction between the refugee and local women, my position as a researcher was visible simply because the participants knew that they were being

recorded; therefore, being observed as well. Because these events were naturally occurring, and the women did not get together for the sake of this research, I tried my best not to harm the authenticity of the context by acting as a researcher. For example, I did not interrupt the flow of the talk by asking the women questions or intervening in the selection of the topics. In this way, I attempted not to make my researcher identity relevant, and acted however I used to act in such gatherings. For example, as the youngest woman of these all-female gatherings, I helped the host to serve the refreshments, filled teacups, and opened the door when it was rung.

Besides, because I thought that to take out a notebook and a pencil from my bag and to jot down notes while engaging in a conversation with the women would be considered highly unnatural and even more disruptive than an audio-recorder, I preferred not to take any notes during the moments of interaction. In this way, I also managed to take part of the events as an active member. However, I forgot some details until I turned on my laptop and started writing my fieldnotes following the events. Therefore, I had to rely on the audio-recordings as my primary tool for recording rather than the fieldnotes. Even if I wrote my fieldnotes within the same day as the events, because each Gold Day lasts 3-hour, it was not easy to recall every detail. Therefore, while writing my reflections on the gatherings, I got help from the audio-recordings to recall certain things.

Schatzman and Strauss (1973, p. 95) suggest that “a single word, even one merely descriptive of the dress of a person, or a particular word uttered by someone usually is enough to “trip off” a string of images that afford substantial reconstruction of the observed scene” (p. 95). With this in mind, even if I primarily relied on the audio-recordings to do my analysis, if I had not written up fieldnotes for each recorded gathering, the audio-recordings, on their own, could have failed to

remind me of how I felt in the moment of interaction, and how other people emotionally approached each other. As suggested by Blommaert and Jie (2010), because I tried to write my fieldnotes “subjective and impressionistic, emotional or poetic” (p. 40), each of them was emotionally loaded and expressive. For this very reason, descriptive language was used to write fieldnotes, and they were written in Turkish because I could describe the events more vividly, and express my emotions better in my first language. Apart from depicting the general atmosphere in each gathering through my fieldnotes entries, I also tried to describe how the events unfolded and participants reacted to certain acts. Towards the end of each entry, I often made some intellectual discussions about why this happened, and how I could relate this with the broader context. In total, I wrote more than 20,000 words of observational fieldnotes with 40 different entries. I wrote up most of my fieldnotes on a laptop, chronologically ordered them and gave them labels to access the information easier.

5.4.2 Making recordings of spontaneous interaction data

Making a recording of a spontaneous interaction is clearly an intervention to the normal flow of life, and creates a kind of disturbance. As Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue, “what you do is to capture something which normally remains ‘on the spot’, and ‘export’ it, so to speak to other times and places” (p. 34). For example, the words of others are used by the researcher to build his or her academic arguments, and are shared in certain academic channels. For this very reason, the first and also the most important step is to reach certain people who will give a permission to record, and this stage often involves negotiation to draw the boundaries for recording. In my case, the first thing my participants asked me was whether this recording would be

restricted to their voice or involve a visual recording. Because these recordings were made in a private space where the women wanted to feel themselves the most comfortable, to let a camera in this space would be very disruptive, and change the whole dynamics in the setting. Because I understood the women's concern and knew their conservativity about their bodies, I did not attempt to convince them to make a video-recording, and made negotiation with them only about audio-recording. I explained my participants that the audio-recordings would be used only for academic purposes, and not be shared in non-academic contexts. I also explained the other ethical issues about the removal of private names and all other personal details that may reveal their identity. Because my participants were sure that I had no other motivation to conduct this research apart from gaining expertise in my field, they gave a permission to make the audio-recordings. Because I did not want to manipulate my participants' trust in me, I systematised the dates of my recordings rather than recording every single all-female gathering. Table 2 shows the list of the audio-recorded spontaneous interaction data I collected from the local and Iraqi women's face-to-face gatherings:

Table 2. List of the Audio-recorded Spontaneous Interaction Data

Type of event	Date	Length of observation
Gold Day	January 2017	3-hour
Gold Day	March 2017	3-hour
Gold Day	April 2017	3-hour
Gold Day	May 2017	3-hour
Neighbourly Visit	July 2017	3-hour
Gold Day	August 2017	3-hour
Neighbourly Visit	September 2017	1-hour 30'
Gold Day	September 2017	3-hour
Neighbourly Visit	November 2017	3-hour
Total		25-hour

Although I had the audio-recordings of the 9 big gatherings organised by the local women, the number of the big all-female gatherings which took place during one year was more than this number. However, as it is stated above, because I did not want to bother the local women by recording their every single gathering, I preferred to record only the gatherings to which the Iraqi women were invited.

I made the audio-recordings with two mobile phones, and they simultaneously recorded the conversations. Because all the women sat near each other in one small room, the recorders were not very distant from each other. I preferred to place one recorder near the Iraqi women and placed the other near the local women. Sometimes, depending on the flow of the talks, and the seating positions of the participants, I changed the place of the recorders. The existence of a mobile phone was not found odd, but sometimes the women self-censored their talks. For example, when an inappropriate or a politically loaded conversation unfolded, no matter how much they were immersed in the moment, they did not want it to be captured, and skilfully shifted the topic by pointing at the recorders.

In order to remind myself of what happened during the gatherings, I listened to the recordings on the evenings of the gatherings, and wrote my fieldnotes. Throughout my research, I did not lose any of my recorded audios or miss portions of my data. I saved the audio-recordings to my personal laptop on the same day, and also did multiple copies to flash disks. I chronologically ordered the recordings on my laptop, and gave identity tags to them. I made a content list for each recording, and outlined the most important moments of each gathering to a notebook by writing their exact time point in the recording. I carried this notebook with me during the whole year, and made a habit of reading it again and again. After some time, I even memorised the flow of each recording. In this way, whenever I wanted to find a

specific dialogue among dozens of recorded tracks, it took me a few seconds to find its exact place in the recording.

5.4.3 Interviews and home visits

While observing the interaction between the refugee and local women, and analysing their face-to-face talks in the neighbourly gatherings are the core of this ethnographic research, the interviews I conducted throughout the year helped me, to a great extent, get a better sense of the historical resources brought by the participants to the locally situated moments. While the biographic content of the interviews allowed me to learn more about the local and Iraqi women's histories, daily routines and also future aspirations, their self-reflective accounts on their relationship with the local women and refugee women helped me see beyond the face-to-face talks in the neighbourly gatherings. Because I chose to conduct some of my interviews following the face-to-face gatherings with the participants of these gatherings, the interview accounts of such reflective interviews gave me an opportunity to explore 'what is unsaid', 'why it is said', and 'how it made the person feel' at that moment. In this way, I could compare my own reflection on the gatherings with the reflections of the other participants, and they could further elaborate their retrospective commentary in the gatherings.

Referring to Briggs (1986), Blommaert and Jie (2010) list four propositions of fieldwork interviews. These are "interviews are conversations", "you are part of the interview", "the importance of anecdotes", and "no such things as a bad interview" (p. 45). In line with them, in none of my interviews, I desired to position myself as an interviewer; instead, I gave an extra effort to make each interview like spontaneous conversations. In the interviews, I often positioned myself as Kadife

Street' young and novice woman who wants to know more about the dynamics in the field. As an excited novice, I asked as many questions as possible, shared my own hypothesis with my participants, and asked to what extent they would agree with me. Therefore, I was very active during the interviews, and sincerely shared my opinions with my participants whom I regarded as my conversational partners. My dialogical approach to conducting interviews aligns with the latest trend in social sciences which conceptualises interviews as "conversations and co-constructed discourse events" (Block, 2000, p. 758).

In order to break the formality of the interviews further, I decided to find a local facilitator who would accompany me in my every interview. Because of my age, and my marital and educational status, even if I was acknowledged as a local, I felt that I was not positioned as a truly local by the women of Kadife Street. Therefore, I thought that İsmınur, my close relative as well as the participant of this research, could help me make my position as a researcher blurrier in the interviews. As expected, I saw that in the interviews İsmınur took part as a local facilitator, the general atmosphere in the room became more friendly and informal. Because my local facilitator's existence in the room and her contribution to the talks made the interviews more interactive and informal, İsmınur took part in almost every interview I conducted. The only thing I asked from İsmınur was to make her contribution freely as long as she did not go off the topic much. It is interesting that although I was often the one initiating the talks with the questions I asked, my interview partners often answered my questions by looking at İsmınur's face as they presumably thought that İsmınur, 50-year-old married local woman with kids, could understand them better than me.

Based on my readings in sociolinguistics (Schiffrin, 1996; Ochs and Capps, 2001; De Fina, 2003), I was well aware of the importance of narratives to explore the projection of the self and other group positionings and to reveal collective representations and societal expectations. Therefore, I often encouraged my interview partners to give me examples, to tell me a moment when they met a member of another community or saw something nice, strange or disturbing about them by using the Turkish equivalent of “have you ever” structure. I also asked them some situational questions and to imagine themselves in certain situations.

Another reason why I avoided asking my participants direct questions about themselves and other group members was the experience I gained from my initial interviews. When I asked direct questions to my participants about the refugees, Syrians, Turks, Muslims or Arabs, I realised that majority of them repeated very same arguments without reflecting on them much. As Blommaert and Jie (2010) observe, such questions result in over-reliance on “borrowed discourses” (p. 49) and yield very repetitive and formulaic statements. For example, if a researcher asks a mainstream Turk or German about refugees, the answers she or he will receive will be more or less the same such as they stole the job opportunities, increased accommodation prices and crime rates, they made the country economically worse, damaged the moral values and local culture, and so on. For this very reason, I decided not to ask questions that would yield such repetitive and formulaic answers. Even if I asked such questions, I tried to further encourage the participants to give more description and to share some experience from their everyday lives with me. Tremlett and Harris (2015) describe asking direct questions about social categories such as ethnicity as “narrowing practice” which “render these informants one-dimensional, as if all that is in their lives is fixed discourse focused on one kind of

ethnic/racial positioning” (p. 13). Therefore, as they also argue, instead of reducing the interview partner as one ethnic or religious identity, the interviewer should see his or her interview partner as a whole social being who has unique experience and life story, and construct the interview questions accordingly.

During my one-year fieldwork, I conducted interviews with 24 local residents amounting to 15 hours of recorded interview accounts, and did home visits to three Iraqi Turkmen families amounting to 30 hours of recorded conversations. While I made the most frequent home visit to Ele and Farah’s home, I also regularly visited Kadime. The number of home visits which I made the least was to Sonya. While I conducted more than one interview with some of the local participants, I conducted only one interview with others. Almost all of these interviews took place at my participants’ homes. I sometimes invited the other members of the family to contribute to the interviews if they were present at home. For example, in some interviews, the interview partners of the women became their husbands, their daughters or mothers-in-law. Because I and İsmınur were also present in the room, such interviews turned into group interviews and yielded more fruitful discussions. For example, the participants shared their thoughts by discussing with each other and problematising the questions I asked from different perspectives. Besides, choosing the interviewees’ homes to conduct the interviews obviously made them feel more comfortable. By drinking our tea and eating refreshments, we managed to turn the interviews into social events in which both parties enjoyed taking part in. In order to make the participants feel comfortable about being interviewed and audio-recorded, before starting the interviews, I spent almost 30 minutes talking freely, breaking the ice and strengthening partnership. Then, I moved smoothly to the interviews and started recording. After I stopped the recordings, depending on the suitability of the

hosts, we stayed 5 to 20 minutes to do the closing neighbourly talk. In this way, I wanted to show the hosts that I was not there just to collect my data but to socialise with them. Although this technique made me spend long hours for the sake of doing one-hour interview, I did the same in almost every interview. The examples of interview questions I followed thematically can be found in Appendix D.

Because both the local and Iraqi women think that interviews demand a scholarly skill which they think they lack, in my initial interviews I realised that they felt very tense to answer formulaic questions in structured interviews. However, when a more ecological or culturally relevant task was given to them such as chatting and gossiping around a subject more freely, I saw that they could perform better. This was especially the case for the Iraqi women who were relatively less schooled than the local women. Therefore, while, in general, I avoided conducting structured interviews with my participants, I often preferred to conduct semi-structured interviews with the local women, and unstructured interviews with the Iraqi women. In my pilot interviews with Ele and Kadime I realised that they either partially understood my questions, or gave flat and short answers to them. They also tried to monitor the way they spoke in Turkish as they did not feel competent enough to make an interview in Turkey-Turkish. Their lack of self-confidence could also be due to the way I structured my interview questions as I did not know exactly how to converge towards an Iraqi Turkmen through the words I selected in an interview. Therefore, instead of asking my Iraqi participants, Ele, Farah and Kadime to conduct an interview, as I saw that it did not become as fruitful as I desired, I decided to ask them to record the conversation between me and them in our home visits. For example, Ele, Farah and I visited each other minimum four times a month, and I asked them to record the conversations among us only once a month. In this way, I

assume that I did not put them under pressure, and did not instrumentalise the home visits only to collect the data but to build meaningful relations with them as well. To illustrate this, while in one of the home visits, we cooked something together and had a lunch, in another home visit, I helped their children's school homework, or Ele and Farah helped me learn Arabic. In Table 1, one can see the number of recorded home visits done in the Iraqi women's home for one year:

Table 3. Number and Length of the Audio-recorded Home Visits

Participant	Length of Recordings	Number of Recorded Home Visits
Ele and Farah	13-hour	12
Kadime	10-hour	8
Sonya	4-hour	4
Others	3-hour	2
Total	30-hour	24

As seen in Table 3, during my one-year fieldwork, while I did the recordings of 24 home visits, I had a chance to talk to 12 Iraqi residents in total as a part of this project. For example, in my visit to Ele and Farah, sometimes Ele's sons were also involved in the conversations, and many different subjects arose from these conversations from their ethnic and national belongings to languages and cultures. Similarly, Kadime's sons were also sometimes present at home, and they were also involved in the conversations. Because their sons who are at their 20s received more education and speak Turkey-Turkish more fluently than their mothers and sisters, I realised that they were much more comfortable to present their ideas orderly and assertively. For this reason, I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews both with Ele's son and Kadime's son. Because the other recordings I collected in home visits are not in a traditional interview format consisting of mechanical question-and-answer order, they are often long and messy, but when they were all brought

together, they still gave me an opportunity to understand my participants more holistically, and also to discover their reactions to certain issues raised particularly in the face-to-face gatherings.

5.5 Approach to analysing and interpreting language data

5.5.1 Choosing the analytical framework and analytical tool

While this dissertation aligns itself with the methodological tenets of Linguistic Ethnography (see Chapter 2), the approach adopted to collect and analyse the data has a close affinity with John Gumperz's (1982) interactional sociolinguistics (IS) framework. As Rampton (2017) explains, IS "focuses on face-to-face interactions in which there are significant differences in the participants' sociolinguistic resources and/or institutional power." (p. 1). In the same vein, this study focuses on exploring face-to-face interaction between the refugee and local women sharing the same neighbourhood by problematising the interaction between two parties. Because IS holds the idea that "language and social life are mutually shaping" (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2), this interdependent understanding between language and social life necessitates bringing an ethnographic dimension to data collection together with the discursive analysis of naturally occurring interaction data. With this in mind, in order to see beyond the speech events and to contextualise the linguistic data better, this study relies on the ethnographic data obtained through long-term observations of participants and the interview accounts. In this way, systematic observations of the context and participants are combined with the collection of naturally occurring interactional data, and both historical voices behind collective representations and cultural meanings and emergent meanings discursively constructed by participants are aimed to be revealed.

According to Gumperz (2001), in the first phase of conducting IS research, the ethnographic data are collected to understand the general atmosphere in the research site, in other words, to gain insight into “communicative ecology”, and the speech events, which can provide the most fruitful data to answer the research problems are determined. Every time the preliminary analysis of the collected naturally occurring interaction data is performed, the interpretation made by the analyst is compared with the reflexive accounts of the participants through interviews in order to ensure the consistency between what is interpreted by the analyst and the local meanings. Following the data collection, the speech events which are thought to have the most representative power are selected for detailed analysis. The detailed analysis is made at both content level and paralinguistic level, and certain inferences are made on the basis of the interaction data and the gained ethnographic insight. In this research, while I followed Gumperz’s (2001) approach to data collection, in my data analysis, I largely focused on the content level analysis including lexical and syntactic analysis as well, and explored recurring patterns and organisations of language use. Even if pronunciation and the prosodic details helped me make certain inferences about situated language use, I did not explicitly discuss these details in this dissertation because I chose to hold the discussion at a discourse-level by making connection between language use and sociocultural meanings, and focusing on the ideological bases of situated language use.

In Gumperz’s works, the notion of ‘contextualisation’ is crucial, and it is explained by Gumperz (1982) as a process of making sense of the linguistic data using certain culturally and socially relevant contextual cues. Therefore, Gumperz maintains that “what from a purely linguistic perspective may count as minor distinctions can often, for largely ideological reasons, attain great social import as

badges of identity” (Gumperz 2003: 110). For this very reason, the framework adopted by IS analysts does not limit itself with linguistic analysis as they think this is only the one side of the coin. In line with this, throughout the dissertation, I attempted to give contextual information about the sociopolitical context of Turkey, the social and cultural dynamics of Kadife Street and also the internal dynamics of the local women’s community in Kadife Street. While interpreting the language use in certain speech events, I drew largely on such cultural and social observation I made, and historical accounts I obtained. By adopting a dialogic approach to interpreting the process of intersubjective meaning-making process by the participants, I also focused on how contextualisation was achieved by the participants in the moment of interaction. In this way, as Creese (2005) describes, through focusing on the way language is used by the local women and refugee women, “I was able to make a social analysis of communication within it and come to an understanding of which discourses were privileged” by the women and “which were contested” (p. 71). This endeavour is defined by Blommaert (2005), who is largely inspired by the works of Hymes and Gumperz, as a “social science of language-in-society” (p. 235) rather than being simply defined as linguistics.

As Rampton (2017) maintains, the framework offered by Erving Goffman is one of the most important analytic resources adopted by the IS analysts. As discussed earlier, Goffman is also an important figure for this research, and contributed to investigating the internal dynamics of the interactions between the refugee and local women, developing understanding towards the strategies adopted by the participants and understanding the way identities are discursively constructed. As Blommaert (2005) suggests, Goffman’s (1974) notion of ‘frame’ which is defined as sociohistorically generated cues used by communities to interpret utterances is

closely related to Gumperz's contextualisation. Due to the close theoretical alignment between IS and Goffman's conceptualisation of everyday life, the reader will come across with plenty of references to Goffman's works in the analytical chapters.

While laying the methodological ground for my research through the branch of LE inspired by interactional sociolinguistics, I employed "stance" as my analytic tool to investigate the interaction data. While in the literature, there are different conceptualisations of the concept of stance, I chose to adopt Du Bois's (2007) conceptualisation of stance. Relying on Du Bois's stance triangle model which I discussed in Chapter 2, I conceptualise stancetaking as a dialogical process consisting of three actions: evaluation, positioning and alignment. According to Du Bois, every time an individual constructs a stance, she or he does the evaluation of an object; therefore, she or he constructs an identity position, and involves in an alignment process with other interlocutors. To give an example from my research, every time the women evaluate each other's particular social practice, they invoke big discourses such as nationality and religiosity, and within these discourses they position themselves and also each other as certain types of people. Due to the specific discourse they invoke and specific moral stance they take up, stancetakers are also positioned by other participants. During this reciprocal positioning process, while the stancetakers negotiate different systems of truth and values, they are also involved in an alignment process, and the achievement of an alignment, according to Du Bois (*ibid*: 162), is a matter of degree rather than a "binary choice" as the constructed stance can be contested, transformed or reinforced depending on the subject positions an individual wants to construct for himself or herself, and the emerging social relations among them.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the notion of stance theorised from a sociolinguistic point of view (Jaffe, 2009; Du Bois, 2007) is performative, and emerges as a result of a dialogic interaction; therefore, as in the case of this dissertation, it can be instrumentalised to do identity research. According to Jaffe (2009), one of the primary goals of this framework is to discover the relationship between acts of stance and identity construction at an interactional level. The second goal in their research agenda is to discover how the constructed stance contributes to or challenges the reproduction of certain ideologies and system of values at a societal level. Because this dissertation is also interested in exploring the relationship between the moment of interaction and the larger social, cultural and political structures, the research agenda adopted by the theorists of the stance literature is relevant to the agenda of this research. Besides, because the way stance is theorised by Du Bois (2007) is largely inspired by Bakhtin's dialogism similar to post-structuralist theories chosen as the epistemic framework for this study and also by Linguistic Anthropology which shares very similar bases with LE and IS, there is also close theoretical and methodological alignment between the chosen analytical tool and the theoretical and methodological approach adopted for this research.

5.5.2 Data analysis procedures

Kadife Street that I chose as my research site is a very complex place. Therefore, the data I collected address a large number of issues, and are open to different interpretations depending on the position an analyst takes up. Because, during my fieldwork, I realised that the utterances made by the women in the social events were stance-saturated and reflected certain ideological positions, based on my readings in the literature, I decided to employ "stance" as my analytical concept. In my decision

making, the self-discussions I made while writing my fieldnotes and repeated listenings of the recorded events played important roles.

Because my research is data-driven, both the themes and research questions evolved over time. Even if I had initial research questions while embarking on my fieldwork, they were refined, and became more and more specific over time. In accordance with my research questions, I refined my interview questions, and did more focused observations in the field over time. Throughout my fieldwork, I regularly did preliminary analyses of the collected data, familiarised myself with the data by transcribing them and listening to them regularly. In this way, in the process of data collection, I started to recognise certain emergent patterns, and to underscore them in the data. When I formed my preliminary themes towards the end of my fieldwork, as addressed by Creswell and Miller (2000), I started to search through the datasets to find evidence that I could unite around the planned themes. This whole process of organising the data around certain themes developed organically. When I chose 'stance' as my analytical tool towards the end of my fieldwork, I started to organise my data around the stances which were taken towards the similar stance objects and had similar ideological motivations. After I grouped the constructed stances around certain themes, I chose some examples for each theme and sub-theme. I chose some extracts which were, I thought, more stance-saturated and interesting than the others for close analysis as I thought they would reveal more information about the participants and their ideological motivation. While analysing the extracts chosen for close analysis, first, I attempted to identify who leads the stance and what the object of the person's stance is. Then, I attempted to identify the three discursive steps, namely, evaluation, positioning and alignment. While doing this analysis step by step, I also attempted to discover the collective stances

constructed around certain themes across speech events and participants. In this way, I could create relations across stances and among different speech events and participants, and explore the consistency of the constructed stances.

Because, in this dissertation, I used the spontaneous interactions as my primary source of data to build my arguments around, I made use of the interview accounts mainly as supportive documents. Therefore, I selected certain interview accounts for close analysis because they would help the readers understand the motivation behind the constructed stances in face-to-face meetings, and include certain retrospective reflexive accounts concerning the constructed stances in the face-to-face gatherings. As I conceptualise the interviews as “conversations and co-constructed discourse events” (Block, 2000, p. 758), I adopted the same procedures to analyse interviews, and used the same analytical tool.

5.5.3 Transcribing the data

While transcribing the data obtained through interviews and home visits was relatively more straightforward and less burdensome, I found transcribing the spontaneous interaction data obtained in the local and refugee women’s face-to-face gatherings very complicated and challenging because, to use Green et al. (1997) and Bucholtz’s (2000) terminologies, they demanded to make both “interpretive decisions” about what to transcribe and also “representational decisions” about how to transcribe. Because, the number of the participants was high in proportion to the size of the rooms, there were often multiple overlapping talks on the Gold Days. Because the participants often spoke at once in such gatherings, it was difficult for me even as a participant to choose which conversation to follow and to contribute to. While listening to my recordings, I was frustrated because I could not understand all

the conversations going on in the room. To reduce the background noise and to make the conversations easy to follow, I used some software programmes, but I could not solve the problem. Therefore, while transcribing the data, no matter how many times I listened to certain parts, I could not be sure about certain sentences and words. In certain cases, because there were multiple overlapping talks, I had to choose which dialogue to follow in order to transcribe, and I often preferred to choose either the most audible dialogues or the most relevant dialogues as the target voices to transcribe.

Along with such interpretative decisions, I had to make certain representational decisions as well. While I preferred to use orthographic transcription rather than phonetic transcription, I experienced difficulties to transcribe the vernacular language of Kırşehir with orthographic letters as some sounds articulated by the local women do not have any equivalents in the Turkish alphabet. Similarly, because some words in Turkmen-Turkish are lexically and phonetically influenced by Arabic, the way the Iraqi Turkmens articulate certain sounds in Turkish could only be represented with the Arabic phonetic alphabet. At this point, I made a decision that this study, in terms of its scope of analysis and the questions under exploration, does not require phonetic details. Therefore, by choosing to use orthographic transcription, I had to standardise certain sounds which did not have an equivalent in the Turkish orthography. When there is a big gap between the word articulated by the participants and the standard Turkish, I wrote the equivalent of word in Standard Turkish inside a parenthesis. As a result, I could partially preserve the authenticity of the way the Iraqi and local women speak Turkish in my transcriptions.

Apart from such subjective decisions I had to make, by choosing some talks to transcribe I ignored others as I thought they were irrelevant to my study. The ones I chose for closer analysis were more elaborately transcribed while the others stayed as rough transcriptions. I adopted Fuller's (2007) transcription conventions (see Appendix E) to transcribe the data. While I preferred to transcribe most of the face-to-face interaction data collected from the Gold Days, my approach to the home visit and interview data was more pragmatist. As it is suggested by Blommaert and Jie (2010), instead of transcribing everything especially in the home visits and interviews, by listening to each audio-recording, I preferred to create a detailed outline of each recording on a notebook. Each outline consists of 2 to 4 pages on an A5 sized notebook, and includes information about the content of the conversations, the people involved in them and the exact time point of certain dialogues in the recording (see Appendix F, Figure 4). In this way, I knew the content of each recording in detail along with their specific time point, and whenever I wanted to find the place of a specific dialogue in an audio track, it took me a few seconds.

As a result, transcribing the conversational data sets involved a large number of subjective decisions, and as Bucholtz (2000) argues this is the very nature of such endeavour because "all transcription takes sides, enabling certain interpretations, advancing particular interests, favouring specific speakers, and so on" (p. 1440). To this end, I assume that a researcher who is trained in a specific field can legitimately make certain subjective decisions as long as these decisions have a scholarly basis, and the researcher can develop self-reflexive accounts related to these decisions.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Following my 6-month preliminary observations in the field, I applied for an ethical permission from the Ethics Committee of Boğaziçi University, and submitted a form outlining my research plan and discussing the ethical issues related to my study. As soon as I obtained my ethical approval (see Appendix G) in January 2017, I officially started my fieldwork. Because I informed my participants about my research before applying for an ethical permission and received their verbal consent before embarking on this one-year fieldwork, they already had information about the content and purpose of this research. While asking for their signed or oral consents (see Appendix H), I informed them in detail about how the data would be collected, what I would do with the data, and with whom and how I would share them. I also explained them that I would omit the personal information about the participants which may reveal their identity, and that use pseudonyms while presenting personal and place names in the dissertation. Apart from these issues concerning confidentiality, I informed my participants about their right to withdraw from the study and to ask for omitting certain parts from the recorded data.

In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, apart from using pseudonyms for the personal names, I described my participants in this chapter in a way that even the person who knew them closely could barely guess who the person was. For example, I did not give the participants' exact ages, their husbands' exact jobs and so on. Even if I had a friendship with my research participants, I approached presenting and interpreting the data with my ethnographer identity without giving more details about the participants than they offered for this research. In presenting and interpreting the findings in the following chapters, I avoided making interpretations that would offend the participants and the residents of Kadife Street.

While presenting my arguments, I prioritised protecting the dignity of the both local and Iraqi women, and did not use any expressions that would threaten their face.

As addressed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), apart from the ethical issues in relation to getting informed consent and protecting privacy, the issues around exploitation and compensation are also the important parts of the ethical decision-making processes. What is implied by exploitation by Hammersley and Atkinson is that “people supply the information which is used by the researcher and yet get little or nothing in return” (p. 217). Based on my observations, I can say that my one-year fieldwork had some immediate benefits particularly for my refugee participants. Thanks to this study, I introduced the Iraqi women with the local women in the neighbourhood. Their regular participation to the local women’s gatherings gave the Iraqi women a chance to gain social, cultural and linguistic capitals. For example, the Iraqi women gained visibility in the neighbourhood, made new friends, and gained more awareness about the local Turkish and cultural norms. Through the network of relations they established with the local women, for example, Ele could find a job to her son. When Ele and Farah were told to move out of their apartment by the owner of the flat, one of the local women, İsmınur negotiated with the real estate agent on behalf of them, and helped them rent a flat in one of the newest apartments of Kadife Street. Although the owner of the flat and the other residents of the apartment did not want a refugee neighbour, she acted as a local guarantor, and convinced the other people. When Farah was pregnant, we took her to the hospital, and accompanied her during her doctor visits. We helped the Iraqi children register for the local schools, and contacted their teachers to make sure they did well at school. Whenever the children had difficulties to do their homework, they knocked on our door, and asked for help.

As in the case of the Iraqi women, I did not restrict my relationship with the local women to being researcher and researched. I became close friends with the local women, listened to their problems and tried to give them emotional support. Thanks to this study, they could gain more information about the refugees in the neighbourhood, listened to the Iraqi women's stories from the first person, developed meaningful relationship with them, and gained some awareness about different languages, cultures and also refugees, in general. I assume that this research project created something meaningful in Kadife Street by promoting meaningful contact between two parties. Even after my fieldwork was finalised, the impact of this research on the lives of the participants could still be observed, and this was my hidden agenda as an activist researcher. Finally, I still carry the academic responsibility of disseminating the local and Iraqi women's stories and challenging the mainstream refugee discourse in media and politics which either tends to reduce refugees to numbers and to see them as a threat to security and economic well-being or victimises refugees by portraying them as helpless sufferers. This work can be read as an attempt to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge in the light of the grassroots data collected in a research site situated in an unpopular and underdeveloped city of Turkey.

5.7 Validating findings

Heath and Street (2008) argue that ethnography should be treated in its own right without equating it with doing a qualitative research, and maintain that validity of the findings are an important issue for an ethnographer while reliability is non-applicable to ethnographic research. Similarly, Blommaert and Jie (2010) also suggest that because ethnographic findings cannot be generalised to another community, as they

lose their meaning when they are taken out of their context, they do not have representative power. For this very reason, Heath and Street (2008) put forward that “every field immersion by definition unique” (p. 44) because the discursive events a fieldworker observe cannot be repeated again in the same way even by the very same participants. For example, even if another fieldworker observes the same field with the same participants, she or he may not make the same inferences and observe what is observed by another fieldworker. Therefore, ethnography is “inherently interpretive, subjective and partial” (Heath and Street, p. 45). Under such conditions, what an ethnographer is expected to do is to convince readers that the narrated events and observed characters are not fiction with rich, vivid and detailed descriptions she or he will offer.

Creswell and Miller (2000) define validity as “strategies used by researchers to establish the credibility of their study” (p. 125), and list certain strategies an ethnographer should follow such as ‘prolonged engagement in the field’, ‘thick description’, ‘triangulation’, ‘member checking’, ‘external audits’ and developing ‘self-reflexive accounts’ about the positionality of the researcher. In order to ensure validity of this research, I followed each of the procedures mentioned by Creswell and Miller (2000). I immersed myself in the field for one and a half years, and spent most of my time socialising with the women of Kadife Street. By taking Geertz’s (1973) strategy into consideration to ensure validity, I offered “thick description” of the events, persons and the field throughout the dissertation. I devoted the whole Chapter 4 to situating the research site, and in this chapter, I have offered as many details as possible to the reader about the methodological procedures I followed to conduct my fieldwork. Similarly, in the analytical chapters, rather than reporting the dialogues on their own, I attempted to contextualise the speech events both

discursively and historically. To ensure consistency across different data sets, I used triangulation through recorded spontaneous interaction data, interviews and fieldnotes. Following each face-to-face gathering between the Iraqi and local women, I wrote my fieldnotes and did member checking with the participants. Through the interviews I conducted following the big gatherings, I asked for the participants' retrospective commentary, and elicited their certain accounts. In this way, I could compare my own reflection with that of the other participants. As it will be presented in the next section, I discussed in detail how my own positionality had an impact on the data I collected and on the relationship I developed with my participants, and critically reflected on the reciprocal positioning processes between me and my participants. Finally, throughout my thesis writing process, I was able to receive regular feedback from my supervisors, and had a chance to present my research in various international conferences, and to receive constructive feedback. As a result, with the procedures listed here, I attempted to increase the validity of my findings.

5.8 Researcher's positionality

As it is stated earlier while discussing the epistemological framework of this research around the Linguistic Ethnography in Chapter 2, this research positions itself along with the ethnographic tradition within an interpretivist paradigm, and acknowledges the partiality and subjectivity of the whole process of researching. As an analyst and also the fieldworker of this ethnographic research, starting from the preparation stage for this fieldwork to the presentation of interpretations and the analysis I conducted in this dissertation, my orientations and positionality as a "whole social being", and also the intersubjectivities I formed with my participants had an influence on every stage of this research. For this very reason, as argued by Coffey (1999), the

autobiographical dimension of ethnography must be acknowledged as much as its “biographic dimension” because with the report the fieldworker writes, she or he does not only inform readers about the lives of others but also his or her own life. Now that we cannot think about social research by excluding the researcher from it, what needs to be done is to develop self-reflexive accounts about the positionality of the researcher and intersubjectivity formed with his or her participants. Referring to Bourdieu (2005) as Blommaert and Jie (2010) propose, if there is a way to achieve objectivity in social sciences, it is to acknowledge one’s subjectivity by reflecting upon his or her positionality in research. Taking this into account, in this section, by taking up a critical stance towards my own positionality as a fieldworker I will inform the reader about my own biases as a sociohistorical being, my experience as an insider and outsider in the field, the strategic calculations I made in a Goffmanian sense to create the desired impression, and the relationship of power I constructed with my participants.

As a fieldworker and the analyst of this research, I was brought up in a typical traditional and Sunni-Muslim Turkish family residing in Kırşehir from one generation to another for over two hundred years. Although I was born and raised in Kadife Street until the age of 18, I spent the last ten years of my life, which comprises my whole transition stage from puberty to adulthood, as a student in various university campuses situated in big metropolitan cities of Turkey and Europe, and as an activist in anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-speciesist platforms. As a person having friends from all over the world, I have aimed to be a world citizen who worries about the social and political problems in Europe as much as the Middle East and Africa. After I returned home ten years later as a permanent resident of Kadife Street, during the first stage, I started to think that I did not feel belonging to my

hometown any more as I realised that I did not share the same ‘social facts’ with the people of Kadife Street. I even thought that it was not a great idea to return my family home for this fieldwork. However, at the end of two or three months, I realised that I broke the ice with Kadife Street, and acclimatised to my new social space. I even started to feel as if I had never left Kadife Street, and had spent my whole life there. The first visible sign of my adjustment was in my accent as I had already started to speak like my grandmother, and reacted to incidents by using the same exclamation markers and gestures as her. While the ideological differences between me and my new space were persistent during my one and a half years stay in Kadife Street, over time I learnt how to fit into the frame and to manage relations with the people.

For example, in my initial interviews with the local women, I experienced several emotional and methodological problems. I often felt bad emotionally after talking to the locals about refugees because of their anti-refugee and racist sentiments, and thought that I was not strong enough for this fieldwork and to face the realities in the research site. Sometimes, I even felt strong desire to intervene with the people I talked to, and to attempt to change the wrong assumptions and false speculations they had about refugees, but over time, I started to understand the local people’s motivation, worries and feelings of insecurity about the future better. By adopting an academic approach rather than taking up an impulsive activist stance, I started to engage in critical discussions with myself about why people are invested in reproducing anti-refugee discourse, and what kind of calculations they make to act in a certain way. During this preparation stage, for example, I learnt how to accommodate the way I talk with people, and to engage in critical discussions with them by trying to find common grounds. For example, in my first pilot interview in

the field, I overconfidently asked a local woman a direct question about the local culture, and wanted her to describe her culture, and her immediate reaction was ‘what is culture?’. At that moment, I realised that I should reconsider what I think I know about the women of Kadife Street, and start building the research site not much with my presuppositions and taken-for-granted terminologies of social science, but slowly by trying to understand the local meanings and associated realities to these meanings.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue that “the comfortable sense of being at ‘home’ is a danger signal” (p. 90) because a researcher may tend to assume that she or he already knows the internal dynamics, local meanings of the cultural practices and local values; however, living in a certain space as its local resident and doing research there with a researcher identity are different endeavours demanding different motivations even if they may feed one another. For example, according to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), an ethnographer is expected to adopt a “critical and analytic perspective”, and in order to achieve this, she or he needs to intellectually distance himself or herself from the local practice by abstracting what is observed locally through social theories.¹⁰ However, the practice of distancing may be more challenging for an insider who does his or her research at his or her home. Therefore, she or he should not immerse himself or herself totally in the field and not over-identify himself or herself with it. I assume that being away from Kadife Street for a long time helped me manipulate both insider and outsider roles strategically as I felt neither belonging to Kadife Street nor not belonging. Therefore, my ambivalent feelings towards Kadife Street helped me take a critical stance, and reflect upon

¹⁰ This process of movement from describing a situated event from an insider’s perspective to engaging in an intellectual discussion is known as Boasian ethnographic principle (see Blommaert, 2005).

people's cultural and social practices as if I was an outsider even if I was brought up with them.

While conducting an ethnographic study in one's hometown, speaking in the same language, in this way having relevant symbolic capital, having good networks of relations even before entering the field, and in this way, having enough social capital clearly bring advantages to a researcher, this does not automatically entitle a fixed 'insider' status to the researcher. Along with the reconceptualization of 'insider' and 'outsider' statuses in the field of anthropology as a result of the Post-structuralist trend, similar to other group identities such as ethnicity and gender, the positionality of the researcher is also seen as dynamic, emergent and situated (Christensen and Dahl, 1997; Mullings, 1999). Therefore, by problematising the perspectives addressing the dichotomous relationship between insiderness and outsiderhood, today, researchers talk about establishing "temporary insider status" (Mullings, 1999), and a continuum of insider and outsider statuses (Surra and Ridley, 1991). While the preceding researchers such as Merton (1972) describe to be an insider as simply sharing the same ethnic, gender, linguistic or religious affiliation, today the essentialist fallacy in ethnography known as "methodological nationalism", which automatically categorises the researcher into a same category with participants due to their ascription to the same identity categories, is largely abandoned.

With this in mind, during my fieldwork, I strategically attempted to achieve an insider status in certain cases in which, I thought, would help me develop better rapport with my participants. For example, because both the refugee and local women whom I worked with consistently construct a pious and conservative identity across social events, I attempted to comply with the religious rules in order to be accepted by the women as a legitimate member. We recited the Quran together, and

involved in religious discussions. I often chose to suppress my personal beliefs to achieve alignment with my participants and to achieve the temporary insider position. During my one and a half years' stay in Kadife Street, especially while visiting the local and refugee women's home, I paid special attention to my dressing. For example, I chose to wear black pants and long sleeve collar t-shirt in my home visits. While participating in the Quran recitation events, as the only woman who does not wear hijab, I carried my hijab in my bag to use it during the events. This kind of "self-conscious impression management" (p. 72) was also discussed by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) by referring to Goffman (1956), and interpreted as a social practice which exists in every sphere of life. In other words, such worries and calculations about self-impression are not only peculiar to social research, and they are indeed the normal state of everyday life. However, because such Goffmanian game-like calculations are often unconsciously made and not reflected upon in everyday life, they may go unnoticed, and sound deceptive to a layperson.

As discussed by Mullings (1999), while in some cases, to achieve an insider status may be desirable, in other cases, to achieve an outsider status may bring more advantage to a fieldworker. For example, in religious discussions, no matter how much I tried to align with the women, because of my lack of expertise in religious topics, I could not produce religious arguments and contribute to the discussions. Therefore, I was often positioned by the women as a novice who did not have enough knowledge about the "core issues" of life despite my education background, and positioned as somehow an outsider who is not committed to religion as much as them. However, despite not giving the positive impression I desired, this constructed outsider status in a religious frame helped me gather more information both from the local and Iraqi women. Despite my lack of knowledge in Islam in comparison with

the local and Iraqi women, I was enthusiastic to know more about their religious practices; therefore, the women interpreted the conversations about their faith and being recorded while reading the Quran as a tool to disseminate their religious ideology to people like me. Therefore, I got the impression that they gave an extra effort to explain things to me in a religious frame for the sake of helping me to be pious like them. For example, one of the local women gave a lace headscarf she made for me as a gift to encourage me to wear a hijab, and she presented it to me by wishing this from God out loud in front of the other women. The other women all said “amen” to her prayer, and achieved “one voice” by making me feel an outsider even more.

Apart from the impact of the religious identity on the data I collect and the relationship I formed with my participants, my womanhood was also positioned in an ambiguous manner by my participants. It is obvious that if I was not a woman, it could have been impossible for me to participate in these all-female events and to conduct my ethnographic research with the local and Iraqi women. However, I cannot argue that my biological womanhood automatically brought me an insider status during my fieldwork as the type of womanhood I constructed sometimes contradicted to the local and Iraqi women’s understanding of womanhood. For example, I got the impression that my participants, in general, saw me as a woman in her late 20s who has neither a career nor her own family as opposed to her same-aged peers. Therefore, during my one and a half years stay in Kırşehir, both the local and the Iraqi women made great efforts to convince me to get married before turning to my 30s. They found Turkish and Iraqi candidates for me, and wanted to introduce me with them. When they talked about issues such as motherhood, wifely and domestic duties, they often pointed at me, and directly or indirectly implied that I

was not in a position to understand them by sometimes openly saying that “*sen anlamazsin!*” (you don’t understand!). As a result, due to my marital status, I was positioned as a temporary outsider by both the local women and refugee women while discussing such topics conventionally associated with womanhood.

Similar to the temporal shifts between insider/outsider statuses, the power relations I formed with participants also changed from one situation to another. For example, in certain situations in which I was seen not qualified enough to understand motherhood and wifehood, I felt in a less powerful position than my participants, and could not challenge them because, by achieving “one voice”, they often made me feel that I was a guest in their kingdom. However, whenever I wanted to conduct a more structured interview, both the local women and refugee women felt themselves too ignorant to answer my questions, and this totally changed the power dynamics. For example, some of the local women tried to change their accent as their answers were recorded, and the Iraqi women could not even talk fluently in one-to-one interviews. Therefore, as I explained earlier, I decided to avoid doing structured interviews, took my local facilitator who is married with children with me, and tried to make group interviews in which none of the women would be the focus of the conversation, and, in this way, her individual voice would mingle with the voices of others. In this way, I felt that I was able to minimise the possible power asymmetries that would stem from my ‘researcher’ position.

Nevertheless, in my conversations with the Iraqi women, due to my local identity, I was sometimes positioned as a person who is in a privileged position. Therefore, when they shared their everyday problems with me, they sometimes avoided openly criticising the local women due to my local identity, and made me feel that my life style was too comfortable to understand what they had gone through.

On the other hand, because the local women knew my close relationship with the refugees in the neighbourhood, they tended to think that I was biased towards refugees. Therefore, in my conversations with the locals, I felt that they tried to hedge their anti-refugee arguments, or gave a false impression as they knew my position about this issue. In such cases, as I knew my participants at least as much as my participants knew me, I kindly asked them to be more open and honest with me. One may argue that as a researcher I should have hid my real emotions and opinions, and tried to achieve objectivity. However, based on my field experience, I argue that if an ethnographer immerses herself in a certain cultural setting for over one year, it is not much possible to hide her biases and the existent ideological differences from his or her participants even if she or he can still minimise the differences by softening them through certain strategic calculations.

In this section, I discussed how my own positionality had an impact on the data I collected and the relationship I developed with my participants, and I critically reflected on the reciprocal positioning processes and the relationship of power between me and my participants. Even if I developed certain strategies during my fieldwork to position myself in a certain way, in this section, the reader saw that the way I was positioned by my participants, and the intersubjectivities I established with them were mostly emergent and discursive; therefore, beyond my control to a certain extent.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTION OF MONOGLOSSIC STANCES

While the system of values associated with monolithic understanding towards languages, cultures and ethnicity is sometimes called *monoglot ideology* (Blommaert, 2006; Silverstein, 1996), it is sometimes explained by the concept of *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 1997) with the inspiration drawn from Bourdieu's concept of habitus (see Chapter 2). No matter how this monolithic vision is addressed, what is meant is the idealised construction of diverse cultures, people and ethnicities as unitary, homogeneous and single objects within a nation-state discourse. To this end, this chapter examines the local women's tendency to equate a nation with a single culture, a single language and a single ethnicity, which I suggest, stems from the reproduction of monoglot ideology. I will discuss this observed inclination by examining the stances the local women construct in relation to monoglot ideology. I will demonstrate the moments when the local women are inclined towards such understanding through the dialogues extracted from the spontaneous interaction data and interview accounts. While presenting my arguments around the data, I will also refer to the nation-state building process in early Republican Turkey particularly around identity politics and language reforms. In this way, while holding discussions around the data, I will also attempt to make the reader familiar with the ideological motivations behind the stances constructed by the local women.

6.1 Construction of monoglossic stances: Language and national identity

Majority of the refugees residing in the Kadife Street are Iraqi Turkmens who often come with their bilingual repertoires consisting of both Turkmen-Turkish and

Arabic. As stated in Chapter 1, Turkey-Turkish and Iraqi Turkmen's Turkish are different dialects of Turkish. While Turkmen-Turkish is closer to Azerbaijani dialect of Turkish, it is still mutually intelligible with Turkey-Turkish. However, Iraq-Turkish is largely influenced by Arabic lexically (Haydar, 1979). While the Iraqi Turkmen participants call what they speak "*Türkmen*", they call Turkey-Turkish "*Türki*". While they tend to see *Türkmen* and *Türki* are two distinct languages, they accept "*Osmani*" (Ottoman Turkish) as the common root of these two languages. As the Iraqi Turkmen in Kadife Street have been in this neighbourhood at least more than a year, they report to have acquired Turkish in a short span of time while the duration of picking up the local Turkish varies depending on their intensity of social interaction with the locals. For example, while it is easier for the males working in Turkish workplaces to acquire the local code, it may take longer time for the Iraqi Turkmen women who spend most of their time at home.

Although the Iraqi Turkmen claim a special place among other ethnic refugees due to their shared ethnic, linguistic and religious ties with the locals, they are often perceived as Arabs by the locals whom I interviewed with. Besides, as soon as they move into this neighbourhood, the first ascribed identity to them is refugeeness, and most of them fail to go beyond their refugee identities. The following extract below is taken from an interview with a local woman, Aynur, who shares the same apartment with an Iraqi Turkmen family. Because it is an evening gathering among close families, Aynur's husband Necati and her father-in-law Rasim were also present during the interview. In the extract below, Aynur argues that even if she understands her Iraqi Turkmen neighbour's talk, what she speaks is not Turkish, and that her neighbour is indeed an Arab rather than a Turk:

Extract 6.1

- 1 Hasret: peki şimdi bunun bu kadının aksanını anlıyor musunuz? dili anlaşılıyor mu? mesela yani=
2 Aynur: = çok zor ama yarı yarıya Türkçe söylüyo ama çok zor (.)
3 İsmiur: zor anlaşılıyor (.)
4 Hasret: yani bir iletişim sorununa yol açıyor mu? böyle karşılıklı olsan yüz yüze konuşurken
5 zorlanıyor musun anlamakta?
6 Aynur: tabii anlarım ama yine de onun konuşmasını- az da olsa anlıyo insan
7 Hasret: evet yani farklı bir aksan (.) buna Türkçe der misiniz?
8 Aynur: Türkçe de değil ama
9 Rasim: kadın Türkçe konuşamıyo ya
10 Necati: yani meramını anlatıyo
11 Aynur: Türkçe tam şey yapamıyo ama anlıyom yine de onun konuşmasını anlıyom
12 Hasret: bunu peki duyduğunuzda nereli dersiniz? yabancı mı Türk mü?
13 Aynur: yabancı değil- Türk de değil (.) Arap- ben Araplar’dan derim- heralde bunlar Araplar-
14 öyle değil mi?
15 Hasret: Türkmen aslında
16 Aynur: Türkmen (.) Türkmenler de Arap XXXX bizim kelimeleri şey yapmıyo- düzgün bi
17 kelime değil ama anlıyoz

- 1 *Hasret: well do you get her accent? is her language understandable? I mean =*
2 *Aynur: = very difficult but she says half Turkish but very difficult (.)*
3 *İsmiur: difficult to understand (.)*
4 *Hasret: I mean does it lead to a communication problem? imagine you face each other while*
5 *speaking face to face do you have difficulty in understanding her?*
6 *Aynur: of course I still understand her talk- one can understand her talk a little bit*
7 *Hasret: yeah I mean a different accent (.) would you call it Turkish?*
8 *Aynur: it is not Turkish though*
9 *Rasim: that woman cannot speak Turkish*
10 *Necati: I mean she can get her point across*
11 *Aynur: she cannot speak Turkish exactly but I understand I still understand her talk*
12 *Hasret: when you hear her talk where is she from would you think? a foreigner or a Turk?*
13 *Aynur: she is not foreign- neither is she Turk (.) Arab- I say she is an Arab- probably they are*
14 *Arabs- right?*
15 *Hasret: she is Turkmen indeed*
16 *Aynur: Turkmen (.) Turkmens are also Arab XXXX she doesn’t make uhm our words- not a proper*
17 *word but we understand*

Aynur, Interview - January 2017

From this extract, we understand that Aynur’s neighbour’s Turkish does not result in a communication problem between them, as Aynur reports that she understands her neighbour by using the adverb of certainty “*tabii*” (of course) in line 6. Her husband, Necati, supports her by adding that their neighbour knows enough Turkish to express her needs in Turkish (line 10). While Necati evaluates their neighbour’s Turkish from a positive frame, Aynur constructs a more critical and authoritative stance towards her neighbour’s speech (lines 16 and 17). Besides, when “*I still understand her talk*” in line 11 and “*of course I still understand*” in line 6 are brought together,

it is inferred that, from Aynur's perspective, it is Aynur who manages to understand her Iraqi neighbour despite the woman's lack of Turkish (lines 2 and 8). From this extract, I get the impression that Aynur subjectifies herself and attributes the success of communication to herself, as from her perspective, she is the one achieving this understanding despite the deficiency in her neighbour's Turkish. Another interesting point about this extract is that Aynur claims what her neighbour speaks is not Turkish (line 8), and that she positions her neighbour as an Arab because, for her, Turkmen identity indexes Arabness rather than Turkishness (line 16). As a result, we see that as a legitimate Turk and a Turkish speaker, Aynur disaligns herself from her neighbour and Turkmens in general.

In line 13, we see Aynur's tendency to categorise people, in general, as 'Turks', 'Arabs' and 'others', which is quite a common way of categorising people among other local women as well. I suppose that Aynur distinguishes Arabs from foreigners (*yabancı*) in line 13, as foreigners are the non-Muslim ones. Following this conversation, referring to her neighbour, Aynur states that "*ne kadar konuşursa konuşsun yabancı*" ("no matter how well she talks, she is still a foreigner"). As opposed to her earlier statements, this time, Aynur positions Arabs as foreigners as well by distancing them further from Turks. When we consider these two contrasting statements, we may infer that even if Arabs have a special place among all other ethnic groups for Aynur, their level of closeness may change from one situation to another.

In general, in this excerpt, a negative and authoritative stance indexed by Aynur towards her neighbour's way of talking arguably indexes the uniformist and monoglossic position she takes up towards her neighbour's ethnic and linguistic identities. Aynur's "no matter how well she talks, she is a foreigner" statement also

suggests that it is not only the way her neighbour speaks Turkish which makes her a foreigner while we still infer that language is one of these factors. Apart from the observed linguistic differences, some locals including Aynur think that the stereotypical image of an Arab better describes the Iraqi Turkmen as they do not fit into the idealised Turkish image with their up to 10-12 kids, polygamous relationships, dressing styles, and behaviour all of which, they think, fit into a stereotypical Arab image. Therefore, social backwardness of their refugee neighbours is often reiterated by the local women in the interviews, and this is often done through a comparison between the old times of Turkish society and the current situation of Iraqis and Syrians. This finding, which can be characterised as “the occurrence of an evolutionistic and historicizing perspective on culture, in the sense that their culture is a culture of the past when compared to ours” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998, p. 94), is in compatible with what is observed in Belgian society.

As a result, even if the Iraqi Turkmen claim Turkish identity, their Turkishness is approached with suspicion. I get the impression that from the local women’s perspective, if one is from Iraq, it is automatically assumed that she or he is Iraqi and speaks Arabic. Besides, because the Iraqi Turkmen refugees in the neighbourhood come from Iraq and know Arabic, the locals become suspicious about their Turkish origin. Even if the Iraqi Turkmen speak a Turkic dialect as their mother tongue, because they are also the speakers of Arabic, this bilingual situation may cast a shadow on their authenticity in Turkishness. Therefore, bilingualism can itself be seen as a potential problem from this monoglot state of mind prevalent among the local women. This extract below is from the women’s Gold Day on which the local women get together with their Iraqi Turkmen neighbours for the first time.

It shows the surprise of the local woman, Rukiye, when she hears Farah speaking Turkish, and she wonders how Farah has learnt it:

Extract 6.2

- 18 Hasret: siz kısırı sevdiniz mi?
19 Farah: severiz- bi kere üste komşularımız çağırmişlar kısır yapmişlar yeduk orda
20 Hasret: sevdin?
21 Farah: evet ben de yaparım evde- ben de yaparım
22 Rukiye: konuşuyo maşallah ne güzel konuşuyo {heyecanla}(.) burda mı öğrendin?
23 Farah: evet burda öğrendim
24 Rukiye: ÇOK güzel=
25 Ele: =biz de aslımız Türkmendir (.) Iraklı Türkmenler
26 Rukiye: çok güzel
(...)
27 Rukiye: ÇOK güzel Türkçe konuşuyolar görüyon mu Hasret?
28 Hasret: zaten eeeh Türkmenler anadil=
29 Rukiye: =yani bir dil bir dildir bir adamdır- insandır
30 Hasret: tabi tabi
31 Rukiye: ne demek keşke biz de onların dilini öğrenseydik
- 18 Hasret: *do you like kısır {traditional local food}?*
19 Farah: *we like it- once our neighbour invited us they made kısır we ate there*
20 Hasret: *you like it?*
21 Farah: *yes I also make it at home- I also make it*
22 Rukiye: *she speaks mashallah how well she speaks {with excitement} (.) did you learn it here?*
23 Farah: *yes I learnt it here*
24 Rukiye: *VERY good=*
25 Ele: *=we are originally Turkmen (.) Iraqi Turkmens*
26 Rukiye: *very good*
(...)
27 Rukiye: *they speak VERY good Turkish do you see it Hasret?*
28 Hasret: *well uhm they are Turkmen their mother tongue=*
29 Rukiye: *=of course one language is one language one person- human*
30 Hasret: *of course*
31 Rukiye: *yeah I wish we had learnt their language*

Women's Gold Day- January 2017

Although Ele and Farah were introduced as Iraqi Turkmens to the women at the beginning of this gathering, it may be supposed that Rukiye might not have heard of it, and; therefore, she might have been surprised that Farah could speak Turkish very well. However, when the other similar statements reiterated across different local participants and events are considered, one can easily argue that no matter how many times Ele and Farah say that they are Turkmen, and; therefore, they know Turkish, in the eyes of the local women, they are still positioned as Arabs coming from one of the Arabic countries. The second part of the conversation taking place two minutes

after the first extract supports this hypothesis, as Rukiye, again, bewilderedly continues to complement Farah on her Turkish (line 27). Although I remind Rukiye of Farah and Ele's Turkmen background in case, I thought, she missed that detail, it does not work as Rukiye still says that she wishes she would know their language (line 31), as she still thinks that Ele and Farah learnt 'our' language after they moved here. As a result, she does not accept the fact that Turkish is also their language. In this way, she does not acknowledge their Turkish identity.

In the following meetings with the same group of women, the locals continue expressing their surprise to hear the Iraqi Turkmen women speaking Turkish. For example, in the third gathering, when an Iraqi Turkmen woman, Sebe, sang a hymn in Turkish written for the Prophet Mohammed, one of the local women, Melike, was astonished that Sebe sang a hymn in Turkish just like Turkish women. Because Melike knows that such hymns are part of the Turkish culture transmitted from generation to generation, she was not sure how a refugee woman, a stranger, could learn it:

Extract 6.3

32 Melike: şey dikkatimi çekti hani siz bu ilahileri Arapça mı öğrendiniz Türkçe'ye
 33 çevirdiniz? normalde mi böyle öğrendiniz?
 34 Sebe: he he Arapça türkü- yok bizim türkü kitabımız var babamın türkü kitabı
 35 Melike: siz şu an Türkçe söylediniz demi?
 36 Hasret: bunlar Türkmen ya o yüzden
 37 Melike: hıı (.)
 38 Hasret: Türkmence- yani Türkçe
 39 Sebe: biz Türkmen- bizim de Türkmen kitabımız var- XXXX peygamberin hepi şeyleri var ıh
 40 Türkmence- babam bize annem bize=
 41 Kadime:= peygamber hepsi dilden konuşmuş
 42 Sebe: humsu {hepsi}- var kitaplarımız okurdu bize

32 Melike: *something has drawn my attention did you learn these hymns in Arabic you translate it*
 33 *into Turkish? or you learned it like this normally?*
 34 Sebe: *yeah an Arabic folk song- no we have a folk songbook my father used to have a songbook*
 35 Melike: *you have just said it in Turkish haven't you?*
 36 Hasret: *they are Turkmen you know therefore*
 37 Melike: *yeah (.)*
 38 Hasret: *Turkmen- that is Turkish*
 39 Sebe: *we are Turkmen- we also have a Turkmen book- XXXX we have Prophet's all the things*
 40 *mmm in Turkmen- my father to us my mum=*

41 *Kadime: = the Prophet spoke in every language*
42 *Sebe: all {all}- we have books he used to read us*

Women's Gold Day- April 2017

Because Sebe did not understand the reason why Melike asked such a question, her answer was that she had learnt it through her parents' book of folk songs (line 34). The hypothesis Melike developed to explain the Iraqi woman's knowledge in Turkish song which belongs to Turkish culture is that the Iraqi woman learnt it in Arabic, but while she was singing it among the Turkish women, she simultaneously translated it into Turkish (line 32). It seems that this remote possibility can even sound more rational for Melike rather than acknowledging Sebe's Turkish origin, and she asked Sebe again whether what she heard of a few seconds before was Turkish (line 35). The sceptical stance Melike constructed on the ethnic and linguistic background of the invited Iraqi Turkmen women was sustained in the follow-up interview I conducted with her. In the interview, Melike explicitly mentions her suspicion about those women's Turkish root by stating that "*bi Türkmenler şey olduydu ya DAESH vurmaya başladıydı o Türkler bizim Türkler onlara eminim ama bunlara emin değilim*" ("once the ISIS started bombing Turkmens- those Turks were our Turks I am sure about this but I am not sure about them") referring to the Iraqi Turkmen women on the Gold Day. This statement is important to show that Turkishness is both an ideological and arbitrary construct. It is ideological because while she is sure that the group of Iraqi people she watches on TV are Turk, despite her first-hand experience, she cannot be sure about the genuineness of Turkishness of the group of women she met in person more than once. Because the image projected by the Iraqi Turkmen women does not fit into the idealised image of a Turk in the eyes of Melike, she still insists on addressing the women as Arabs or Syrians interchangeably. A similar sceptical stance constructed

by Melike towards the Turkish identities of the Iraqi women is echoed by another local woman, Naciye. Based on what she watched on TV, this time, Naciye rejects the Turkmen identity of the women she met on the Gold Day meetings on grounds of not fitting into the real Turkmen image:

Extract 6.4

- 43 Naciye: bence onlar Türkmen değil Hasret (.) bunlar İranlı Iraklı işte- ee bunlar Türkmen değil
44 Hasret: sence niye?
45 Naciye: Türkmenler var ya bunlar gibi değil- televizyon gösteriyo ben bazı bakıyom
46 Türkmenlere- dün mü neydi bi şey vardı gezelim görelim programında orda Türkmenler
47 bunlar gibi değil
48 Hasret: hmm
49 Naciye: Türkmenler daha içten cana yakın şey (...) bunlar bi de ürküyo çekiniyolar
50 Hasret: bizim bunlar?
51 Naciye: tabi bunlar biraz da çekiniyo Hasret- öyle dime
52 Hasret: nasıl çekiniyo?
53 Naciye: sizde var ya şey yaptım (.) annen var ya bana belki kızmıştır ya niye Türkiye'yi niye
54 memleketinizi geldiniz evinizi barkınızı bıraktınız savaşsaydınız ölseydiniz şehit
55 olurdunuz buraya gelmekten ne şeyiniz oldu- diyince kadın baya perelendi- onlar öyle
56 değil (.) Türkmenler öyle değil daHA da misafir sever diyo daHA insana önem veriyolar-
57 onlar Türkmenler bizim burdan gittiği için bizim soyda oldukları içinmiş- onlar daha cana
58 yakın (...)
59 Hasret: peki sen diyosun ki onlar Arap ben onları Arap olarak görüyorum diyosun
60 Naciye: ben öyle görüyom
61 Hasret: şeyi mi mesela konuşması mı? giyim kuşamı filan mı?
62 Naciye: giyim kuşamı da şey bi de temizlik yönünden bazıları daha temiz titiz (.) Araplar bunlar
63 gibi aynı işte
64 Hasret: nasıl yani?
65 Naciye: e böyle giyimi kuşamları hareketleri böyle

- 43 Naciye: *I think they are not Turkmen Hasret (.) they are Persian Iraqi- uhm they aren't Turkmen*
44 Hasret: *why do you think so?*
45 Naciye: *you know Turkmens are not like them- on TV shows I sometimes watch Turkmens- it was*
46 *yesterday or so in a travel show there were Turkmens they are not like them*
47 Hasret: *hmm*
48 Naciye: *Turkmens are more sincere warm-hearted uhm (...) these are scared of- have cold feet*
49 Hasret: *ours these ones here?*
50 Naciye: *of course they are shy little bit Hasret- don't say so*
51 Hasret: *how are they shy?*
52 Naciye: *at your place I did uhm (.) maybe your mum was offended uhm why to Turkey why did you*
53 *leave your hometown leave your household if you had fought if you had died you could*
54 *have been martyrs what did you get out of coming here- when I said so the woman got*
55 *very angry- they are not like this (.) Turkmens are not like this they say they are MORE*
56 *hospitable MORE friendly- those ones are Turkmen they are so as they migrated from*
57 *there and from our race- more candid (...)*
58 Hasret: *well you say they are Arab you say I see them as Arabs*
59 Naciye: *I see them so*
60 Hasret: *is it for example her talk? Is it her clothing and so on?*
61 Naciye: *her clothing as well and cleaning-wise some are cleaner meticulous (.) Arabs are like*
62 *them exactly like this*
63 Hasret: *how? you mean*
64 Naciye: *well like this their wearing behaviour are like this*

Naciye, Interview- December 2017

Because, from an ethno-nationalist frame, Turkmen are often seen as the Turks who come from Ottoman lands which historically belong to Turks, I observe that the local Turks often attach a nostalgic meaning to Turkmen communities in the Middle East. However, here, we see that the romantic image of Turkmen constructed by Naciye does not correspond to what she observes locally (lines 45, 48 and 56). When this constructed nostalgic and romantic image attributed to Turkmen is not supported by the real images and actions of the Turkmen, we see that Naciye, similar to Melike and Aynur, prefers to rely on her previously constructed ideological framework rather than her lived experience. Similar to the earlier examples presented in this section up until now, it is evident that when an ideology and lived experience conflict with one another, instead of reconfiguring their scheme, the local women tend to reject the reality for the sake of keeping their ideology intact. In this excerpt, it is seen that Naciye uses adjectives such as “sincere, friendly, warm-hearted and hospitable” to define Turkmen without giving specific reference apart from a TV programme she has recently watched on TV. By using such generalisations about the characteristics of Turkmen, she arguably attempts to justify her negative reaction against the refugee women she met face-to-face. While glorifying the Turkmen through positive generalisations, at the same time, she derogates the so-called Turkmen women she shares the same neighbourhood with, supposedly to prove their non-Turkishness. Due to the hegemonic Arabophobia in the neighbourhood which is often fuelled by certain historical myths such as Arabs betrayed Turks in the World War I and cooperated with the enemies of the Turks, Naciye positions the Iraqi Turkmen women as Arabs arguably as a sign of her disfavour. Dirtiness of Arabs is one of the very well-known negative stereotypes attributed to Arabs in Turkish society, and Naciye invokes this stereotype to prove the Iraqi Turkmen women’s

non-Turkishness and Arabness (line 62/61).¹¹

As a result, although to be officially a Turk, that is to be a citizen of Turkey, is associated with Turkish and Muslim identity, it seems that the Iraqi Turkmen women, despite their ethnic, linguistic and religious ties, are not seen qualified enough to be positioned as Turks. I infer that the nationalist monoglossic stances indexed by the local women lead to the exclusion of the Iraqi Turkmen women as they are formally members of another nation-state whose language is straightforwardly acknowledged as Arabic and national identity as Iraqi. Therefore, it is safe to assume that one of the reasons why the local women disalign with the Iraqi Turkmen women's claim to Turkishness for themselves is their constructed political stance which clearly indexes a nationalist ideology. Even if this ideology is beyond the immediate context, its reproduction has consequences for their interpersonal relationship such as the exclusion of the Iraqi Turkmen women from the shared ethnic and linguistic category and their being positioned as outsiders.

The extracts presented in this section also show us the close relationship between language and national identity because both during the interviews and in the face-to-face meetings with the Turkmen women, language is often instrumentalised by the local women as a primary referential object to position the Iraqi Turkmen as outsiders. For example, while the local women construct a sceptical stance towards the ethnic identity of the Turkmen women, we have seen that they use the Turkmen women's bilingualism and ways of talking resembling Arabs along with their membership to another nation-state as proofs of their non-Turkishness. As a result,

¹¹ From now on, the line numbers of the Turkish and English transcripts do not correspond to each other. The line number that will be given first will refer to a line number in the Turkish version of the transcript, and the line number which will be given in italic type following the Turkish one and a slash will refer to the line number in the English version of the transcript. In other words, the line numbers separated through a slash in the paragraphs will refer to the same line in the Turkish and English versions respectively.

the Turkmen women are recognised as the members of neither the Turkish speech community nor the Turkish nation-state. Besides, the extracts have also shown us that because the local women tend to equate national and linguistic identities with each other, they position themselves as the owners of the Turkish language and legitimate members of the Turkish nation-state who have the right to evaluate and criticise others while the Iraqi Turkmen women are recognised as the Iraqis who have the right to claim ownership only over the Arabic language.

So far, I have attempted to show the monoglot ideology governing the perceptions of the local women towards the Iraqi Turkmen women, and focused more on the local women's perspectives. When one shifts the focus from the local level perspective to the state level with regard to the identity politics in Turkey, he or she can easily notice the close link between what is observed locally and the wider political process. For example, in the 1924 constitution of Turkey, the Article 88 defines Turkish national identity with civic terms by granting equal status and rights to its citizens. The article states that "the people of Turkey regardless of their religion and race would, in terms of citizenship, be called Turkish" (Gözübüyük and Kılılı, 2000, p. 138). This article is consistent with what is observed among the local women because the extracts presented so far have shown that the local women tend to accept a person as one of them if she or he is the legal member of their nation-state instead of relying on a partnership based on ethnicity, religion and language. Ateş (2006) suggests that even if Turkishness seems to be used with civic terms as an inclusive political identity, because it fails to answer the identity claims of different ethnic groups, this new nation-state can be categorised as an 'ethno-romantic' which aims to reach an ideal rather than an objective membership. Similarly, Aslan (2007) also maintains that, in contrast to what the official narrative says, when the actual

steps taken by the state of Turkey such as Turkification policies from language to identity are considered, the Turkish nation-state fits into an ethnic nationalist frame which defines citizenship with a single ethnic category, that is, 'Turk'. Therefore, this is not simply a matter of acceptance or rejection of a person as a member of a nation-state. Under which condition and in what manner the person is accepted as the part of the national unity are the other important axes of this complex formula which would help us understand the construction of the national identity both at a state level and a local level perspective.

In relation to the politics of minority identity in Turkey, referring to the Lausanne Treaty, İçduygu and Kaygusuz (2004) argue that citizenship in Turkey has a strong religious basis as much as an ethnic basis. They maintain that while the non-Muslim groups in the country such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews were acknowledged as the official minority groups as they were not accepted as the part of the Turkish nation due to their different religious identity, non-Turkish Muslim minorities such as Kurds, Lazs and Arabs were not acknowledged as minority groups as they were seen as the part of the national unity and also as assimilable minorities who would be Turkified over time thanks to their Muslim identity. Aslan (1997) finds this identity politics built around Muslim identity to be paradoxical because despite strong adherence to secular values and rejection of the Eastern Islamic Ottoman values, Turkishness was automatically used to index a Muslim identity even after the foundation of a modern and secular nation-state. As a result, when the 1924 constitution, the treaty of Lausanne and the Law of Settlement discussed in the first chapter are considered, it becomes evident that Turkishness is defined with ethnic, religious and linguistic criteria in the new Turkish nation-state, and we end up reaching a prototypical image of a Turk who is ethnically Turk,

religiously Muslim, and linguistically a monolingual speaker of Turkish.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, I tended to conceptualise the migration of Iraqi Turkmen as an internal migration as they actually moved from one Turkish town to another, as the district they resided in Iraq, Tal Afar, is known as a Turkish town due its only-Turkmen population. However, despite the shared language, ethnic and religious ties, I see that their migration is not perceived as in the same way as a person moving, for example, from Van, a Kurdish-majority city in Turkey, although the person from Van may potentially have different ethnic, linguistic and religious affiliations from the locals. Therefore, I conclude that the nationalist ideology is a more valid discourse for the local women to accept a person as one of them rather than ethnic, religious or linguistic allegiance.

Besides, from an economic frame of reference, when it comes to granting citizenship to Turks who come from other nation-states, because the acceptance of Iraqi Turkmen as one of them brings with itself additional social and economic burden on the locals, it would not be a profitable option for the locals. According to Gellner (1983), if two people identify each other as belonging to the same nation, then it means they also “recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership” (p. 7). Therefore, if the locals recognise the Turkmen refugees as the part of their nation due to their shared histories, ethnicity and language, this would morally bring additional responsibilities for the locals. In this case, they will have to share what they have as a nation with them economically, socially and emotionally, which would result in an unprofitable situation for the locals most of whom live in socio-economically insecure conditions. Therefore, from an economic perspective, exclusion of the Iraqi Turkmen would be a more rational choice for the locals rather than including them by demanding equal rights for them.

In this section, I attempted to show the monoglot ideology governing the perceptions of the local women towards the Iraqi Turkmen women, and focused more on the local women's constructed stances towards the ethnic and linguistic identities of the Iraqi Turkmen refugees. When the examples presented in this section are taken into account, we see that to be an ethnically Turk, religiously Muslim and linguistically speaker of Turkish are not enough to be counted as a Turk. The extracts also show that stemming from the monoglossic way that Turkishness is constructed, the Turkmen origin of the Iraqi women and their linguistic background as Turkish speakers are approached suspiciously. By invoking negative stereotypes associated with Arabs, the Iraqi Turkmen refugee are positioned as Arabs who are members of Arabic speech community. This situation has shown us the ideologically and ambiguously constructed nature of ethnic and national identities similar to other group identities which, Blommaert and Verschueren (1988) argue, "exist predominantly in the mind" (p. 24) because they are largely driven by ideologies rather than lived experiences.

6.2 Capitalising on shared ethnic and linguistic identities

In this section, I will shift the focus to the Iraqi Turkmen women, and explore how the Iraqi Turkmen women contest the monoglossic stances the local women take up towards their ethnic and linguistic identities, and how they capitalise on their shared ethnic and linguistic backgrounds to contest the imposed foreign and Arab identities on them. I will, then, suggest that while the Iraqi Turkmen women invest their energy in changing the local women's stances in relation to their ethnic and linguistic identities, they act with the very same essentializing logic.

6.2.1 Capitalising on shared ethnic identity

As opposed to the locals whose normativity is arguably bound by monolingualism, the normativity for the Iraqi Turkmens is often multilingualism. Having both Arabic and Turkish linguistic background and both Iraqi and Turkish cultural and ethnic heritage give the Iraqi Turkmens a chance to strategically construct their identities, and to switch between them depending on the situation. A change in the frame may also lead to a change in the identity picked up for themselves. For example, in the face-to-face meetings between the refugee and local women, the Iraqi Turkmen women invoke their Turkish identity as a defensive strategy against the imposed Arab and foreign identities often used by the locals to label them. There are instances in which, I suggest, the Iraqi Turkmen women make their Turkish ethnic and linguistic identities visible to the local women in order to challenge the ‘foreign’ identity. The extract below is from the first gathering between the refugee and local women. Ele, the Iraqi Turkmen woman, notices the local women’s suspicion about their Turkishness as they express their surprise when they hear Ele and Farah speaking Turkish. Therefore, in this extract, we see that Ele tries to legitimise herself in the local women’s eyes by capitalising on the shared linguistic and ethnic identities and rejecting the imposed Arab identity:

Extract 6.5

- 66 Ele: şimdi bizim bu çocuklarımız Türkmen Arapça bilmiyler XXXX
67 Nadire: evde konuşuyosunuz ama demi?
68 Ele: biz Türkmen konuşuruk
{üst üste konuşmalar}
69 Melike: Türkmen NEY yani? bu konuştuğunuz mu Türkmen?
70 Farah: bizimki konuştuğumuz Türkmen
71 Melike: şimdiki konuştuğunuz Türkmen mi?
72 Ele: Türkmen konuşuruk evde
73 Melike: zaten Türkmenlerin şeyi de bizim topraklardan orda bıraktıklarımız- demi?
74 Farah: ne?
75 Melike: Türkmenlerin devamı gelen bizim devamı gelen (.) hani o savaş döneminde anlaşmada
76 bizim kalan topraklarda kalan insanlar demi? bizden kopanlar?
77 Ele: eskiden burdandı- bizim aslımız Türkiye’den gelme eskilerimiz burdan gitmiş Irak’a-
78 hepsi Türkmen- Arapça yok içinde hepsi Türkmen
79 Rukiye: dediğin gibi yani Türkten ayrılma

80 Ele: biz Türkten gelmeyik (.)
 81 Melike: Halep filan bizimdi mesela Türkiye'ye aitti bölününce Halep Suriye'ye geçti mesela İrağa
 82 geçti Suriye'ye geçti ordaki kalan insanlarDAN mısınız? diye
 83 Ele: bizim aslımız Kayseri'den gelme- bizim aslımız Kayseri'den gelmedir ama şimdi
 84 tanımıyoruz sizleri
 85 Melike: doğru
 86 Ele: orda büyümüşük etmişik onun için tanımıyoruz XXXX orda Türkmen konuşuruk okulda
 87 Arapça bilirik- çocuklarımızın HEPsi Türkmen konuşuy (.) o zamanlar Arapça okula
 88 giderler öğrenirler zaten Arapça'nın iyisini zor oluyor bazı kelimeleri çoğu bilmiyok

65 Ele: *now our kids are Turkmen they don't know Arabic XXXX*
 66 Nadire: *but you speak it at home don't you?*
 67 Ele: *we speak Turkmen*
{overlapping talks}
 68 Melike: *WHAT is Turkmen anyway? is it Turkmen what you speak?*
 69 Farah: *ours what we speak is Turkmen*
 70 Melike: *is it Turkmen what you are speaking right now?*
 71 Ele: *we speak Turkmen at home*
 72 Melike: *Turkmens are from our lands they are the ones we left there – right?*
 73 Farah: *what?*
 74 Melike: *they are the continuation of Turks (.) I mean from that war period - in the treaty- the*
 75 *people whom we left in our old land aren't they? the ones who were separated?*
 76 Ele: *in the past from here- our origin is from Turkey our ancestors went to Iraq from here –*
 77 *they are all Turkmens- there is no Arab among them all Turkmen*
 78 Rukiye: *as you said I mean they were separated from Turks*
 79 Ele: *we are originally Turks (.)*
 80 Melike: *Aleppo and stuff like that for example used to belong to Turkey when it was splitted up*
 81 *Aleppo was taken over by Syria by Iraq I mean you are among those who stayed there?*
 82 Ele: *our origin comes from Kayseri {a Turkish city} our origin is from Kayseri but we don't*
 83 *know any of you*
 84 Melike: *right*
 85 Ele: *we grew up there that's why we don't know you XXXX we used to speak Turkmen there*
 86 *we learn Arabic at school- ALL my kids speak Turkmen (.) back then they used to go to an*
 87 *Arabic school they learned it there having a good Arabic is difficult we don't know some*
 88 *words*

Women's Gold Day- January 2017

In this extract, different from the other instances in which Ele tries to capitalise on her Arabic knowledge in order to demonstrate her skills in Arabic and in reading the Quran, she tries to justify her knowledge in Arabic. In other words, she attempts to find an excuse for her Arabic knowledge by saying that they use only Turkmen at home (lines 68/67, 72/71 and 86/85), learn Arabic later at school (line 87/86), and her kids only speak Turkmen (line 66/65). Apart from her emphasis on Turkmen-only and Turkmen-first situation at home among her family members, she also explicitly invokes her Turkish origin (lines 77/76 and 80/79) by resisting against the Arab identity (line 78/77) presumably in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the

local women. In this short extract, in line 83/82, for the third time, we see that Ele mentions her origin coming from a Turkish city, and repeatedly gives her energy to emphasise their shared root as Turks. In this way, she supposedly aims to distance herself from the other refugee groups, and indirectly demands a special place as a Turkmen. As the majority of the refugees seeking asylum in Turkey are Arabs, and as these groups are often stigmatised from everyday spoken discourse to media, Ele supposedly uses Turkishness as a defensive strategy to separate herself from the other stigmatised refugee groups and also as a binding force that would potentially bring them closer with the locals.

Because the local woman, Melike cannot be sure about the affinity between Turkmens and Turks, from an ethno-nationalist perspective, she tries to understand whether they really descended from the same ancestor (lines 73/72 and 75/74), and invokes the larger discourses in relation to the Ottoman Empire and Turkish nationalism. I get the impression that this talk is reminiscent of the President Erdoğan's rhetoric, as he has recently made historical claims to the former lands of the Ottoman Empire in his speeches. For example, soon after launching a military intervention to Syria, in one of his speeches, Erdoğan (2016a) criticised the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923 which defined the borders of the Modern Turkey following the World War I on the grounds that they lost the Ottoman lands which historically belong to Turks. A month later, in another talk, he (2016b) invoked the Turkish borders defined in the National Pact (Misak-ı Milli) in 1920 by the Ottoman Parliament, and invited Turkish youth to lay claim to their historical responsibility over Iraq and Syria, some part of which was claimed as Turkish lands in the National Pact. In line with this objective, Turkey launched a military intervention in Northern Syria from August 2016 until March 2017, and the President repeatedly expressed

his willingness to take part in Mosul operation, as well. During this period, he invoked the nationalist and neo-Ottoman discourse, and actively used the media in order to legitimise the presence of the Turkish soldiers in Syria and to get the public consent for the future military operations in the Middle East.

Extract 6.5 was recorded when the Turkish military intervention was being carried out in the Northern Syria, and one can clearly see the discourses and ideological frames surrounding this interaction. While Melike's speech is meaningful in terms of timing, the way she justifies the presence of Turkmens in Iraq is compatible with the President of Turkey's rhetoric content-wise as well. One can clearly see the consistency between his discourse and Melike's reproduction of this ethno-nationalist discourse especially in the way Melike reminds the other women of the Turkish presence in Aleppo in the past (line 81/80) and refers to a treaty (line 75/74) which is presumably the Treaty of Lausanne.

Extract 6.5 also shows how the local women construct the meanings and associations of Turkmen identity together with the Iraqi Turkmen women, and negotiate meanings attached to this social category. This extract also demonstrates how the face-to-face conversation between two parties gives a chance to Ele and Farah to go beyond their refugee identity and to re-construct who they are. Finally, this dialogue is also important to show that the moment by moment analysis of an interaction enables us not only to reveal the bottom-up processes of meaning making and identity construction but also the larger discourses surrounding the talk.

While the previous extract demonstrates Ele's claim for the Turkish identity in a more indirect way, the following extract taken from an interview presents the explicit claim of the Iraqi Turkmen woman, Kadime, for the Turkish identity while she rejects the imposed foreign identity:

Extract 6.6

89 Kadime: hindi bene deyler ne deyler sen yabancı- diyem biz orda bize deyler yabancı burda deyler
90 yabancı biz nere halkuyuk? men yabancı degilem men Türküyem Türkü kızı Türkiyem
91 İsmınur: demi? hakkaten öyle
92 Kadime: benim babam babası bura halkı- men yerden çıkmıy babam- mene söylemeyin yabancı
93 İsmınur: değilsin- doğru (.) bilmiyolar ki
94 Kadime: bilmiyolar ha bize diyle yabancı biz yabancı deyuluk didim siz yabancı ben yabancı
95 degilem- sizin aslınız nerde? benim aslım Türkiye

89 Kadime: now they tell me you are a foreigner- I say they used to tell us foreigner there here they
90 say foreigner where do we belong? I am not a foreigner I am Turk a Turkish daughter of
91 a Turk
92 İsmınur: isn't it? it is really so
93 Kadime: the father of my father was from here- I wasn't originated from soil- don't tell I am
94 foreign
95 İsmınur: you are not- right (.) they don't know though
96 Kadime: they don't know they tell us we are foreigners we are not foreign I said you are
97 foreigners I am not- where does your origin come from? my origin is from Turkey

Kadime, Home visit- January 2017

Since Turkmens are recognised as one of the ethnic minority groups in Iraq, by referring to that Kadime says wherever she goes, she gets the label of ‘foreigner’. This is a stance-saturated and affectively loaded excerpt because Kadime openly takes up an aggressive stance towards the imposed foreign identity on her by means of the selection of the stance-heavy structures such as negations (lines 90/90, 92/93 and 95/96), rhetorical questions (lines 90/90 and 95/97) and an imperative sentence (line 92/93). As the locals suspect about the Turkish origin of the Iraqi Turkmens, by reversing this argument against the local Turks within the same essentialist frame, this time, Kadime argues that she knows where her origin comes from, but she is not sure about the origins of the locals. In this way, she constructs a similar ethno-nationalist position and argumentation logic with the local women and disaligns with the identities imposed on her; as a result, she claims to be more Turk than the local Turks. In another instance, Kadime again shows her agentive resistance against the imposed foreign identity by saying that “*hindi {şimdi} burda gidiyok ev kiralyok ‘yabancısin’ yallah yabancı - anne söyleME yabancı söyleME- Müslümanısın*” (“here we look for a flat to rent you are foreigners go AWAY you are foreigners-

mummy DON'T say 'foreigner' DON'T say- you are Muslim"). In this example, she uses her religious identity as a source to claim belonging to the same religious category with the locals, and in this way, rejects the foreign identity.

6.2.2 Capitalising on shared language

Another important capital the Iraqi Turkmen women often use as a defensive strategy against the imposed Arab and foreign identities is their linguistic capital. Because they are bilingual both in Arabic and Turkish, I observe that they sometimes capitalise on their Turkish to claim linguistic superiority, and Arabic to claim religious superiority over the locals. For example, the Iraqi Turkmen women often take up a critical stance on Turkey-Turkish and position it as a degenerated and Europeanised language while they argue that the Turkmen-Turkish still remains loyal to its origin which is the Ottoman Turkish. In my interview with Ele, she even argues that what people speak here is not Turkish by saying that "*şey sizin konuşmanız Türkçe değil bizimki aynen en iyi Türkçe biz konuşuruk- bizimki Osmanlı vaktından Türkçe*" ("well your talk is not Turkish ours is exactly so we speak the best Turkish- ours is Turkish from the Ottoman era"), and she often compares Turkmen's Turkish with the locals' Turkish. In one of the gatherings with the local women, she again raises this issue, and makes Turkey-Turkish an object of her stance. The extract of this dialogue is below:

Extract 6.7

- 96 Ele: = bizim dilimiz aslı Osmanlı sizinki aslı Osmanlı deyül- bizim Türkmen dilimiz aslı
97 Osmanlı sizinki aslı Osmanlı deyül
98 İsmınur: bizimkine yabancı kelimeler girmiş =
99 Hasret: = daha yakın diyo Osmanlı diline
100 İsmınur: İngilizceydi Fransızcaydı bi şeyler katmışık değiştirmişiz yani
101 Ele: sizinkine İngiliz karışmış Avrupalaşmış
102 Zehra: biz Avrupalaştırmışız
103 İsmınur: dediğin gibi Avrupalaşmış bizimki- asıl Türkçe onlarınki heralde (.)
104 Gelin: İran filan hep Türkiye'ninmiş ya savaştan sonra =
105 Zehra: = işte Atatürk zamanında alfabe getirince biz (.)

106 İsmînur: dönmüşüz
 107 Zehra: daha dönmüşüz
 108 Hasret: Latin alfabesi
 109 Zehra: yani
 110 İsmînur: aynen (.)
 111 Zehra: Arapçayı da biliyoz {biliniyordu o zamanlar} ama
 112 Gelin: Arapçayı kaldırıp Türkçe koymuş
 113 Hasret: işte onların aynı kaldı yine Arapça yazıyolar
 114 Zehra: yoksa Atatürk getirmeseydi alfabeyi biz de hani onlar gibi konuşacaktık- onlar gibi
 115 Arap yazısı mı yazacaktık?
 116 İsmînur: yazacak okuyacaktık
 117 Zehra: yani öyle olacaktı (.)
 118 Gelin: bi de o zaman Osmanlıca da varmış
 119 Hasret: tabi
 120 Gelin: biz de Osmanlıca'yı yaşıyıcaktık o zaman

98 Ele: = the origin of our language is the Ottoman the origin of yours is not- our Turkmen
 99 language is originally Ottoman the origin of yours is not
 100 İsmînur: foreign words entered ours =
 101 Hasret: = she says it is closer to the Ottoman language
 102 İsmînur: we included English French things- I mean we changed it
 103 Ele: English mixed with yours it is Europeanised
 104 Zehra: we Europeanised it
 105 İsmînur: as you said ours is Europeanised- probably the real Turkish is theirs (.)
 106 Gelin: Iran and so on all used to belong to Turkey after the war =
 107 Zehra: = see in Atatürk's era when he brought an alphabet we (.)
 108 İsmînur: we converted
 109 Zehra: we converted more
 110 Hasret: Latin alphabet
 111 Zehra: that is to say
 112 İsmînur: exactly (.)
 113 Zehra: we know Arabic as well {referring to the past} but
 114 Gelin: he exchanged Arabic with Turkish
 115 Hasret: theirs remained the same they still write in Arabic
 116 Zehra: otherwise if Atatürk had not brought the Alphabet we could also speak like them- would
 117 we write in Arabic?
 118 İsmînur: we would write and read it
 119 Zehra: I mean it would be so (.)
 120 Gelin: at that time there was also the Ottoman language
 121 Hasret: yeah
 122 Zehra: we would also live the Ottoman then

Women's random gathering - August 2017

From this extract, it is understood that the local women have some information about the alphabet reform through which Atatürk replaced the Arabic with the Latin alphabet, and they obviously see the new version of Turkish more Western (lines 102/104 and 103/105). 'Western' does not have positive connotations among both the local and refugee women. Different from the hegemonic perspective, Westernisation is not conceptualised as modernisation or progress in this context, instead it is seen as Christianisation and degeneration by the participants. Therefore,

in one of her talks, by saying that “*bizim konuşmamız aslı Müslümandır*” (“our speech is originally Muslim”), Ele argues that Turkmens’ Turkish is Muslim Turkish while Turkey-Turkish is more like non-Muslim Turkish. In this way, she positions Iraqi Turks purer and more pious than Turkey Turks. In this way, Ele uses her constructed negative stance on Turkey-Turkish to indirectly index her group’s superior Muslim identity. The local women do not challenge Ele’s argument implying that their Turkish lost its Ottoman and Islamic elements because they also tend to think that the language reform in the early Republican era moved the country away from its Ottoman and Islamic heritage (line 120/121).

A similar argument is also made by Ele’s other family members such as her daughter-in-law Farah, her son Omar and son-in-law Ahmed. By addressing the English words having entered the Turkish lexicon, in the extract below, they jointly construct a critical stance on Turkey-Turkish, and in this way, locate the Turkmen language in a superior position:

Extract 6.8

- 121 Ahmed: biliyosan bizim dilimiz ne şekil?
 122 Hasret: nasıl? özü aynı {Türkçe ile}
 123 Omar: yok farkı ney? Türkmen Türkçe’den aslı (.)
 124 Hasret: evet
 125 Omar: Türkmen
 126 Ahmed: bizim dilimiz şimdi asıl dil (.)
 127 Hasret: evet
 128 Omar: ee Osmanlı zamanı bizim konuştuğumuz- bizim dedemiz burdaydı- bizim
 129 konuştuğumuz gibi konuşuyodu
 130 Hasret: evet
 131 Omar: ondan sonra Mustafa Atatürk geldi yeni dil getirdi (.)
 132 Hasret: hııı
 133 Omar: mesela İngilizce getirdi- Arapça getirdi
 134 Farah: ‘pardon’ {gülüşme}
 135 Omar: yani ‘pardon’ İngilizce
 136 Farah: İngilizce
 137 Omar: ‘no problem’- İngilizce
 138 Ahmed: ‘ekstra’
 139 Omar: İngilizce- ‘isim’ Arapça=
 140 Farah: =/’supRİZ’/
 141 Omar: /yani değıştirdi/- ‘supriz’ de
 142 Ahmed: ‘supriz’ İngilizce
 143 Omar: sen şimdi asıla gelirsen bizim dilimiz Türk- asılda- sizinki ney? ikinci dil (.) yani yeni
 144 (...) yani asılda şimdi Osmanlı bizim dilimiz

123 Ahmed: *do you know how our language is?*
 124 Hasret: *how? originally the same {with Turkish}*
 125 Omar: *no what is the difference? Turkmen is more original than Turkish (.)*
 126 Hasret: *yes*
 127 Omar: *Turkmen*
 128 Ahmed: *our language is the original language (.)*
 129 Hasret: *yeah*
 130 Omar: *uhm what we speak is from the Ottoman era - our grandfather was from here- he used*
 131 *to speak exactly the same as we speak now*
 132 Hasret: *yes*
 133 Omar: *after that Mustafa Atatürk came and brought a new language (.)*
 134 Hasret: *mmm*
 135 Omar: *for example he brought English- he brought Arabic*
 136 Farah: *'pardon' {laughs}*
 137 Omar: *that is 'pardon' is in English*
 138 Farah: *English*
 139 Omar: *'no problem'- English*
 140 Ahmed: *'extra'*
 141 Omar: *English- 'isim' {it means name in Turkish} is in Arapça=*
 142 Farah: *=/'supRÎZ'/ {she means the English word 'surprise'}*
 143 Omar: */I mean he changed it/- 'supriz' too*
 144 Ahmed: *'supriz' is in English*
 145 Omar: *if you think which one is original our language is Turk- originally- what is yours?*
 146 *second language (.) I mean new (...) that is in reality the Ottoman language is our*
 147 *language*

Farah, Home visit-December, 2017

As opposed to the local women who do not accept the Iraqi Turkmens to the Turkish speaking speech community, in this extract, we see that Omar, Ahmed and Farah take an overt position against Turkey-Turkish on grounds of the large number of English and Arabic words in the Turkish language. Based on my observations, I infer that while Iraqi Turkmens do not problematise the existence of Arabic words either in Turkey-Turkish or Turkmen-Turkish as, from their perspective, Arabic is closely associated with Islam, the existence of English words signifies Turkey's ideological shift to the Western world for them. As Omar mentions in line 131/133, the Iraqi Turkmens I interviewed tend to think that the Republican Turkey, founded following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, has moved away from the Eastern Islamic world, and developed an intimacy with the Western Christian world. The reason why they repeatedly argue in lines 123/125, 126/128, 128/130 and 143/145 that their Turkish is the real Turkish is that while the Iraqi Turkmens have continued to claim

ownership over the Ottoman heritage with their languages and ways of living even after the fall of the empire, Turkey entered into a new phase. Therefore, in line 143/146, Omar says that what people speak in Turkey is “*ikinci dil*” (“the second/secondary language”). As a result, rather than addressing linguistic differences between Turkmen-Turkish and Turkey-Turkish, the Iraqi Turkmen participants address an ideological difference between these two codes. Both this extract and the previous one with Ele and her local neighbours are important to show the intersection between languages and ideologies since it can be inferred that similar to people, a language can have a religion as well as an ethnicity.

Even if the participants quoted in the last two extracts do not have detailed information about the transition from an Islamic empire to a secular nation-state following the declaration of the new Republic in 1923, it seems that they are well aware of the ideological shift from an imperial regime closely associated with Islamic and Eastern values to the new nation-state displaying adherence to Western values (see İçduygu and Kaygusuz, 2004). From the very beginning of the nation-state building process in Turkey, producing language policies that would foster modernisation and Europeanisation processes was taken very seriously. Language reforms were made as a part of this process, and as implied by the Iraqi Turkmen participants, these reforms had an immense impact on constructing and disseminating a new Turkish national identity. The most important language-related change brought following the declaration of the republic was indisputably the transition from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet in 1928, and this is addressed by the local participants in Extract 6.7. While romanisation in the alphabet was legitimised by the authorities with certain functional explanations such as the phonetic inconsistency between the Arabic symbols and the Turkish sounds, and the difficulty of acquiring the Arabic

literacy, according to Lewis (1999) and Aytürk (2004), these practical explanations partially account for the change in the alphabet because this change, to a large extent, signifies a symbolic shift from the Arabicised Ottoman identity to a secular Western identity.

Therefore, romanisation of the alphabet signifies an ideological shift rather than a functional choice, and the ban brought to the use of non-Latin scripts in public spaces including Arabic in 1928 (see Aslan, 2007) has evidential value to support the argument concerning the ideological basis of this change. Today, together with the forced migration of 3,6 million Syrian refugees, this ban has again brought to light as some Syrians started their own businesses in Turkey, and use Arabic signs in their workplaces. Some municipalities such as Adana, Gaziantep and some districts in Istanbul such as Fatih started to implement this ban on the use of non-Latin scripts under the name of “standardisation”. Following the reactions the Fatih municipality in Istanbul received, the spokesperson of the municipality, Nurcan Albayrak argues that because Arabic signs result in “visual pollution”, they decided to implement this policy for the sake of preserving Istanbul’s “aesthetic consistency” (“Arabic signs face removal threat,” 2016). As a result, with the arrival of Syrians, once again we see that the ideological basis of this alphabet change is still sustained in today’s Turkey.

As Bayyurt (2010) explains, while the alphabet reform is seen as the first phase of the Turkish language reform, the second phase is the Turkification of the language, that is replacing Arabic and Persian words and structures with their Turkish equivalents. In Extracts 6.7 and 6.8, what is meant by Europeanisation of Turkish language by the participants is supposedly the removal of the Arabic and Persian words from the Turkish language along with the romanisation of the

alphabet. In Extract 6.7, the local women wrongly assume that during the Ottoman Empire, people used to speak and write in Arabic. For example, in line 112/114, Gelin says “*he exchanged Arabic with Turkish*” referring to Atatürk, the key figure of the Turkish nation-building project, and Zehra aligns with Gelin in line 114/116, and adds that “*if Atatürk had not brought the Alphabet we could also speak like them- would we write in Arabic?*”. Because the Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin one, the local women think that the language spoken by people was also changed from Arabic to Turkish after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. However, what was removed was the Ottoman Turkish which was used only as an administrative and literary language. As explained by Lewis (1999), because Ottoman Turkish was a special code used only by the ruling and intellectual elites of the Ottoman Empire, ordinary citizens speaking everyday Turkish did not use it, and could not understand it due to the lexical and grammatical influence of Arabic and Persian on it. As Bayyurt (2010) discusses, to remove this diglossic situation between the Ottoman Turkish and everyday Turkish, and to create one Turkish language to be used in every sphere of life both by the ruling elites and public were the main goals of the Turkish language reform, and to this end, the Turkish Language Academy was founded in 1932. According to Aytürk (2004), “Ottoman Turkish represented an undesired past in the eyes of the Turkish nationalists” (p. 1), and the loss of the Ottoman Turkish along with the Ottoman alphabet, which is the modified version of the Arabic alphabet, symbolise a divergence from the undesired Ottoman past to the secular and modern Turkish identity. Therefore, both the local women and the Iraqi Turkmen participants were, at one point, right in arguing that together with the new Turkish Republic, the country ideologically moved away from the Eastern and Islamic values, and that language was instrumentalised to achieve the transition

from an Islamic empire to a secular nation-state following the declaration of the new Republic in 1923.

According to Lewis (1999), the whole process of reforming the Turkish language reached a “catastrophic success” because Arabic and Persian words and structures were largely eradicated from the Turkish language as desired, and the Turkish equivalents were largely adopted by public. Besides, the state embarked on mass literacy campaigns following the alphabet change, and the literacy rate sharply increased as desired. On the other hand, Lewis maintains that while Turkish used to be lexically one of the richest languages, it was damaged as a result of these top-down purification and simplification attempts. Moreover, with the loss of the Ottoman Turkish, today very few people can read and understand the literary works having been produced by the Ottoman intellectuals for many centuries.

One can also infer the success of Turkish state-building project from the extent of linguistic, cultural and emotional divergence of Turkey-Turks from Iraq-Turks. This fieldwork shows that while, once upon a time, these two parties used to be members of the same empire and spoke the same language as the same ethnic people, today as a result of both top-down purification interventions in Turkey and bottom-up evolution of language over time, Turkish spoken within the nation-state borders of Turkey and Iraq considerably moved away from each other. As Aslan (2007, p. 251) argues, the social and political actors knew that “a common language was necessary to make people think and feel alike”; therefore, they put great effort to implement language reforms from the script change to the language purification efforts. As a result, Turks living in different nation-states have alienated from each other linguistically, culturally and emotionally, and created strong ties with people with whom they share the same nation-state rather than people sharing the same

ethnic, religious or linguistic affinities. All in all, different ideologies have constructed different realities and categorical boundaries, and people's perception of reality has been restructured accordingly.

So far, in this section, I have discussed the capitalisation of the shared ethnic and linguistic identities by the Iraqi Turkmen participants not only to claim ethnic and linguistic membership but also to contest the monoglossic stances the locals take up towards their social identities. The data presented in this section imply that while the local women do not recognise the Turkish identity of the Iraqi Turkmen women, the Iraqi women attempt to prove their ethnic and linguistic ties with the locals by using the same ideological frame with the locals. As a result, this sub-section shows that the Iraqi Turkmen participants tend to construct themselves and others from the same essentialist and monoglot logic as the local participants.

6.2.3 The Continuum of Turkishness and foreignness for the Iraqi Turkmen

Despite the Iraqi Turkmen families' claim for the shared ethnic and linguistic identities arguably to form a membership to the same categories with the locals, at the same time, they may also position themselves as *yabancı* (foreigner) especially when they encounter discriminatory practices of the locals and gatekeepers due to their legal status. Therefore, the perception of foreignness for the Iraqi Turkmen refugees may change depending on the context. Although the Iraqi Turkmen women do not prefer to categorise themselves as foreigners in Turkey due to their Turkish and Muslim identities, they may have to acknowledge their foreign status in certain contexts. In such cases, Turkishness often refers to a national identity rather than an ethnic label, and foreignness is related to not having a legally recognised status in Turkey. For example, in one of the instances, Ele makes her foreign identity relevant

to the conversation when I ask her to contact police about her daughter's harassing neighbour. The extract below shows that despite the verbal abuse Ele's daughter and son-in-law are exposed to in their neighbourhood, instead of taking an action against their neighbour, they choose to leave their flat due to their foreign status in the country:

Extract 6.9

- 145 Ele: dövüş olmuş demiş Iraklıları öldürürem (.) Iraklılar niye gelmişsiniz buraya çıkın
146 memleketimizden
147 Hasret: sarhoş içip içip
148 İsmınur: Allahım ya
149 Ele: /onun için/
150 İsmınur: /onun canı dayak istiyoy iyice gebertecen
151 Ele: geldiler bizim yanımıza bir hafta kaldılar- ne yapar? biz de yabancı korkucayz (.) ondan
152 sonra ev bulduk
(...)
153 Hasret: keşke polisi arasalardı yani
154 Ele: biz yabancıyık biz arıyamıyok
155 Hasret: Allahım ya
156 Ele: bizim burda hak hukukumuz olmuyo
157 İsmınur: olmuyo (.) yok gelse de polis buna belki şey yapıyo
- 148 Ele: *there was a fight he said he would kill Iraqis (.) Iraqis why did you come here? get out*
149 *of our country*
150 Hasret: *drunk after drinking*
151 İsmınur: *oh my God*
152 Ele: */therefore/*
153 İsmınur: */he needs to be beaten up/ you will beat him up so hard*
154 Ele: *they came they stayed with us for a week- what can they do? we are also foreigners we*
155 *are afraid (.) after that we found a flat*
(...)
156 Hasret: *if only they had called the police*
157 Ele: *we are foreigners we cannot call*
158 Hasret: *oh my God*
159 Ele: *here we don't have rights law*
160 İsmınur: *you cannot (.) no even if the police come maybe they can charge her*

Ele, Home visit- January 2018

This extract clearly shows that for being status-less foreigners in the country, Ele and family cannot even defend themselves. To put it simply, as seen in this extract, they may not even call the police when they are bullied or abused by people due to their vulnerable legal positions (line 154/157). In such contexts, their ethnic and religious identities turn into useless capitals, and their refugee identity gains relevance. Again, by acknowledging their status-less position in Turkey, in another conversation, Ele

argues that animals have more rights than themselves in Turkey; therefore, she says some Iraqis took the risk and returned to Iraq. Referring to Farah's brother, she explains the difficulty of being not just other but status-less other. The extract of this conversation is given below:

Extract 6.10

- 158 Ele: tarihe aktarırsan bizim aslımız burdan gelme
159 Hasret: öyle ya onlar televizyonda çok izliyolar televizyon böyle çok haber yapıyo
160 {mültecilikle}
161 Ele: Hasret bazı şeyler bize çok daha sıkıntı oluyo hani meselim sizleri böyle immm bize
162 sıkıntı oluyo zor oluyo- biz daha hiçkimse=
163 İsmınur: = cevap versen bi türlü vermesen
164 Ele: cevap verdiysen öbür türlü oluyo cevap da vermediysen yabancısın burda hiçbir türlü
165 olmuyor hiçbir cevabını veremiyon
166 Hasret: aynen
167 Ele: çok inciniy (.) burda insanlar bunun için gidiy Irak'a hak hukukun yok burda
168 Hasret: aynen- diyo ki yemeğim içmeğim olmasın rahat olayım- kimse
169 Ele: haaa- Hasret şeyinin Farah'ın abisi vardı burda
170 Hasret: hı hı
171 Ele: özüne kimlik vermiydiler- insani kimlikler bizim var daha özlerinin kimlik vermedi- iki
172 sefer köpek özünü dişledi- iKİ sefer (.) onun köpek sahibine daha didi senin köpegi
173 niçün buraya salmışsan beni dişledi daha- diyi daha valla ne yapalım dişlesin- zaten o
174 daha ben seni şikayet yaparam şura şöyle böyle- bacakları şeyi öyle bi dişlemiş
175 parçalamış pantolonu şey olmuş- hemen şikayet yap diyi benim diyi köpekinin kimliği
176 var
177 Hasret: aaa
178 Ele: o daha didi biz insanık daha kimliklerimiz yok köpekin var- bunun köpeki bizim
179 insandan farklı oluyo
180 İsmınur: Allah senin cezanı versin
181 Ele: valla didi ben hiç burda yaşamam
182 Hasret: evet
183 Ele: bunun için kalktı gitti Irak'a
184 İsmınur: öyle köpek kadar değeri yok yani
185 Ele: he köpek kadar değiluk yani (.)
186 Farah: iki sefer dişledi özünü
187 Ele: iki sefer köpek dişledi- bu öğretmen orda daha- çok temiz bi insan =
188 Farah: =kapını böyle tutmaz {çıplak el ile}
189 Hasret: işte o zor geldi orda
190 Ele: he terk etti he
191 Hasret: orda düşün mesela Irak'ta insanlar o kadar saygı duyar sever önünde böyleyken buraya
192 geldi=
193 İsmınur: =köpek kadar değeri yok
194 Hasret: o zor bir şey yani

- 161 Ele: *historically speaking our origin is from here*
162 Hasret: *right right they watch so much TV the TV makes such news {about refugees}*
163 Ele: *Hasret some things are much more difficult for us for example ihm annoying us difficult*
164 *for us- we cannot anyone=*
165 İsmınur: *= if you give an answer it is an issue if not it is another issue*
166 Ele: *if you give an answer it becomes the other way around if you don't you are a foreigner*
167 *it becomes difficult for you you cannot give an answer*
168 Hasret: *true*
169 Ele: *it hurts (.) for this reason people go back to Iraq you don't have rights here*
170 Hasret: *true- s/he says I don't want food or drink I want comfort- no one*

171 Ele: yeah- oh Hasret Farah's brother was here
 172 Hasret: yeah
 173 Ele: they didn't give him an identity card we have humanitarian cards they didn't give them
 174 an identity a dog bit him twice- TWICE (.) he said to the owner of the dog why did you
 175 set your dog free it bit me- he said what can I do let him bite you-when says he will
 176 report him- his legs the dog bit him so bad that it tore his pants down- the guy said do
 177 complain about me he said his dog has an identity card
 178 Hasret: aaah
 179 Ele: then he said we are humans we don't have identity cards the dog has- his dog is
 180 different than our people
 181 İsmınur: may God punish you
 182 Ele: really he said he wouldn't live here anymore
 183 Hasret: yes
 184 Ele: therefore he went back to Iraq
 185 İsmınur: right he does not even have the same right with a dog
 186 Ele: right we are not even like a dog (.)
 187 Farah: it bit him twice
 188 Ele: the dog bit him twice- he used to be a teacher there- he is a very meticulous person =
 189 Farah: =he does not even hold the door like this {with a bare hand}
 190 Hasret: yeah he found that difficult
 191 Ele: yeah he left yeah
 192 Hasret: imagine back home in Iraq people used to respect him a lot and like him but when he
 193 came here=
 194 İsmınur: =he did not even have value as much as a dog
 195 Hasret: that's difficult

Ele, Home visit- January 2018

Earlier in this conversation, referring to the local women, Ele says that some criticised her severely, and even expressed disdain at their different practices arrogantly. Nevertheless, Ele says to have chosen to remain silent due to her foreign identity (line 164/166). Even if linguistically Ele has enough capital to express her thoughts, the reason for her avoidance is supposedly related to her illegitimacy as a speaker which stems from her 'legal illegitimacy' in the country as a temporarily protected foreigner. In line 167/169, Ele explains how it feels like remaining silent while one has things to say, and remarks that it hurts to hold herself back. Then, referring to Farah's brother, Ele says that the state of being a foreigner here is so unbearable that some Iraqis choose to return Iraq. The anecdote shared by Ele from line 171/173 to line 176/177 is a typical example of de-classing and de-capitalisation processes which most refugees have gone through. While Ele's brother was a middle or a lower- middle class man having his own property along with a respectable job ended up being a 'stranger' exempted from any types of belonging and identity in his

new physical territory as described by Diken (1998). Because, in his new context, previously acquired capitals are not recognised, this kind of identity crisis emerges. While a dog can achieve a legal recognition through the identity card it carries, because Farah's brother cannot prove his existence through a symbolic means such as an identity card, his belonging to his new physical space is approached suspiciously, or simply denied. This anecdote shared by Ele and Farah echoes what Diken (2004) observes, that "having left behind his origin and been stripped of his former identities, the refugee is socially a 'zombie' whose spectral past survives in a world in which his symbolic capital does not count, and whose present takes place in a condition of 'social nakedness' (Bauman, 2002, p. 116) characterized by the lack of social definition, rights and responsibilities" (p. 84).

Despite the Iraqi Turkmen women's claim for the shared ethnic identity with the locals in their face-to-face meetings with the local women, the reason for positioning themselves as *yabancı* (foreigner) in another context stems from not being legal members of this nation-state, or to put it simply, not having a Turkish identity card. In one of my home visits to Farah, I had a chance to interview with her husband, Omar and her brother, Ahmed. They also address a similar nationalist frame of reference and associate their state of foreignness in Turkey with their non-membership to the Turkish nation-state. When I asked Omar whether he ethnically positions himself as a Turk, because he associates Turkishness with having a Turkish identity card, in lines 199/200 and 200/201, he says that he sees himself as a foreigner rather than a Turk. Even if in the interview, all the family members from Farah to her husband often refer to their ancestors having moved to Iraq from a Turkish city called Kayseri, and distinguish themselves from Arabs in general as Iraqi Turkmens, they state that they are not members of the Turkish community

because, for them, the criteria to be a Turk is not to be an ethnically Turk or to speak the Turkish language, but to have a Turkish identity card. The extract of this dialogue is given below:

Extract 6.11

195 Hasret: e şimdi ben mesela size sorunca ben Türkmenim diyosunuz ya aslında şey demen
196 gerekmiyor mu ben Türküm-aslında aynı Türkmenle Türk
197 Omar: yok
198 Hasret: ama aslında aynı niye yani birine Türkmen birine Türk?
199 Omar: Türk söylesey Türk kimlikin olman lazım- Türk (.) yani Türk- Türksün sen yani (.)
200 şimdi gelirse ben sana kimlikimi gösteriyim şimdi çıkartırım sen yabancıyı dersin-
201 tamam mı?
202 Hasret: haaa kimlikten
203 Ahmed: Türk- Türk diyince sen diyince Türk aynı sanırsın nerde yaşıyo? yani Türk'te
204 Türkiye'de yaşıysın=
205 Omar: = Türküm ben yani
206 Hasret: e bizim Almanya'da yaşayan Türkler var
207 Ahmed: ee onlar diyebilir ben Türküm
208 Hasret: evet
209 Ahmed: anladığ? ama biz diyemeyuk biz Türkük- biz Türkmenük (.) neden? (.) biz Iraklıyuk-
210 Türkmen (...) Iraklıyam bes neyim? Türkmenim- Türkmen Iraklı

196 Hasret: *well when I ask you you say we are Turkmen but don't you say that I am Turk- indeed*
197 *being a Turkmen and a Turk are the same*
198 Omar: *no*
199 Hasret: *but indeed the same why calling one Turkmen and the other Turk?*
200 Omar: *if you say Turk you must have a Turkish ID- Turk (.) that is Turk- you are Turk (.) now*
201 *come along I will show you my ID now I take it out and show and you say to me I am a*
202 *foreigner- okay?*
203 Hasret: *ahh the ID*
204 Ahmed: *Turk- Turk when you say Turk the same where do you suppose he lives? that is in Turk*
205 *in Turkey=*
206 Omar: *= that is I am Turk {under that condition}*
207 Hasret: *well we have Turks living in Germany*
208 Ahmed: *yeah they can say they are Turk*
209 Hasret: *yes*
210 Ahmed: *do you get it? but we cannot say we are Turk- we are Turkmen (.) why? (.) we are Iraqi*
211 *Turkmen (...) I am Iraqi but who am I? I am Turkmen- Turkmen Iraqi*

Farah, Home visit- December 2017

In this extract, it is implied by Omar (line 200/201) that he experiences exclusion due to the identity card he carries. Because being a Turkic does not bring any concrete recognition or a legal status to Omar, he is well aware that his ethnic affiliation is not something that can be capitalised or relied on especially in spheres of public life. For example, because Omar and his family have international protection cards given by the United Nations, they have to go to sign at the police station every week;

therefore, they are not even allowed to travel outside Kırşehir without getting a legal permission from the local authorities. While they do not have a right to movement, they do not also have a right to work legally in Turkey. Under such conditions, it is quite normal for them to distinguish themselves from Turkey-Turks because, in numerous fields, they notice that Turkishness refers to a national identity with a valid identity card rather than a romantic ethnic tie. Apart from this material condition imposed on them, in lines 209/210 and 210/211, one can clearly see the strong national affiliation Ahmed feels to Iraq. His Iraqi national identity seems to be as much important for him as his Turkmen ethnic affiliation. Because Ahmed is obviously a loyal Iraqi citizen, he says he would not call himself ‘Turk’ as it refers to a national affiliation to Turkey. This excerpt is important to show that both Ahmed and Omar approach their ethnic identities from a nationalist frame of reference even if in the face-to-face meetings with the locals they tend to make their Turkish and Muslim identities relevant and strive to capitalise on them to gain recognition.

When the whole section is brought together, we see that, in their relations with the locals, the Iraqi Turkmens experience an ambiguity between defining themselves as Muslim Turks and acknowledging their ‘status-less foreigner’ position. They decide on their level of familiarity with the locals depending on the context. Therefore, the perception of foreignness for the Iraqi Turkmen refugees changes depending on the frame of reference they designate for themselves. In the extracts presented in this section we see that when the nationalist discourse is reproduced by the Iraqi Turkmen refugees specifically in legal context, they tend to position themselves at the end of the foreignness continuum. However, when they find a chance to perform a joint practice with the locals and an opportunity to re-negotiate the borders of the Turkish nation-state through the shared code the both

parties use, they may create a common space with the locals, and form belonging to the same Turkishness category by capitalising on their shared ethnic and linguistic identities. In the next section, I will shift the focus to the local women, and discuss how they construct linguistic intolerance against non-Turkish languages spoken in public spaces by their refugee neighbours.

6.3 Construction of linguistic intolerance

Observed linguistic and cultural insensitivities of the local women discussed earlier may also fuel anger and intolerance, and result in emotional reactions against refugees. The target of intolerance may sometimes be the refugees' general appearance and manners, and sometimes their languages. Because the local people living in Kırşehir are overwhelmingly monolinguals of Turkish, it is quite expected that they do not know how to deal with the demographic change and increasing linguistic diversity in Kadife Street, and that this inevitably creates fear among them. The locals' negative stance against multilingualism is understandable to a certain extent because Turkey has always been a country promoting monolingualism as a state ideology. As discussed in the first chapter, the Law of Settlement which was actively implemented in Turkey until 2006 states that the state of Turkey can only accept people as immigrants if their origin is Turk, or if they are Turkish monolinguals who are closely affiliated with Turkish culture. Therefore, it is not surprising that multilingualism receives negative reactions, and is viewed unfavourably by laypersons.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, following the foundation of the new nation-state, Turkish-only policies were promoted along with the restrictions brought to the use of languages other than Turkish. A large number of language related

restrictions, from the use of non-Latin scripts in public spaces to the use of minority languages such as Kurdish in legal institutions, have been implemented by the new state until now. As Minkenberg (2005) maintains, “the myth of the homogenous nation is put before the individual and his or her civil rights” (p. 2) for the sake of creating the desired homogeneous nation-state. The civic campaign backed by the state “*Vatandaş, Türkçe konuş!*” (Citizen, speak Turkish!) was launched in 1928, and targeted at the linguistic identities of the minority groups. As discussed by Aslan (2007), from the local newspapers to the radio channels, Turkish patriots were provoked not to build good relations with non-Turkish speakers and to exert pressure on them from streets to restaurants in order to deter them from using their own languages. Aslan reports that because, at that time, speaking languages other than Turkish was risky in public spaces, minorities avoided using their own language in order to protect themselves from a possible physical and verbal attack. Because speaking non-Turkish languages was presented to public as a sign of disrespect and disloyalty to the newly founded state by the press and the leading nationalist elites, Turkish patriots keenly contributed to the dissemination of this campaign in public spaces, and interpreted this endeavour as a national duty (Aslan, 2007).

When we come today, a similar monoglossic attitude is sustained by public from various reasons. Based on the analysis of the data, I suggest that one of the main reasons for negatively constructed stances against the use of languages other than Turkish in public spaces is related to the locals’ desire to sustain the existing order and power dynamics. For example, in an interview with a local woman, Cebire says that even if she is disturbed by hearing Arabic in her neighbourhood, at the same time, she says that their not knowing Turkish puts the locals in an advantageous

position. In this way, she reveals her desire to keep the existing social hierarchies between the refugee and local neighbours. The extract is given below:

Extract 6.12

211 iyiler ya belki de şu yönden dillerini anlamadığımız da iyi bi şey (.) hani bi küfretseler
212 anlamadığımız daha iyi {gülüşme} mesela bişi olsa diyosun ki gürültü yapıyo yapmayın- eğer bi
213 Türk olsa yaparım dir inadına oturur (.) adamlar sağol diyo özür diliyo özür diliyo özür diliyo-
214 kendi Türkümüz olsa hemen çerçer çekişir yaparım diye {gülüşme}

212 *they are good maybe not understanding their language is good in a sense (.) I mean if they swear*
213 *at us it is better not to understand {laughs} for example if there is something s/he makes noise*
214 *you say don't do- if that person were Turk s/he says s/he would do s/he would deliberately sit (.)*
215 *these guys say thank you they apologise apologise- if he were our Turk he would then start*
216 *quarrelling and say he would do {laughs}*

Cebire, Interview - October 2017

Here, Cebire says that the refugees' lack of linguistic capital makes things easier for the locals by preventing a possible conflict between them. Besides, Cebire thinks that the refugees' lack of linguistic capital brings a linguistic superiority to the locals along with a right to speak. It may not be wrong to say that Cebire is content with refugees' voiceless and powerless position as this presumably puts her in a privileged position. This extract also demonstrates that when a question about the use of other languages in public spaces is asked, the first thing that comes to Cebire's mind is if someone speaks in his or her language, that person must be swearing at others. This extract is important to exemplify the observed sociolinguistic intolerance emerging as an outcome of the lack of sociolinguistic awareness prevalent among the local women.

If we return to the issue of ownership, because the local women tend to see themselves as the legitimate owners of the country, refugees can be best seen as the guests of the country in their eyes. This host versus guest relationship itself inevitably creates a hierarchy between the Turkish and non-Turkish women. As a result of this constructed hierarchy, the local women do not want to lose their privileged position over the foreign residents. If, for example, refugees speak non-

Turkish languages in an audible way, the locals may interpret this as a sign of refugees' claim of ownership over their country. Because refugees have been defined as "guests" by the governors of Turkey since their arrival, as granting legal refugee status is not possible due to the geographical restrictions stated in the law (see Chapter 1), the locals think that this extended host-guest relationship will end one day, and that the refugees in the neighbourhood will return to their home. Therefore, as guests of this country, they are expected to abide by the rules defined by the owners of the country, and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country and of the community they live in.

When the refugees act in a way that does not conform with their guest status, the local women often blame them for acting as if they were in their own country. For example, the Turkish expressions, *-miş gibi* and *sanki*, which refer to -as if in English, are often reiterated across the local participants in the interviews arguably in order to address the refugees' illegitimate claim for ownership. These remarks below demonstrate how '*-miş gibi*' and '*sanki*' structures are used to claim belonging and ownership by the local women. In the examples given in Extract 6.13, it is indirectly implied that refugees do not have a right to do certain actions due to their guest and foreign identity:

Extract 6.13

"sanki ev sahibiymiş gibi bağıyor." Sevda, local woman
"sanki biz onların değil onlar bizim ülkemizdeymiş gibi davranıyo." Aynur, local woman
"misafir çekingen davranır onlar rahat-hiç eziklik yok ev sahibi gibi." Zehra, local woman
"kadınlar kendi memleketiymiş gibi doğuruyor." Çiçek, local woman
"çocuklar kendi memleketinde gibi serbest." Demet, local woman

"he yells as if he were the host." Sevda, local woman
"she acts as if we were in their country not as if she were in our country." Aynur, local woman
"a guest behaves timidly they are comfortable- no feeling of lowly as if she were the host." Zehra, local woman
"the women give birth as if they were in their own country." Çiçek, local woman
"the kids were free as if they were in their own country." Demet, local woman

From various interviews- between January 2017 and 2018

The use of -as if sentences in the literature is defined as a stance-taking strategy which constructs moral irony (Shoaps, 2009). It is evident that, in a similar manner, the above utterances are produced to project a stance of ownership and to emphasise the legitimacy of the local women as opposed to temporality of the refugee women. While the first utterance emphasizes an ownership over a private property by constructing a class-based hierarchy, the other utterances, with nationalist sentiments, imply that refugees neither own nor belong to the country they live in. As a result, stemming from this illegitimacy coming from their refugee identity, the locals hierarchically position themselves higher than the refugees as the legitimate owners. As the above utterances reveal, this hierarchy apparently gives them a right to criticise and to index authoritative stances that clearly reflect their social position. Apart from these instances, one can also hear numerous conspiracy theories about refugees such as they will invade the country and take it over from the hands of Turks one day since the existence of the refugees in the locals' own space is obviously seen as a threat to their wellness.

Even if the legitimization conflict is often initiated by the locals with a fear of losing their privileged position, the local women's monolingual habitus which I suggest governs the way they perceive multilingualism, multiculturalism and identity politics also plays a big role in the construction of their largely negative stances towards the use of non-Turkish languages in public spaces. An event narrated by one of my local participants, Melike, is important to demonstrate readers an aggressive stance conveyed by her husband towards the random refugees he encountered in the market. The object of the stance, in this example, is the language they speak in the market:

215 yüz-bire gittik {market} Suriyeliler geçiyo işte yanımızdan böyle vırvır vırvır ne konuşuyolarsa
216 konuşuyolar geçiyolar (.) Osman ordan alıyo beni oraya itekliyo ordan alıyo oraya itekliyo- lan
217 nörüyon sen didim arkandakilere didi dikkat et dedi ne olduğunu bilmediklerim didi- kızdı yani
218 (.) vara vara vura vura dedi ne konuşuyolarsa dedi kendi aralarında dedi konuşuyolar- Osman
219 dedim dillerine bi şey deme dedim bak o bizim cennet dilimiz (.) hakaten Arapça cennet
220 dilimiz- ÖYLE deme dedim bak günaha girme dedim boşver dedim dünya geniş onlar da yaşıyo
221 sen de yaşıyon birbirimizin rızkını falan böldüğümüz yok dedim- hani böyle konuştum sakinlik
222 verdim- sonra gel oldu git oldu o şey yüz-birin civarında- Suriyeli bi sapık var denildi- işte ihh
223 ne konuştuğu belli değil kızın önüne geçiyomuş kadının önüne geçiyomuş konuşuyomuş- bişi mi
224 soruyo? belki bi şey diyo dilini anlamıyo sapık diyo adı sapığa çıkıyo (.) anlatabildim mi? yani
225 adları her şekilde nolursa olsun çıkmış bi kere (.) inmez gayrı

217 *we went to yüz-bir {a market} there were Syrians walking near us they go vırvır vırvır {blah*
218 *blah} I don't know what they speak about they are passing by (.) Osman takes me from one place*
219 *pushes me to another place- I said what the hell are you doing he said watch out the people*
220 *behind you are the ones I don't know what the hell they are he said- he got angry (.) he said*
221 *what the hell they spoke like vara vara vura vura {blah blah} he said they spoke among*
222 *themselves- I said Osman don't say anything bad to their language look it is our holy language*
223 *(.) really Arabic is our heavenly language- I said don't speak LIKE THAT I told him don't*
224 *commit a sin I told him never mind I said the world is big they live you live we don't steal*
225 *each other's rizq {anything granted by God to each person}- I spoke like this and relieved him-*
226 *then after a while around yüz-bir- it was said that there was a Syrian pervert- uhm they don't*
227 *understand what he says he gets ahead of a girl a woman then he speaks- is he asking*
228 *something? maybe he says something she doesn't understand what he says and she says he is a*
229 *pervert then his name becomes pervert (.) can I make myself clear? that is no matter what they*
230 *do their names get a bad reputation {Syrians} (.) you cannot change it*

Melike, Interview - September 2017

In the narrative presented by Melike, she describes the language of the Syrians with a vocal imitation of the ‘vırvır vırvır’ sound (line 215/221). Similarly, based on her reporting of her husband’s reaction, we see that her husband also imitates the way those people speak using ‘vara vara vura vura’ sound (line 218/221) possibly because he perceives Arabic language nothing but an ugly noise in his ears. Although following her husband’s reaction, even if Melike says she disaligned with him by taking up a protective stance, she still uses onomatopoeic words just like her husband to describe the Syrians’ talk in the market. Although from the very beginning, Melike knows that the language spoken by them is Arabic, she does not give this information at the beginning; instead, she prefers to define it with a vocal imitation. Similar imitation sounds articulated to define different languages reiterates itself in my interview with Cebire as well. She says that “*you don't know their language*

suddenly they speak like vacur vucur” (“dilini bilmiyon dişini bilmiyon birden vacur vucur konuşuyolar”) and uses ‘*vacur vucur*’ to define their speech.

Extract 6.14 also shows that the protectionist stance Melike takes up towards those people’s language has a religious basis rather than a multilingual basis (line 219/222). If the language spoken by those people was not Arabic, it is highly likely that she would not have adopted a similar protective stance towards their language. Therefore, what she criticises is arguably not her husband’s monoglossic stance. By invoking the system of values which belongs to the religious ideology, she apparently warns her husband not to commit a sin by humiliating the holy language of Islam. Melike’s another motivation for her counter stance against her husband’s aggressive stance is to prevent an unwanted conflict because she says that “*I spoke like this and relieved him*” (line 221/225). Because Osman acted emotionally, Melike supposedly chose to act rationally to handle the increasing tension and to soothe her husband. As a result, it is obvious that Melike does not take up her counter stance against her husband’s stance to index solidarity with refugees’ diverse languages and cultures.

This excerpt also demonstrates that the generic name *Suriyeli* (Syrian) is used by Melike (line 215/217) to define the foreign people in the market, and in her second example, we see that *Suriyeli* is again used to define the alleged harasser (line 222/226) although it is not known whether these people mentioned are actually Syrians. From Melike’s narrative, it is understood that there is nothing these blamed characters do apart from speaking in Arabic. Therefore, speaking Arabic itself can be a source of a conflict and even an object of hatred in this neighbourhood. In another interview I did with Melike, she claims that it is not the locals who exclude the refugees, but it is the refugees who exclude themselves through their own practices,

for example, she says, by making themselves visible by speaking in Arabic:

Extract 6.15

226 Melike: bi de kendilerini onlar zaten çok belli ediyolar ve kendilerini çok dışlıyolar daha birçok
227 insanlarımız hani yeni yeni Arapça kurslarına gitmeye başladı kimse Arapçayı bilmiyo
228 bir Türkçe konuşsalar iyi olacak (...) ama çoğunluğu var ya hani şey konuşuyo- Arapça
229 konuşuyo sanki gizli bi şey var sanki şey yapıyomuş gibi (.) sokak ortasında sen var ya
230 ne kadar şey yapsan da hani çok açık bi şey zaten konuşaman yabancı da olsan- Türkçe
231 konuşsalar daha iyi- en azından sokakta
232 Hasret: hıı- neden? anlayabilmen için mi?
233 Melike: tabi yani şimdi daha çok birbirine geçmiş Kürtçe konuşmalar falan (.) ben bilmem
234 Arapça ne diyorum BAK komşum dedi ki sağıma dönüyorum Suriyeli soluma
235 dönüyorum Iraklı dedi kendi memleketimizde dedi mülteci olmuşuz dedi hep Arapça
236 konuşuyolar dedi (.) ben bilmiyom anlamıyom dilinden dedi- bunu esnafı da anlamaz
237 pazarcısı da anlamaz- yanından geçen herhangi bir vatandaş anlamıyo- kaçımız biliyok
238 Arapçayı?

231 *Melike: and they also reveal themselves very much and they indeed exclude themselves many of*
232 *our people have just started going to Arabic courses no one knows Arabic if they spoke*
233 *Turkish that would be good (...) but majority of them speak uhm- speak Arabic as if*
234 *there was a secret as if they were doing {hiding} something (.) in the middle of the*
235 *street yeah you already cannot speak something nasty even if you are a foreigner- it*
236 *would be much better if they spoke Turkish- at least on the street*
237 *Hasret: mmm- why? for you to understand?*
238 *Melike: of course I mean now Kurdish talks and so on mingle each other (.) I don't know Arabic*
239 *or so I say LOOK my neighbour said that I am looking at my right there are Syrians I*
240 *turn to my left there are Iraqis she said we have turned into refugees in our own native*
241 *land she said they all spoke Arabic (.) she said she didn't understand their language- it*
242 *is not understood by merchants by vendors-none of the citizens who passes by*
243 *understands it- how many of us know Arabic?*

Melike, Interview- September 2017

This example gives a better clue about Melike's negative stance towards speaking languages other than Turkish in public spaces. The underlying reason for this linguistic intolerance arguably stems from her monoglot understanding as she thinks that Turkey has one official language, and everyone must speak that language in the presence of others. One can infer from this extract that hearing languages other than Turkish on the street creates an uncanny situation both for her and also her neighbour she referred to in lines 234/239 and 235/240 because, similar to Extract 6.12, they fear that, by choosing an unknown code to speak, those people plot something or swear at them. As a result, her monolingual bias results in developing distrust and

paranoia, which may potentially turn into xenophobia as well. It seems that Melike thinks she has a right to understand what is spoken in public spaces as the owner of this country. In other words, she thinks she has that authority to demand which code people will speak in public while foreigners lack in that authority. Melike's claim that the refugees exclude themselves from the locals and make their foreign identity visible by speaking in their own languages reiterates itself in another interview I conducted with Aynur. In this extract, the local woman, Aynur evidently equates being a good and likeable refugee with giving up using his or her own language:

Extract 6.16

- 239 Rasim: İstanbul'da her tarafın lafı var (.) bi yer değil (.) ama içinde tam Türkçe konuşanlar var
 240 bi de bizim gibi nörüyon napıyon ne diyon- hayDİ (.) NE var?
 241 Aynur: doğru- bizim üstümüzdeki Suriye- Iraklı bazı konuşurken çocuklarına Türkçe söylüyo
 242 ama küçük kızı var "mama" diye bağırdı mıydı son sürat kendi dilinden bağılıyor
 243 Rasim: tabi
 244 Aynur: iyi de güzeldi az önce biraz önce yarım saniye önce iyiydin neden böyle? HAAA diyo
 245 mesela- "mama mama" diye diye kız- annesi cevap vermiyo ardından mesela HAA
 246 didin miydi işte yabancı olduğun belli oluyo NE kadar Türkiyeli olursan ol yabancı belli
 247 oluyo
 248 Rasim: tabi tabi
- 244 Rasim: *in Istanbul there are languages from everywhere (.) not one place (.) but there are the*
 245 *ones speaking exact Turkish and the ones like us {saying some local words}- come on*
 246 *(.) what?*
 247 Aynur: *right- our Syrian neighbour- Iraqi sometimes while speaking she says in Turkish but she*
 248 *has a small daughter when she screams like "mama" she yells like hell in her own*
 249 *language*
 250 Rasim: *of course*
 251 Aynur: *okay it was good just now a half second before you were good why? she says HAAA for*
 252 *example- the girl saying "mama mama"- her mum doesn't respond then for example*
 253 *when you say HAA it becomes clear you are a foreigner whether you are from Turkey or*
 254 *not obviously foreigner*
 255 Rasim: *right right*

Aynur, Interview- January 2017

Because Aynur's neighbour is an Iraqi refugee with a Turkmen descent, she is a bilingual speaker of Turkmen-Turkish and Arabic. However, there is no reference to the Turkish origin of her neighbour because, as exemplified in Extract 6.1, Aynur does not acknowledge Turkmen's Turkic origin. In another interview with her, she says she is not interested in refugees' ethnic, national and religious identities as she

positions them all into the same category. This extract also shows that even if Aynur's neighbour speaks Turkish, because she switches between two languages in her conversation with her daughter, this bilingual situation itself is problematised by (line 244/251). Because Turkish and Arabic bilingualism reveals her neighbour's foreign, or less pure Turkish background, according to Aynur, this bilingual situation is something that should have been avoided by speaking only in Turkish. While, in this extract, Aynur's monoglossic stance towards bilingualism and the use of non-Turkish languages in public spaces is obvious, the way the Iraqi Turkmen woman and her daughter speak in Arabic also sounds quite rude and vulgar to Aynur as she repeatedly imitates them with a strong and glottalised "HAAA" sound in lines 244/251 and 245/253. Therefore, the problem is not only about which code they choose but also their manner of using them and their level of compatibility with the local speakers' acceptance criteria. As a result, we infer that even if the Iraqi Turkmen woman gives up using Arabic, her legitimacy will not be automatically recognised by Aynur.

While the use of non-Turkish languages by their refugee neighbours is interpreted by both Melike and Aynur as a way of showing their otherness, Zülviye, another local woman, interprets the use of Arabic by the refugees as a sign of their refusal to learn and use Turkish by arguing that "*Türkçe'yi biraz da öğrenmek mi istemiyolar dilleri mi bükülmüyo?*" ("is it because they don't want to learn Turkish don't they get their tongues round?"). Similarly, in the extract below, Naciye interprets the use of Arabic as their rejection of the Turkish authority in the country and the legacy claim of the refugees over Turkey:

Extract 6.17

249 bazısı da istemiyo konuşmayı- bazısı istemiyo ki konuşmayı ben bazısına çok kızıyorum mesela
250 sen geleli iki yıl olmuş bir kelime bile mi öğrenemedin? diye kızıyorum ben- konuşmuyolar ya da
251 tenezzül etmiyolar ya da kendi dillerini kendi şeylerini yürütmek istiyo burda da olsa bizim
252 mesela ehh (.) bizim ya da imm bizim- yasağımız altına girmek istemiyo ya da Türkçe'yi
253 öğrenmek istemiyo bence öyle (...) bunlar niye Arapça konuşuyo Türkçe'yi öğrenmiyo? yedi
254 sekiz dili öğrenen var- bunlar burda yıllardır- bir mesela “bi kilo elma ver” demek için anlatması
255 için karşıdaki adam zorlanıyo Hasret

256 *some of them do not want to speak- some do not want to speak I get angry at some of them for*
257 *example it has been two years you have been here haven't you learnt even a word? I say I get*
258 *angry- they don't speak or they don't condescend to or they want to maintain their languages*
259 *their things even if they are here for example uhm (.) our uhm- they don't want our sovereignty*
260 *or they don't want to learn Turkish I think so (...) why do they speak Arabic and don't learn*
261 *Turkish? there are people learning seven or eight languages- these people have been here for*
262 *many years- for example just to say “give me one kilogram apple” to explain it the man your*
263 *interlocutor has difficulty Hasret*

Naciye, Interview - December 2017

From this extract, one can imply that as a Turkish monolingual, Naciye is presumably not aware of the huge investment one has to make in order to learn a new language. Therefore, from her monolingual perspective, while there are people who can learn seven or eight languages, their not knowing Turkish cannot be justified. Now that, for Naciye, there is no obstacle for refugees to learn Turkish as learning a new language is assumed to be an automatic process by her, the only reason for them not to speak Turkish is explained by their reluctance. By taking her argument one step further, Naciye searches for a political reason behind their language maintenance. By attaching a symbolic meaning to learn and speak Turkish, this time, Naciye argues that because refugees do not want to fall under the domination of Turks, they resist learning and speaking it (line 252/259)

As a result, most of the local women I talked to in Kadife Street concerning linguistic plurality present similar arguments against the use of Arabic and other languages spoken by refugees in public spaces. Only two of the research participants among all the local women I interviewed support linguistic diversity in their neighbourhood. One of the women who constructs a positive stance towards the use

of other languages in public spaces is married to a Kurdish man. She reports to have attempted to learn Kurdish for thirty years, but she failed to do so. Therefore, she says she can understand the difficulty of learning a new language better than her monolingual neighbours. The extract of the interview I conducted with Çiçek is below:

Extract 6.18

256 “yani dil ırkılığı mezhep ırkılığı yapılmaması lazım (...) benim eşim Kürt annesi Türk babası
257 Kürt- ben bu yaştan sonra gidiyim Arapça’yı öğreniyim nasıl öğrenicem? kolay mı? (...) ben bak
258 otuz senelik otuz beş senelik evliyim Kürtlen evliyim- Kürtlerde evliyim- niye ben bi kelime
259 öğrenemedim? öğrenemeyince öğrenemiyon”

264 “I think there shouldn’t be language racism sect racism (...) my husband is Kurdish his mum is
265 Turkish his father is Kurdish I would start learning Arabic at this age how? is it easy? (...) look I
266 have been married to a Kurd for thirty thirty five years- I am married in Kurds- why couldn’t I
267 learn one word? when you cannot learn you cannot learn”

Çiçek, Interview- December 2017

Because Çiçek attempted to learn a second language, thanks to her experience, which ended up with a failure, she managed to develop more sensitivity towards diverse languages and cultures. Another local woman who favours the use of other languages in public spaces is Gelin. Referring to her sister and close relatives having migrated to Germany for work, she states that “*senelerdir mesela yirmi senedir Almanya’da olanlar ablamgil felan napacak? çatır çatır Almanca mı konuşuyo? kursuna gitse mesela burdan gelmiş adam napsın? kendi arasında neyi konuşacak?*” (“for many years for example for twenty years the ones in Germany my sister and so on what can they do? do they speak German with no difficulty? even if they go to a course they come from here what can they do? which language do they speak among each other?”), and adds that she does not see linguistic diversity as a problem because it emerges out of necessity of people to contact with each other. As a result, as opposed to the majority of the local women who imagine society monolingually and have strong desire to pursue this monolingual order, there are few local women who

develop different voices from the hegemonic monoglossic idealisation in society through their own personal trajectories or multi-ethnic and multilingual affiliations.

In this section, I have discussed the local women's positions towards the use of languages other than Turkish, and addressed how the use of non-Turkish languages can be turned into a power struggle and legitimization conflict by the local women. The grassroots data presented in this section are also important to show how monoglot ideology is reproduced by the local women and shape the way they interpret what is desirable and undesirable for society. In the next section, I will address an arguably paradoxical situation which contrasts sharply with the local women's obvious monoglot vision and desire for linguistic homogenisation. To this end, I will discuss how the desirability of Arabic, a non-Turkish language, can change among the local women depending on its context of use.

6.4 From one frame to another: Shifting stances towards Arabic

As it will be discussed in section 7.1 in detail, Arabic language is closely associated with Islam since the Quran, the holy book of Islam, is in Arabic, and the Prophet Mohammed was an Arabic speaker. The role of Arabic language in performing Muslim rituals is also significant for Muslims. For example, every time *namaz* is performed five times a day, the verses of the Quran are repeated in Arabic. *Ezan*, a call to prayer, is heard five times a day in Arabic from mosques in Muslim majority countries such as Turkey. In Islamic holy days and special events, the Quran is read in Arabic. Even if the locals are generally defined as Turkish monolinguals, Arabic plays a very important role in their everyday lives. Therefore, when the role of Arabic is considered in the lives of the local women, it can be suggested that the local women are not truly monolinguals. As mentioned earlier, all the local women

who participated in this research are bi-literate in Quranic Arabic and Turkish even if they have no competence in comprehending the Arabic language. Because they all perform the core practices of Islam, they know the essential verses of the Quran by heart. When they get together, they often allocate special time to read the Quran in its original language. They also encourage their children to attend the Quran classes offered in the mosque at the summer and winter breaks.

Similar to the Latin influence on Western languages, both Arabic language and Arabic alphabet have been widely adopted in the Muslim countries. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, it became the language of literature and science along with Persian. As discussed earlier, until 1928, Arabic alphabet was used to write Turkish, and the language of the elite and ruling class in the Ottoman Empire was Ottoman Turkish, which mostly consists of Arabic and Persian words and Turkish to a lesser extent. Despite all the Turkification efforts following the foundation of the Turkish nation state, today, Arabic still keeps its important position in certain areas such as religious discourse, and Turkish language still includes a large number of Arabic loan-words. Apart from relatively neutral Arabic loan-words which are used to label everyday objects such as *kalem*, *kitap* (pencil, book), there are certain loaded Arabic expressions carrying religious connotations, and often used by Turkish speakers to project their religious identity and lifestyle. Therefore, inserting such Arabic expressions into everyday speech arguably gives a hint about one's religious and political orientations. For example, an Islamic form of greeting *selamun aleyküm* (peace be upon you), is often preferred by the conservative people to greet, and the target audience is expected to converge towards the speaker by responding with the standard response *aleyküm selam* (and upon you peace). Sometimes the responder may choose to diverge from the speaker to emphasise his or her otherness by

responding with *merhaba*, a relatively neutral way of saying ‘hi!’ instead of the expected response, ‘aleyküm selam’.

Based on my observations, such tense moments which stem from which words are selected to perform the same speech act are experienced between conservative and non-conservative people in Turkey. For example, in today’s Turkey, one can easily observe that while Islamist and neo-Ottoman people, whose visibility has increased under the Islamist AKP rule, tend to insert Arabic words into Turkish to project their Islamic identity, middle-class modernist and republican Turks tend to avoid using Arabic and Islamic expressions, and explicitly challenge the Arabisation of Turkish as Arabisation is equated with Islamisation by Turkish seculars. Such people who can be seen at the other end of the continuum of conservatism tend to prefer inserting English or French words into their everyday talk rather than Arabic to index their Western and modern orientations. As a result, despite all the top-down linguistic interventions discussed in this chapter from language purification to the restriction of some codes in certain domains, we see that by its very nature, language is growing in its own way. As Bayyurt (2010) suggests, Arabic and Persian may not have as much influence as in the past, but there are many English and French words leaking into Turkish. Along with this, based on my own personal observations, stemming from the conservative trend in the country, inserting Arabic words while speaking Turkish is increasing its popularity in everyday life, and, some words which were eradicated from the Turkish language may be entering into the lexicon again (see Erduyan, 2014). This can be an important direction of research.

In the context where I conduct my research, all the local women are inclined to conservative and nationalist ideology, and tend to see inserting Arabic words into

Turkish particularly in religious discourse as a symbol of prestige and depth of knowledge. Because the local women put effort into gaining in-depth understanding in Islam and the Quran through religious conversations, *sohbet*, they participate in and the Quran reading sessions they organise, they see learning Arabic for religious purposes as an important part of their belief systems. There are even certain Arabic words they internalised as a part of their religious socialisation, and these words are part of the local women's sociolinguistic repertoire. They proudly use these religious terms in conversations as the indexes of the width of their religious knowledge, and, in this way, they can create their own jargon. For example, Arabic words such as *tefekkiir etmek* (to reflect on), *tecelli etmek* (to appear), *hasbihal* (friendly conversation), *takva* (piety) are among these words indexing a pious and religiously sophisticated self among the local women. Nevertheless, because they have only literacy in the Quranic Arabic and have a few Arabic words in their repertoires, they often feel inferior to those who know Arabic and understand the meaning of the Quran in its original language.

With the arrival of the refugee women to the Kadife Street, the number of the Arabic speakers has sharply increased as most of the refugees are Arabic speakers while there are a few speakers of Persian who come from Iran or Afghanistan. Therefore, whenever the Arabic speaking refugee women find a chance to participate in religious events, knowing Arabic potentially brings an advantage to them. For example, when the Arabic language and literacy knowledge are skilfully used by the Iraqi Turkmen women in their gatherings with the locals, they can be capitalised as a currency, and in this way, Iraqi Turkmen women can even challenge the imposed 'foreign' identity on the basis of Muslim understanding of "ummah".¹² Within such

¹² All the Muslims sharing the same commitment to Islam is imagined to constitute one community which is called "ummah".

frames, they do not become one of the refugees, and their individuality gains visibility. As discussed earlier, Turkish identity has always indexed Muslim identity since the foundation of the state of Turkey. Similarly, for the local women, Turkishness automatically indexes a Muslim identity. Therefore, every time the Iraqi Turkmen women participate in a religious event, by capitalizing on their Quranic literacy skill and religious knowledge, they can be positioned as a proper Muslim, and make their presence known to others. In this way, they can challenge the imposed ‘foreign’ identity, and achieve solidarity based on a shared religion.

For example, in one of the encounters between a local and Iraqi woman, Ayten, the local woman, tells how lucky Kadime, the Iraqi woman, is as a speaker of Arabic since the Quran was sent in their language. When Kadime criticises the local women whom she met in the mosque during the month of Ramadan for reading the verses improperly, Ayten accepts this critique, and further argues that as opposed to Arabic speaking Muslims, what they do as non-Arabic speaking Muslims is only to repeat the Arabic prayers and the verses of the Quran without reaching any understanding:

Extract 6.19

- 260 Kadime: elhamdülillah men çok- men Kuran okumuyram okumuycam Kuran- bes çok anlaram
261 Ayten: hmm- e sen şimdi okuduğunu anlıyorsun elhamdülillah diyorsun anlıyorsun=
262 Kadime: = tabii
263 Ayten: e bizinkiler işte okuduğunu anlamadığı=
264 Kadime: = anLAMİYLER anlamıyler Kuran okuyar anlamıyler manası ne- manası ne?
265 Ayten: manası ne?
266 Kadime: siz bilmiyler manası (.) biz namaza gidiyduk namaz yapıyduk- terafı namazı (.) çok
267 sure okumiy bilmiy {Türk kadınlar}
268 Ayten: hııı
269 Kadime: kendine kulhuwallah okunmaz- özü XXX- {sureyi Türk kadınları taklit ederek çok hızlı
270 biçimde okur}
271 Ayten: haa hızlı hızlı
(...)
272 Ayten: çok hızlı okur bizim burda hocalar ya
273 Kadime: tabii
274 Ayten: çok hızlı okuyolar
275 Kadime: {Fatiha suresini Türk kadınları taklit ederek çok hızlı biçimde okur} böyle degul abdes
276 siyeküm {hızlı} abdes al siyeküm telasük {hızlı}- namaz =
277 Ayten: = yavaş
278 Kadime: yaVAŞ {Fatiha suresini yavaş yavaş okur}

279 Ayten: işte sen onları derken biraz düşünüyorsun ne diyo bu diye- bizim bu düşünce yok ki
 280 bizim düşünce okuyalım da bitirelim kalkalım düşüncesi sen elhamdülillah derken böyle
 281 güzel bi ne dediğini anlıyorsun
 282 Kadime: tabii {Nas süresini yavaş yavaş okur} {Nas süresini Türk kadınları taklit ederek çok
 283 hızlı biçimde okur}

 268 Kadime: *elhamdülillah {praise be to Allah} I very- I cannot read the Quran- but understand it*
 269 *very well*
 270 Ayten: *hmm- then you understand what you read you say 'elhamdülillah' you get it=*
 271 Kadime: *= of course*
 272 Ayten: *ours they don't understand what they=*
 273 Kadime: *=THEY don't understand they read it they don't understand its meaning- what is its*
 274 *meaning?*
 275 Ayten: *what is its meaning?*
 276 Kadime: *you don't know its meaning (.) we used to go to a prayer- teraifi salaah {a special*
 277 *prayer they perform in the mosque during the Ramadan} (.) they don't recite surah they*
 278 *don't*
 279 Ayten: *mmm*
 280 Kadime: *surah qul hu is not read like this- its original XXX- {she recites the verse by imitating*
 281 *the local women}*
 282 Ayten: *I see rapidly*
 (...)
 283 Ayten: *our hodjas here recite them so fast*
 284 Kadime: *of course*
 285 Ayten: *they recite them so fast*
 286 Kadime: *{she recites the surah fatiha very fast by imitating the local women} it is not like this*
 287 *an ablution is fast performing an ablution shall be fast- prayer {salaah} shall be=*
 288 Ayten: *= slow*
 289 Kadime: *SLOW {she recites the surah fatiha slowly}*
 290 Ayten: *but when you recite them you think for a while about what it says- we don't have such a*
 291 *thought our idea is to finish it as soon as possible and to go when you say elhamdülillah*
 292 *you get what it says beautifully*
 293 Kadime: *of course {she reads another surah slowly} {then she reads the same surah fast by*
 294 *imitating the local women}*

Random gathering- March 2017

Here, first, Kadime argues how well she understands the Quran as an Arabic speaker even if she is illiterate in Arabic (line 260/268). Then, Ayten addresses the difference between Arabic speaking Muslims and non-Arabic speaking ones in lines 261/270 and 263/272. Kadime aligns with her (line 264/273), and argues that the local women she met in the mosque fail to perform their religious practices stemming from their lack of understanding in the Quran (line 266/276). Then, by adopting an epistemic stance, Kadime attempts to show the right way of performing these practices, and at the same time, despises the way the local women read the verses of the Quran by imitating them three times in lines 269/280, 275/286, 282/293. When Kadime realises that Ayten totally aligns with her negative evaluations concerning the local

women, and that accepts her authority within the religious frame, Kadime starts showing Ayten the right way of reciting the verses over and over again. Ayten is mesmerised by Kadime's reading these verses with her Arabic accent, and in line 280/291, complements on the way Kadime pronounces "*elhamdülillah*" (praise be to Allah) by criticising her own group's misconduct. As a result, thanks to capitalising her knowledge in Arabic, Kadime manages to position herself as an expert, and Ayten, who supposedly feels like an inferior Muslim for not knowing Arabic, voice the same stance with Kadime, and shows full alignment with her by positioning herself with Kadime not with her own group.

The reason why Kadime manages to reach this expert position in the eyes of Ayten is that for the local women, Arabic has a privileged place among all other world languages due to its holiness accepted by Muslims. For example, another local woman, Melike, describes the role of Arabic language in Islam as follows:

Extract 6. 20

284 "Arapça'ya var ya her Müslümanın sadece Türkler için değil saygısı vardır- neden biliyor
285 musun? Arapça cennet dilimiz olacak (.) cennette sadece Arapça konuşulcak"

295 "*every Muslim it is not only Turks respects Arabic- do you know why? Arabic will be our*
296 *language in heaven (.) only Arabic will be spoken in heaven*"

Melike, Interview - December 2017

In this extract, Melike places Arabic in a privileged position among all other world languages, and describes Arabic as the heavenly language as, for her, it is a language chosen by God to be used in paradise. Therefore, she argues that every Muslim shows respect to it. The anecdote shared by another local woman, Zehra, supports Melike's argument. The emotional reaction shown by Zehra to a piece of paper thrown on the ground demonstrates the symbolic meaning attached by the local women to the Arabic language:

Extract 6.21

286 “ben bi gün böyle yerde Arapça yazılı bi kağıt gördüm- ondan sonra {gülüşme} yerden aldım
287 hani yerde sürünmesin felan diye ne bilim ben ayet zannettim ondan sonra kursa götürdüm hoca
288 dedi ki bu Arapça dedi- ordan açıldı bak (.) Arapça dedi hatta sigara şeyi heral dedi
289 {kahkahalar}- sigaranın ambalajıymış”

297 “once I saw a piece of paper in Arabic on the street- then {laughs} I picked it up so that it
298 wouldn't be trampled how can I know I thought it was a verse then I took it with me to the course
299 the hodja said it was in Arabic- look it was unfolded from there (.) she said it was Arabic she
300 said it was a cigarette paper {laughs}- it was a package of cigarette”

Zehra, Interview - December 2017

In this extract, because Zehra automatically associates Arabic with Islam, she assumes that the paper she found on the street may contain Quranic verses, and picks it up. However, a Quranic verse can also be written in Turkish, and a paper with a Turkish writing can also contain such a religious message, but I assume that none of the local women stops by a paper written in Turkish, and examines what is written on it. Therefore, one can assume that because the Arabic script itself is regarded as the symbol of God and Islam, even to encounter an Arabic letter may be enough to invoke religious feelings. However, as opposed to the arguments made by the local women concerning the holiness of Arabic in this section, the extracts discussed in the previous section show that a language which is accepted as holy and heavenly can become an object of hatred and stigma when it is used in public spaces.

One explanation for shifting values towards the Arabic language may be that the local women position the Quranic Arabic and everyday Arabic as two different languages. While the language of the Quran is seen as a sacred language which is created by God, Arabic may be positioned as a man-made language spoken by Arabs. That is, the Quranic Arabic may be detached from the Arabic language with nostalgic sentiments, and their relationship with each other may be erased by adopting the monoglossic ideological lens as in the case of Turkmen-Turkish and Turkey-Turkish. Another alternative explanation may be that the women's

ideological perception in relation to the use of Arabic in public and in religious frames is motivated by two different discourses which do not seem to intersect with each other as these two discourses seem to have been reproduced as two separate ideological packages, namely nationalism and religiosity. When the context in relation to the use of Arabic in public space is evoked, national identity is made relevant by the local women, and they react to this with nationalist sentiments. As exemplified earlier, since the monoglot ideology has become the part of the local women's habitus and arguably governs the way they imagine society, this "psychological machinery" (Billig, 1996, p. 7) automatically offers monolingualism as the frame of reference. Therefore, when the local women are asked how they feel about hearing languages other than Turkish on the street, most of them interpret this as a problem and even a threat to their well-being.

From the state-level perspective, this situation shows us that the language and identity policies adopted by the new Turkish nation-state have become successful as the monoglossic vision is largely embedded in the local women's way of thinking. Because the local women interpret the use of Arabic in a religious context as an indispensable part of their practices and faith system, the more Arabic is used in such contexts, the more satisfaction the local women may even get. In such a frame, Turkish may even turn into an undesirable language. For example, based on my observations, whenever a group of local women switch to Turkish while the others are reading the Quran in Arabic, it is often thought that the ones speaking in Turkish are gossiping or engaging with something irrelevant to the reading activity. Therefore, the women may warn each other for speaking in Turkish since speaking in Turkish in such a context may be interpreted as an empty talk. Along with this, in

reading the Quran, the phonological interference of Turkish with Arabic is also seen as something undesirable by the local women.

As a result, this whole situation shows that because national and religious ideologies construct different system of values in relation to the use of languages, in some cases, they may conflict with each other, and this results in such paradoxical situations. It seems that individuals adopting both of these discourses as the norm of reference to themselves, as in the case of the local women, decide on which identity position they construct for themselves in relation the context as the context tells them which discourse and the system of values they will invoke, and which identity they will make relevant for themselves.

6.5 Beyond the nation-state discourse: The state of ‘refugeeness’

So far, I have discussed the idealised construction of Turkish ethnicity, language and culture by the local women and argued that adopting a monoglot vision as the norm of reference leads to misrecognition and undervaluation of the Iraqi Turkmen refugees’ ethnic and linguistic identities. Then, I explained how the Iraqi Turkmen women contest the constructed monoglossic stances by capitalising on the shared identity categories. Finally, I discussed how monoglot ideology is reproduced by the local women and results in linguistic intolerance. In this section, I will extend the discussion I held in the previous sections around the experienced foreignness and exclusion by the Iraqi Turkmen, and shift the focus to their refugee identity, and I will argue that the discussions I have held so far in relation to the Iraqi Turkmen women’s level of authenticity in Turkishness and legitimacy as speakers may not be only related to their failure to fit into the idealised image of a Turk in the eyes of the locals or not to be members of this nation-state. It may be the case that the Iraqi

Turkmen women are not even given a chance to fail due to their stigmatised refugee identity.

One of the first things I noticed at the very beginning of my fieldwork is that the locals do not often distinguish one refugee from another despite their very different ethnic and linguistic origins, and that address them all with similar labels. For example, when the local woman, Cebire, is asked whether her refugee neighbours' ethnic and linguistic identities make difference for her, she states that because she does not make friends with refugees in any case, she would not mind their social identities:

Extract 6.22

290 Hasret: senin için fark eder mi mesela? Türkmen Arap olması- yani Iraklı Türkmen- ya da Arap
291 Cebire: hiç fark etmiyo benim için (.)
292 Hasret: öyle mi?
293 Cebire: e komşuluk olmadığı için hiç fark etmiyo (.)
294 Hasret: hani ne bilim onlar da benim gibi Türk diye
295 Cebire: Türk olarak diye tamam Müslüman diyoz Türk de ama- fark yok- neden yok? çünkü
296 komşuluk yok- komşuluk yapamam

301 Hasret: *does this make a difference for you? being a Turkmen Arab- I mean an Iraqi Turkmen-*
302 *or an Arab*
303 Cebire: *for me it doesn't matter (.)*
304 Hasret: *ah really?*
305 Cebire: *because there is no neighbourly relation it doesn't matter (.)*
306 Hasret: *I don't know for example because they are also Turk like me*
307 Cebire: *it is okay because they are Turks we say they are Muslims and Turks as well but- no*
308 *difference- why is this so? because there is no neighbourly relation- I cannot build it*

Cebire, Interview- October 2017

From this extract, I infer that because Cebire rejects the idea of building any neighbourly relations with refugees in general, her refugee neighbours' ethnic, religious or linguistic identities become unimportant details for her; therefore, she projects a neutral stance on her refugee neighbours' other social identities. It is evident that because Cebire positions all the refugees in her neighbourhood into the same category, she is not interested in their subjectivities and social affiliations. Here, the issue of who is seen as worthy to speak and listen as Bourdieu (1991) puts

forward comes to the fore. In such a case, it is evident that knowing the local language, having the same ethnic identity or being affiliated with the same religious group do not bring any recognition, and the state of ‘refugeeness’ apparently makes all other identities invisible.

Following this conversation, I attempted to go into detail to understand the reason why Cebire constructed an indifferent stance towards building relations with her refugee neighbours, and asked her an emotionally loaded question to understand her motivation behind this negatively constructed stance:

Extract 6.23

297 Hasret: hani ne biliyim misal Almanya’ya taşındın diyelim hani insan bi yerde de umar
298 yalnızım ya- hani kapımı çalsınlar hoş geldin kimsin desinler bi kahvemi içsinler- ne
299 bilim belki umar mı insan? =
300 Cebire: = ister- ama işte bunlar normal bi- öyle bi- hani eşyalı meşyalı şöyle böyle normal bi
301 yerden göçüp gelme değil bunlar şeyden kaçma gelme savaştan kaçma gelme
302 Hasret: hmm

309 Hasret: *well I don’t know imagine you moved to Germany- I mean the person in a way expects I*
310 *am lonely- she wishes they would knock on her door they would say welcome who are*
311 *you they would drink my coffee- I don’t know maybe does a person expect so? =*
312 Cebire: *=she wants- but these aren’t normal- I mean- who have furniture and stuff- they did not*
313 *migrate from a normal place- these are the ones who escaped from the thing- from the*
314 *war*
315 Hasret: *hmm*

Cebire, Interview- October 2017

In this extract, Cebire openly articulates that she excludes her refugee neighbours for failing to conform to ‘normal’ category (line 300/312), and this exclusion apparently stems from their refugee identity as they are seen as people occupying a very suspicious position in society due to escaping to Turkey from a war zone without a proper identification process. In the extract above, we see that being a refugee is interpreted by Cebire as a troublesome and suspicious identity. Apart from illegality Cebire associates with refugeeness, she also addresses the social class dimension of refugeeness referring to their disownership of proper furniture, and she supposedly associates refugeeness with a lower social class. From this extract, we may even infer

that the social class of a refugee can potentially minimise the felt exclusion because the one who has proper furniture may be favoured more and accepted as a less suspicious and a more ‘normal’ person by Cebire because, from her view, having private property obviously indexes a person’s legitimate position in society.

This kind of marginalisation and criminalisation of refugees reiterates itself across the local participants. For example, in one of my interviews with the local women, Gelin and Pakize, Gelin says that she has recently learnt the real meaning of the term *mülteci* (refugee) presumably following this study. Before that, she thought ‘refugee’ and ‘terrorist’ were synonymous words. The extract is given below:

Extract 6. 24

303 Hasret: yani kim oluyo? yani bu dediğimizde sizce kim demek oluyo yani mülteci- şu an senin=
 304 Pakize: = biz kötü biri olarak görüyok kızım bunu mülteci diyi
 305 Hasret: yani ne demek? anlamı ne demek? kötü biri mi?
 306 Pakize: kötü biri olarak biliyok- iyi birisi değil düşündüğümüz
 307 Hasret: yani yabancı yerden gelen? ne yani? savaştan mı gitmiş?
 308 Pakize: savaştan dolayı işte (.) ne az önce bişiler anlatıyolardı {İŞİD hakkında geçen
 309 konuşmaları kastederek}
 310 Hasret: ha ona mülteci diyolar?
 311 Gelin: mülteci diye ben bazen hep neyi anlardım? teröristlere felan mülteci denirdi ya benim
 312 öyle algıladım hep- ama şimdik mülteci diye başkasına mı diyomuş? (.) ben hep öyle
 313 dediler miydi {gülüşme} terörist aklıma =
 314 İsmınur: = terörist aklına gelirdi diyo
 315 Gelin: hep öyle gelirdi mülteciler felan dediği zaman
 316 İsmınur: doğru
 317 Gelin: hep teröristler aklıma gelirdi
 318 Hasret: ama şimdi?
 319 Gelin: mülteci deyince heralda bu dışardan gelenler
 320 Hasret: aynen

316 Hasret: then who is s/he? that is when we say refugee who do you think she is- now yours=
 317 Pakize: = we see him/her as a bad person my girl what is called a refugee
 318 Hasret: then what does it mean? what is its meaning? is s/he someone bad?
 319 Pakize: we know him/her as someone bad- not a good person what we think
 320 Hasret: then someone coming from a foreign place? what is it then? did s/he came from a war?
 321 Pakize: yeah because of a war (.) a while ago they were saying something {referring to the talks
 322 about the ISIS}
 323 Hasret: ah then is he called a refugee?
 324 Gelin: when someone says ‘refugee’ I sometimes always understand what? terrorists and so on
 325 were called refugee I always perceived it so- but now is someone else called refugee? (.)
 326 whenever they say so always a terrorist used to come to my mind {by laughing} =
 327 İsmınur: =she says a terrorist comes to her mind
 328 Gelin: whenever it is said refugees that used to come to my mind
 329 İsmınur: right
 330 Gelin: always terrorists came to my mind
 331 Hasret: but now?
 332 Gelin: when it is said refugees probably those who come from abroad

As mentioned before, the refugees residing in Kadife Street are often addressed as Syrians or Arabs as the term ‘refugee’ has recently entered into the local women’s lexicon through media. As Gelin mentions, the word ‘refugee’ is often equated with a terrorist or an illegal person (line 311/324), but the term is not much articulated in everyday life as most of the local women are not still sure about its exact meaning such as Pakize in lines 304/306 and 296/319. Nevertheless, when they are asked the meaning of the word *mülteci* (refugee), as in the case of this example, it potentially evokes negative connotations mostly associated with terrorism. Because the term ‘refugee’ has not been internalised by the local women yet, they prefer to call the refugees in the neighbourhood with ethnic and national labels, and these labels are often used randomly and interchangeably. However, because the Syrians are the largest refugee group in Turkey, the ones seeking for asylum in Turkey have been increasingly given the label of ‘Suriyeli’ (Syrian) as a generic name by the local women. Even if the labels such as ‘Arabs’ and ‘Iraqis’ are heard to be used along with ‘Syrians’ interchangeably to define the refugees in the neighbourhood, they are not as frequently heard as ‘Syrians’. For example, in one of the instances, when the local woman Sincan asks the Iraqi Turkmen women where they are from, their answer “we are Iraqi” is equated with being Syrian as both of these groups are positioned within the same ‘refugee category’ by the local women:

Extract 6.25

321 Sincan: siz nerelisiniz?

322 Ele: Iraklı=

323 Sincan: =Suriyeli

324 Ele: Iraklı yok Iraklı

325 Sincan: Suriye ile Irak aynı değil mi?

326 İsmınur: yok- Suriye ayrı Irak ayrı ama bunlar güzel Türkçe konuşuyo

334 Sincan: where are you from?

335 Ele: Iraqi=

336 *Sincan: =Syrian*

337 *Ele: Iraqi no Iraqi*

338 *Sincan: are Syria and Iraq the same?*

339 *İsminur: no- Syria is different Iraq is different but these ones speak Turkish well*

Women's Gold Day- September 2017

In this extract, equating an Iraqi with a Syrian may stem from the local women's encounter with both of these ethnic labels in very similar contexts such as the ongoing war in both of these countries and the forced migration of their to Turkey. While the local women's monolithic vision plays a role in their constructed insensitivities towards different ethnic and linguistic groups, to situate both Syrians and Iraqis to the large 'refugee category' also leads to this simplistic assumption.

Because Syrians are the largest refugee group in Turkey, they have increasing visibility both in the Turkish media and in the political discourse. Therefore, all the refugees are potentially seen as Syrian, and to be a refugee is often equated with being a Syrian. As a result of this prototypicalization of refugees as Syrians, I observe that the national label *Suriyeli* (Syrian) has expanded its semantic meaning, and now includes all other refugee groups in itself by going beyond indexing a national identity. It has been adjectified and gained new associations. As a result, it has become a loaded term mostly carrying negative connotations, and it is often used to index not only poverty, misery but also beggary and opportunism. Therefore, I suggest that to be Syrian does not refer to a nationality any more in most of the contexts in which it is used. Even if it indexes outsidership along with a low social class, it does not specifically refer to a nationality. The extract taken from the interview I conducted with a local woman, Gül, shows how '*Suriyeli*' is used to index an identity which has nothing to do with nationality:

Extract 6.26

327 Gül: geçen çeşmede bir Suriyeli çocuk gördüm- bi benim kıza baktım bi ona baktım sanki biz
328 Suriyeliyiz {gülüşme}
329 İsmi: hadi canım
330 Gül: baktım saçları toplamış örmüş süslü püslü- bi de benimkine baktım arkadan bağlarız
331 Taramaz {gülüşme} bi baktım şaşırdım yani

340 Gül: *I have recently seen a Syrian kid near the fountain- I looked at my daughter then I*
341 *looked at her- it was as if we were Syrians {laughs}*
342 İsmi: *ah really?*
343 Gül: *I looked - her hair was tied up she plaited it in a fancy way- then I looked at mine- we*
344 *tie her hair back she doesn't comb it {laughs}- I looked at her and was surprised in a*
345 *sense*

Gül, Interview- October 2017

This extract shows that with an essentialist stance Gül takes up, she equates being a Syrian child with being neglected and uncared for. To be a Syrian, in this example, indexes the social class of a child who is at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy. Based on my observations, with the arrival of the refugees, the number of child beggars has increased in Kırşehir, and these beggars are often called ‘Syrians’ despite the minority situation of the Syrian refugees among other refugee groups such as Iraqis and Afghans in Kırşehir. Despite this demographic fact, the reason for this equation and the use of ‘Syrian’ as a generic name to label people from a lower social status is arguably the increasing media coverage of Syrian child beggars on TV. The popular image which is often used to depict a Syrian child is the one without shoes and proper clothing despite the socioeconomic diversity among Syrian children. Therefore, in the extract above, ‘Suriyeli’ is used as an adjective in a negative way to index a group of people having a lower social status rather than a national identity. Syrian identity carrying this kind of semantic degrading and broadening reiterates itself in the interview I conducted with another local woman, Melike. While she mentions her own migrant background, she compares her situation with Syrians in Turkey:

Extract 27

332 Melike: ilk yeni evlendiğimiz sıra Osman duruyo duruyo bana macir- macir /ya macir değilimki/
333 ben dedim ben göçmenim
334 Hasret: /sana mı?/
335 Melike: ben göçmenim dedim hani dedem göçmen Bulgaristan'dan çıkmış gelmiş
336 Hasret: aa hı hı
337 Melike: göçmenim ben dedim macir ney dedim macirin anlamını da bilmiyom dedim
338 Hasret: neymiş farkı göçmenle macirin peki?
339 Melike: şeymiş ıhh onu sonradan ben amcama felan sordum (.) göçmen ıhh o dönemlerde
340 zengin de göçüyodu hani yerini yurdunu falan şey yapıyodu- macirler de kırsal
341 kesimden kaçanlarmış bu Suriye'den kaçanlar gibi anladın mı?

346 Melike: *in the first years of our marriage Osman used to call me- macir {Balkan Turks having*
347 *migrated to Turkey} all the time /I am not a macir/ I said I am a migrant*
348 Hasret: */ did he say that to you?/*
349 Melike: *I said that I was a migrant my grandfather came from Bulgaria*
350 Hasret: *aah yeah*
351 Melike: *I said I was a migrant I said what macir was I didn't know the meaning of macir*
352 Hasret: *what is the difference then between a macir and migrant?*
353 Melike: *uhm it was later I asked my uncle(.) a migrant uhm at that time rich people also used to*
354 *migrate they also left their hometown- macirs used to be the ones who escaped from*
355 *rural places like the ones who escaped from Syria do you get me?*

Melike, Interview- January 2017

In this short extract, first, Melike attempts to distinguish the term *muhacir/macir* used for the Balkan Turks having migrated to Turkey from the term *göçmen* (migrant) which is a relatively neutral term used for people moving from one place to another (lines 339/353 and 349/354). While the term 'muhacir' only includes information about the geography people move from, this example shows that similar to being 'Suriyeli', it has also gained negative connotations. Therefore, Melike rejects to be addressed as 'muhacir' by her husband initially for not knowing its meaning and later for learning that it is a way of humiliating people. As opposed to *zenginler* (rich people) migrating from one place to another, both *muhacirs* and Syrians are seen as the ones escaping from rural areas. It means that from Melike's perspective, Syria refers to a rural place, and the ones escaping from there are poor people. Therefore, to be a Syrian is constructed by her to index not only people migrating from an underdeveloped geography but also their social class.

So far, I have attempted to show that because there is a strong presence of the

refugee discourse not only in Kadife Street but also in Turkey from media coverages to everyday talk, it is often the case that the only identity imposed on the Iraqi Turkmen becomes ‘refugeeness’. Because they are imprisoned in a refugee identity which does not need further clarification, they are automatically excluded from the nation-state discourse. As shown in the examples, even if the term ‘mülteci’ (refugee) is not articulated by the local women to address refugees as it has not entered the lexicon of the local women yet, the word ‘Syrian’ is often adopted to index a refugee identity. This situation linguistically leads to an “associative widening” (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1988, p. 48) from a ‘refugee’ to ‘Syrian’, and, at the same time, a “semantic narrowing” (p. 48) of the term ‘refugee’ as it is reduced to a single national label.

While in the extracts discussed above, ‘Suriyeli’ is used by the locals to index a low-class status along with outsidership, I observe that ‘*Türkiyeli*’ (a person from Turkey) is used by the Iraqi Turkmen participants as an antonym of ‘Suriyeli’ to describe an upward social mobility along with localness rather than indexing purely a national identity. In such instances, similar to Suriyeli, it operates as an adjective to depict certain types of people by going beyond its semantic meaning. While I observe that there are different indexes of Turkishness constructed by the Iraqi Turkmen participants, here, I will discuss how it is adjectified by the Iraqi Turkmen women as an antonym of Suriyeli to address a social class. The following dialogue takes place in Ele’s home only two days after she moves into her new flat. Upon my question, Ele compares her new flat with the previous one. As she moved from a very old apartment to a new one in the same neighbourhood, Dikra, Ele’s Iraqi Turkmen friend, argues that every time she sees Ele, Ele becomes more Turkish due to her increasing comfort and lifestyle:

Extract 6.28

342 Hasret: şey doğalgaz orda var mıydı? {mahalledeki eski evini kastederek}
343 Ele: yo yook- kömür sobasıydı
344 Hasret: kışın bura çok güzel olur
345 Ele: burda ıhh kombiyi bilmiyom çalıştırmak
346 Hasret: öğrenirsin
347 Ele: ama çok incidirdim- aman her kova kömürü aşağıdan yukarı valla belim burdan ağırdı
348 XXX
349 Dikra: XXX- bakaram görerem aman Ele kamil {noksansız} hanım Türki olur hee
{kahkahalar}
350 İsmınur: Türk oldun- ne diyo? ne dedi?
351 Ele: aman diyo ordan taşınmışan her sefer gelirem sen Türki olursan aman diyo incelmişsen
352 Hasret: aaa
353 Ele: a doğalgaz moda olmuş
354 İsmınur: haa doğalgaz var
(...)
355 Hasret: tabi her yeri eskiydi o evin- e doğalgazı da yok yeri de yok
356 İsmınur: en azından şu var rahatlığı {yeni dairenin}
357 Ele: hı hı bura daha rahatlaşırım- aman Türküleşirem {gülüşmeler}
358 İsmınur: aaa görüyon mu Türkleşirsin diyomuş

356 *Hasret: well was there natural gas {central heating}? {referring to her old flat in the*
357 *neighbourhood}*
358 *Ele: no no- it was a coal burning stove*
359 *Hasret: here gets nice in the winter*
360 *Ele: here- uhm I don't know how to turn on the combi*
361 *Hasret: you will learn it*
362 *Ele: but I often got sick- to carry a bucket of coal up and down my lower back used to hurt*
363 *XXX*
364 *Dikra: XXXX- I look I see Mrs. Ele has become a perfect Turk {laughs}*
365 *İsmınur: you have become a Turk- what does she say? what did she say?*
366 *Ele: she says you moved from there every time I come to see you you Turkify you get politer*
367 *Hasret: aaah*
368 *Ele: natural gas heating has become fashionable*
369 *İsmınur: ahh there is natural gas*
(...)
370 *Hasret: yeah everything was old in that flat- there wasn't natural gas no covering {on the floor}*
371 *İsmınur: at least it {this new flat} has this comfort*
372 *Ele: yeah yeah here I am getting comfortable- I am Turkifying {laughs}*
373 *İsmınur: ah you see she says you are Turkifying*

Ele, Home visit- August 2017

When Dikra, Ele's Iraqi Turkmen friend, witnesses Ele's comfort in her new flat which has newly painted walls, new floor coverings and the central heating system, she says that "*Ele kamil hanım Türki olur*" ("Mrs. Ele perfect has become a Turk") in line 349/364. When I and İsmınur, my local facilitator, do not understand her due to her Turkmen accent, Ele repeats us what she says (line 351/366). What she means with *Türkleşme* (Turkification) is explained by Ele as *incelme*, in other words, to

become politer and more civilised. As most of the local homeowners do not prefer to hire their new flats to the refugees, most of the refugees in the Kadife Street have to rent the oldest and most neglected flats. Therefore, it seems that, in the eyes of Dikra, the ones residing in new apartments are Turks while the ones residing in dirty and untended apartments are refugees. In her eyes, Ele has climbed the social ladder by moving her new flat with natural gas, and getting the title of *hanım* (Mrs.).

A few minutes later, in the same extract, Ele uses *Türkleşme* as an adjective to describe herself by echoing her friend's previous utterance (line 357/372). In this instance, she uses Turkification as *rahatlaşma* (getting comfortable). The use of *Türkleşme* in this dialogue both by Dikra and Ele refers to something positive and aspirational. While she was in a miserable condition and dealt with old-fashioned coal burning stove, she climbed the social ladder by becoming Turk; as a result, she was relieved and civilised. Therefore, the way *Türkleşme* is used here arguably indexes an upward mobility. As Ele improved her position in the eyes of her Iraqi friend by moving from an old apartment to a new one, she is now qualified enough to be identified as a Turk. While the identification of her friend as a Turk puts a smile on Ele's face as she interprets it as a kind of complement, in another frame, *Türkleşme* can be used and interpreted by the Iraqi Turkmen women as a negative criticism or even an insult. I will explain other indexes of Turkification when the occasion arises.

As a result, the extracts presented in this section show that the rejection and misrecognition of the Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identity claims are related not only to the reproduction of nation-state discourse by the local women but also to the discourses surrounding the refugee identity. To this end, in this section, I focused on the cases in which the refugee identity of the newcomer neighbours is

made visible, and attempted to show readers how individuals can be disqualified from acceptance due to their refugee identity, and how their shared ethnic and linguistic affiliations potentially become useless capitals by being erased by the state of 'refugeeness'. This situation echoes what Diken (2004) argues, that the state of 'refugeeness' can turn the lives of an individual into a "bare life" (p. 89) by making them exempted from any types of belonging and identity. Towards the end of this section, I also attempted to show how Turkish and Syrian ethnic identities are adjectified by the local and the refugee women, and extended to include brand-new associations. In both cases, we have seen that these labels are used to define situations which have little or nothing to do with nationality.

CHAPTER 7

LOCAL CONSTRUCTION OF WOMANHOOD PARAMETERS: STANCES TOWARDS WOMANHOOD

Kadife Street is a place where the great majority of people are committed to the Sunni Islamic values and a conservative lifestyle. As opposed to the big metropolitan cities of Turkey such as İstanbul and İzmir, people of Kırşehir are, in general, attached to traditional and cultural values largely based on Islam. Similar to what Kalaycıoğlu (2007) discusses about conservatism in Turkey, a large number of people who were born before the 1980s are the sons and daughters of peasant families, and tend to preserve “the moral order of the agricultural society” (p. 246) even if their economic conditions have relatively improved in comparison to the past. Because the local women whom I worked with are over 40 years old, all the women apart from Melike, who is proud of herself as a born and bred local of Kırşehir, and call herself “*yerli*” (local), have moved from rural to urban after a certain age.

Even if there is no strict gender segregation between men and women in Kadife Street, the contact between them is restricted, as in the case of many neighbourhoods across Turkey. While men often socialise with their male friends in social spaces in the city center such as *kahve*, all-male tea houses, women socialise in all-female gatherings at home or in the neighbourhood parks. Men and women get together in cultural events such as weddings, funerals and religious festivals. In such encounters, there are certain moral rules of conduct that need to be performed, and it is primarily under the responsibility of women to follow these rules which have Islamic and conservative grounds. Therefore, the local women are often under the

normative pressure of their husbands, mothers-in-law, relatives and neighbours especially when they are in public.

There are certain conventional roles associated with womanhood in the neighbourhood, and if the local women want to be accepted as legitimate members of the community, they have to abide by them. Therefore, from very early ages, the girls of Kadife Street learn how to discipline their bodies and to create a ‘pious self’ “through repeated practices until that practice leaves a permanent mark on the character of the person” (Mahmood, 2005, p. 136). This process can also be explained as a formation of habitus in Bourdieu’s (1984) term. For example, the girls of Kadife Street learn how to wear modestly, not to laugh loudly in public, not to cross their legs in the presence of another man, and to be careful while bending over to pick something up. In their every move, they have to consider its appropriateness because it is primarily women’s responsibility to maintain the moral order. When they get married, they are expected to perform their wifely and motherly roles, and act as virtuous and modest women by following the established asymmetrical roles and practices. To use Goffman’s (1956) lens, if a woman wants to sustain a respectable self-image, she has to commit to the religious, cultural and moral norms. They are urged to learn how to make calculations of their every small move in order not to go out of the play whose rules are written under the hegemony of patriarchal order, but reproduced by its female members.

As an introduction to my second analytic chapter, I have attempted to contextualise what it looks like to be a woman in Kadife Street to help the reader make better sense of this chapter largely based on the local construction of womanhood. Even if the Iraqi Turkmen women and the local women have socialised in different communities, I would say that the image depicted for the local women of

Kadife Street is not radically different from the Iraqi Turkmen refugees residing in the neighbourhood because of the conservative lifestyle both parties adopt. Besides, it was mentioned earlier that the Iraqi Turkmen women I worked with have a more conservative lifestyle than the local women I worked with, and that the local women often compare the Iraqi Turkmen women and their lifestyle with the old times of Turkish society, and label them as “old-fashioned”. Therefore, I do not need to cover these issues again here.

This chapter will be organised as follows. First, I will discuss the construction of religious identity in the face-to-face meetings between the refugee and local women, and explore how the women construct their stances and position themselves in the intersection of gendered and religious identities. By adding the layer of nationalism, in the second half of the first section, I will complicate the local identity building processes, and explore its interplay with religious and gendered identities. In the second and third sections, I will explore the stances constructed by the local women around the theme of sexuality and hygiene respectively in order to investigate the local women’s constructed stances towards the refugee women and their local understanding of womanhood. In short, in this chapter, I will attempt to reveal local meanings associated with femininity, and explore how the parameters concerning womanhood are locally constructed and stances in relation to the societal roles and expectations about femininity are negotiated between the refugee and local subjects.

7.1 Construction of womanhood and religious identity

As described earlier, both the local women and refugee women whom I worked with have strong faith in Islam, and define their Sunni Muslim identity as their core

identity. They strive to observe the five pillars of Islam, and act and wear according to the rules of Islam. The local women acquire their religious knowledge through informal education they receive from their parents, neighbours and voluntary members of various religious foundations that are called *cemaat* or *tarik*at in Turkish. Because mosques are often used by men to socialise and to observe their five-time daily prayers, the local women visit mosques only during the holy month of Ramadan and in certain religious occasions; therefore, the neighbourhood mosque, as a social and religious space, has a limited role in the lives of the refugee and local women.

Based on my observations, I get the impression that both the local women and refugee women who have no careers and socialisation area outside home can add new meanings to their lives apart from being someone's mothers and wives, and gain respect and legitimacy in their community as skilful members through religious events they participate in and religious knowledge they acquire. Therefore, I am inclined to the idea that the women of Kadife Street attach more complicated and deeper meaning to religion than their male counterparts, and dedicate more time and energy to perform their ritual practices. For example, while some of the local women's husbands do not approve their wives to participate in a certain religious community called *tarik*at and *cemaat*, the local women can insist on continuing their affiliation even if it would come at a price. What such religious foundations offer local women is an identity, a sense of belonging and a sense of place. While the local men can potentially fulfil their such needs by actively participating in the social life, to fulfil such needs without being affiliated with such religious foundations is not easy for the local women. Besides, to get consent for non-religious activities from

their husbands or mothers-in-law is not as easy as to get a consent for a religious event.

Even if the local women's commitment to religious and moral norms can be explained by instrumental motivations in a Goffmanian sense such as to gain a membership to certain communities and to enhance their self-image among the local women, it can also be explained by the embodied dispositions sociohistorically formed by the women referring to Bourdieu's habitus. When we consider the women's level of commitment to the reproduction of religious and moral norms, and investment to fulfil their religious duties from early morning to late at night, it becomes evident that pragmatic explanations fail to give the whole account of their dedication. Referring to Butler's theory of performativity, Mahmood (2005) similarly argues that "it is through the repeated performance of virtuous practices that the subject's will, desire, intellect, and body come to acquire a particular form" (p. 162). Therefore, they may be committed to following the religious and moral rules with a sense of mission without expecting a social approval. In other words, we may not necessarily find a connection between the women's attachment to the ritual order and desire for its social consequences because a religious activity may presumably be performed for its own sake by the women. In this section, while discussing the women's investment in religious and societal norms by referring to the stances they construct and the positions they take, I will follow Goffman's understanding of rituals in order to show the reader the interplay between performing rituals for the sake morality and their manipulative instrumentalisation for the sake of obtaining certain symbolic profit. I will both draw on Goffman's (1956) earlier works such as *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* to explore more agent-centered conceptualisations based on game-like calculations, and also his later works such as

Frame Analysis (1974) to carry the discussion to a broader level by referring to the sociohistorically generated frames by society.

In this section, I will first investigate how religious identity is locally constructed by the women through a shared practice, namely the Quran recitation events. Then, I will explore the simultaneous construction of religious and national identities by the local and refugee women respectively, and show how these two parties challenge each other's religious identities by making their national identities visible.

7.1.1 Construction of religious identity: The Quran recitations

As Foucault (1991) discusses, every community has its own regime of knowledge. The regime of knowledge of this community is largely based on the reproduction of religious norms and practices. Therefore, one of the reasons why the local women put effort on acquiring certain capitals which are valued in their community such as developing strong religious knowledge and acquiring the Quranic literacy is arguably to gain a strong place and a voice in their community. For example, the one knowing the religious norms and duties better than others can have the power to dictate others how they should look or behave as women. Because religious stories are valued among the women, the one knowing them and having the ability to narrate them is seen worth listening to by the women. The one reading the Quran skilfully can find a chance to demonstrate her skill by reciting it aloud in front of a group of women. If they can articulate certain Arabic sounds which most Turks find difficult to pronounce, on the following days, it is highly likely that their neighbours knock on their doors to get a private tutorial from them, and try to arrange a session to read the Quran together. In this way, a woman's popularity and respect can increase in line

with her skill in reciting the Quran. Besides that, knowing the Quran and being able to actively participate in events where the Quran is recited give the women a chance to socialise with each other and increase their participation in the neighbourhood. In this way, the local women who have no careers and socialisation area outside home can add new meanings to their lives apart from being someone's mothers and wives, and gain respect in their community as its skilful members.

In the same way, I observe that having the Quranic literacy and enough religious knowledge to explain a controversial issue directly referring to either a verse of the Quran or the Prophet Mohammed's and other important religious figures' lives play a very important role in the recognition of the Muslim refugee women as well. For example, when the local women and refugee women are brought together in religious events, I see that they can discuss Muslim rituals and practices together, recite the Quran together, say "amen" to the same prayer, and greet and say goodbye to each other in an Islamically appropriate way. All these shared practices can draw the two parties together although reciprocal intimacy built momentarily is not necessarily sustained. A brief example from my fieldwork can illustrate how a practice-based belonging is formed through a shared activity. On one of the Gold Days, while the local woman named Gelin initially addresses Ele as "*bunlar*" (these) referring to the all refugees in the neighbourhood, after Ele starts discussing Muslim rituals with the local women, Gelin starts using "*abla*" (elder sister) to address her by acknowledging Ele's individuality. Towards the end of the conversation, Gelin finds herself addressing Ele as "*hocam*" (my hodja). Gelin is surprised at her choice of honorific title to address Ele, and quickly shifts to *abla* again by saying that "*şimdi hocam kurban oluyum- hocam dedim abla diyecektim*" (now my hodja for God's sake- I said 'my hodja' I was going to say 'sister'). This is a good example to show

how Ele's religious knowledge operates as a shibboleth to cross over the local women's community, and enables her to distinct herself from other refugees.

Although knowing the Quran and having religious expertise do not guarantee access to the social networks of the local women's community for the refugee women, such religious knowledge and skill can be potentially capitalised on by the refugee women depending on both parties' level of investment for such a contact. In this research, I mediated the refugee women to access one of the local women's community; however, the rest of the job belonged to the refugee women such as speaking in a way so that the local women want to listen, and behaving in a way so that the local women recognise them as one of them. For example, in the first gathering between the local women and refugee women, although Ele, the Iraqi woman, wanted to recite¹³ the Quran arguably to make an impression, the Turkish woman who trusts her own Quranic literacy skill made a quick manoeuvre, and initiated reciting it before her. Although Ele did not find a chance to take the floor by reciting the Quran, when Nadire, the local woman, finished reciting her part, Ele managed to take the floor for detecting the small error Nadire made in reciting it. Thanks to this interactional move, Ele's competence in reading and understanding the Quran becomes the focus of the conversation, and this allows Ele to position herself in a different light, a proper Muslim who knows how to read the Quran. This dialogue occurs shortly after Nadire finishes reciting a verse from the Quran:

Extract 7.1

- 359 Ele: senin bir hatan var /h/ ve /x/ getiremiysen {/h/= ح /x/= خ in Arabic Phonetic Alphabet}
360 Nadire: /x/ yi mi
361 Ele: /h/ ve /x/
362 Nadire: düzeltirim inşallah
363 Ele: ikisini de getiremiysen
364 Melike: onlari ben de diyemiyorum

¹³ With the recitation of the Quran, I mean reading the Quran out loud with a musical melody while I use the phrase 'reading the Quran' to refer to the activity of decoding, in other words, translating the printed words in the Quran into sounds.

365 Nadire: /x/'yla
 366 Ele: /h/
 367 Nadire: yok çıkmıyo (.)
 368 Ele: ben gördüm sen /h/'yı da /x/ okusen
 369 Melike: yumuşak harfli okuyomuşsun
 370 Nadire: yok şu genizden çıkan şurdan çıkan /x/ var /h/ da şurdan ben işte yerini biliyorum da
 371 çıkartması (.)
 372 Melike: /h/ bizim için zor oluyor evet
 373 Ele: HEPsinin için zor bazısında iyi bilmiy bazısında çıkiy iyi cikiy bazısında cıkmiy- /h/
 374 kırık
 375 Nadire: okurken tam dikkat ettiğimde çıkıyordur dikkat etmediğimde çıkmiyordur - çok şükür
 376 baya bir azaldı bayası bi çıkmiyodu şimdi bi /h/'yla /x/ kaldı {üst üste konuşmalar}
 377 inşallah dua edin olsun
 (...)

378 İsmînur: Cansu göstereydin öğrendiğini şeylere- Ele hanıma göstereydin
 379 Cansu: sonra uğrayayım ben size bi beraber okuyalım
 380 İsmînur: bu da harfleri neyi geçti baya birleştirmeyi neyi yapıyo
 381 Ele: SEN başı açıksan sen günah oturuysan Kuran açık başa olmaz
 382 Cansu: doğru haklısın ya ben fark ettim sonra da içeri gidip geri kalkmayım dedim

374 Ele: *you have a mistake in /h/ and /x/ you cannot bring {articulate} them*
 375 Nadire: *is it /x/?*
 376 Ele: */h/ and /x/*
 377 Nadire: *inshallah {God willing} I will fix it*
 378 Ele: *you cannot bring either*
 379 Melike: *I cannot pronounce them either*
 380 Nadire: */x/ and*
 381 Ele: */h/*
 382 Nadire: *no it doesn't get out (.)*
 383 Ele: *I saw it you read /h/ as /x/*
 384 Melike: *she says you read it with a soft letter*
 385 Nadire: *no there is one coming from throat /x/- /h/ is from here I know its place but its*
 386 *articulation (.)*
 387 Melike: */h/ is difficult for us yes*
 388 Ele: *it is difficult for EVERYbody some know it well it gets out well some cannot- /h/ broken*
 389 Nadire: *when I read carefully I can when I don't pay attention it doesn't- thank God it*
 390 *decreased quite a lot there were many I cannot now there are only /h/ and /x/ left*
 {overlapping talks}
 391 *inshallah pray for me - be it so*
 (...)

392 İsmînur: *Cansu why don't you show what you have learnt to them – to Ms. Ele?*
 393 Cansu: *one day I will drop by and let's read it together for once*
 394 İsmînur: *she knows the letters and all the other stuff she can put them together*
 395 Ele: *YOU are bare headed it is sinful to sit like this the Quran is in no way with a bare head*
 396 Cansu: *yes you are right I realised it but then I didn't want to stand up and go inside*

Women's Gold Day- January 2017

From this extract, I infer that Nadire accepts the mistake she made (line 362/ 377)

instead of challenging the criticism offered by Ele. Despite not having any previous
 contact with the local women, Ele takes the risk of losing her face by taking up a
 critical and an authoritative stance on the way Nadire reads the Quran, and she
 eventually manages to give the impression she presumably desired to the local

women. Although in line 375/389, Nadire tries to justify the reason why she could not articulate those sounds well by connecting her mispronunciation with her lack of attention, she then accepts that she needs more time (line 3/369). In line 376/390, by saying that “*inşallah dua edin olsun*” (“inshallah pray for me - be it so”), Nadire takes one step further towards Ele, and asks all the women including the invited Iraqi women, Ele and Farah, to pray for her. This move shows that Ele’s legitimacy as a Muslim is accepted by Nadire. This expression also signifies the sense of togetherness and belongingness emerging from engaging in the same religious activity together. While the shared activity stemming from the shared religious identity brings the Iraqi and local women together, it also helps the Iraqi and Turkish women open up a new space to think and discuss certain subjects.

In the following lines such as line 378/392, we see that that Ele’s authority coming from her knowledge in the Quranic literacy is accepted by the other local women as well since İsmînür asks her niece, Cansu, to get help from Ele to improve her Quranic literacy. In line 381/395, by using the power given by the local women at these moments, Ele takes one more risk of losing her face by criticising Cansu for listening to the Quran without covering her head. In line 382/396, we see that Cansu displays literal compliance with Ele by saying that “*doğru haklısın*” (“yes you are right”). Following this conversation, to reinforce her expert stance and to continue projecting a pious persona, Ele gives suggestions to the local women to improve their literacy in the Quran. Ele’s advice reminds Melike of her hodja (“*bunu hoca da diyo*”/ “the hodja says the same”) who is the figure of authority in the neighbourhood, and Melike implicitly accepts Ele’s epistemic authority. Thanks to this whole conversation, one can clearly see how Ele manages to use her expertise in the Quranic literacy as a currency to capitalise on and as an index of her pious

identity. As a result, her showing the local woman's mistakes has the perlocutionary effect of positioning Ele as the expert in reading the Quran while the local women are positioned as novice readers. Instead of speaking as a refugee who migrated from Iraq, thanks to her interactional moves, Ele manages to reframe her relationship as a proper Muslim, and gets full alignment from the local women.

After Ele understood that the validity of her epistemic stance was not challenged by the local women, she initiates another conversation supposedly to maintain her expert position and to hold the floor further. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.2

- 383 Nadire: yani bilmiyorum inşallah dua edin onlar da son birkaç ay kaldı mahreçte onları da
384 oturttuk mu
385 Ele: sen bunların manilerinden anlıysan?
386 Nadire: yok ben Kayseri'de
387 İsmiur: yo yo
388 Ele: yani anlrsan sen ne söylüyor? bu Kuran okursan anlrsan ne söylüyo?
389 İsmiur: haaa anlıyon mu diyo Kuran'ı okuyon da ne demek istediğini anlıyo musun?
390 Melike: ha anlamını biliyo musun?
391 Nadire: meali? (.) Arapça yok bende (.)
392 Ele: yo yo anlamıysen? okuysan anlamıysen ne söylüyo ne söylemiyo?
393 Melike: ne soyledigini anlıyon mu anlamıyon mu diyo
394 Nadire: yok yok anlamıyom
395 Ele: bes {yalnız} okuysan?
396 İsmiur: biz hep öyle yapıyoz HİÇbi şeyin meal bilmiyoz (.)
397 Ele: özü zor bir iştir hepsini anlamak XXX biz de hepsini anlamıyak
398 Nadire: AMA dilleri o onların yani dilleri o
399 Farah: evet ne diyo anlarık (.)
400 Nadire: bu şeye benziyo- ama sizin zaten konuşma diliniz Arapça =
401 İsmiur: = Arapca
402 Farah: YO YO biz TürkMENiz biz biz TürkMENiz=
403 Ele: = Türkmen
404 Nadire: yazı diliniz ve konuşma diliniz Arap değil mi?
405 Farah: yoo bizim anne dilimiz yani Türkmen bes okula gidince Arapca okuruk =
406 Nadire: = onDAN- biz nasıl şimdi bir şiir okusak vurguları murguları nasıl yaparız? =
407 Farah: = SİZ de Arapca okusanız okulda bunları da bilirsiniz
408 Nadire: evet
(...)
409 Nadire: inşallah daha daha iyi olur (.)
410 Melike: inşallah cennete gireriz cennette dilimiz zaten Arapça {kahkaha}
{üst üste konuşmalar}
411 Ele: özün Arapca bilmiysiniz de XXX özünü hani zor -çünkü Arapca bilmiyon sen
412 öğreniysen =
413 Hasret: = emek veriyosun artı bir emek
414 Ele: senin ecrin {sevabın} Arapça'ninkinden çok olur

- 397 Nadire: *I don't know inshallah pray for me I have a few months to complete the articulation*
398 *after that*
399 Ele: *do you understand its meaning?*

400 Nadire: *no when I was in Kayseri {a city in Turkey}*
 401 İsmînur: *no no*
 402 Ele: *do you understand what it says? while reading the Quran do you understand what it*
 403 *says?*
 404 İsmînur: *ah she asks whether you understand the Quran you read it but do you understand*
 405 *what it says?*
 406 Melike: *ah do you know the meaning?*
 407 Nadire: *the meaning? (.) I don't have Arabic (.)*
 408 Ele: *no no you don't understand? you read and you don't understand what it says what it*
 409 *doesn't?*
 410 Melike: *she says whether you understand it what it says or not*
 411 Nadire: *no no I don't understand*
 412 Ele: *you can only read it?*
 413 İsmînur: *we all do like this we don't understand the meaning of ANY of them (.)*
 414 Ele: *its essence is a difficult task to understand all XXXX we don't understand all either*
 415 Nadire: *BUT their language it is their language*
 416 Farah: *yeah we understand what it says (.)*
 417 Nadire: *this is like- but your spoken language is Arabic already=*
 418 İsmînur: *= Arabic*
 419 Farah: *NO NO we are Turkmen we we are TurkMEN=*
 420 Ele: *= Turkmen*
 421 Nadire: *isn't your written and spoken language Arabic?*
 422 Farah: *NOO our mother tongue is Turkmen but we study Arabic when we go to school =*
 423 Nadire: *= That's WHY if we read a poem how well we put its emphasis? =*
 424 Farah: *= if YOU studied Arabic at school you would know this*
 425 Nadire: *yeah*
 (...)

426 Nadire: *inshallah it will be better and better (.)*
 427 Melike: *inshallah we go to heaven our language in heaven is already Arabic {laughs}*
 {overlapping talks}
 428 Ele: *you don't know Arabic XXXX it is difficult because you don't know Arabic and learn it=*
 429 Hasret: *= you put effort extra effort*
 430 Ele: *your good deed is more than an Arab's good deed*

Women's Gold Day- January 2017

Here, Ele asks Nadire whether she understands what she recites in the Quran (line 385/399) although she knows that the local women are not speakers of Arabic. Her reason to ask such a question to the local women is arguably to show them that besides knowing how to recite the Quran with a proper accent, she can also comprehend what she reads. Although it took longer for Nadire to understand Ele's question, she says that she does not know Arabic (391/407), but Ele repeatedly asks the same question (line 392/408). Nadire repeats her answer (line 394/411), but this still does not convince Ele, and she asks again "*bes {yalnız} okuyasan?*" ("you can only read it?") in a condescending manner (395/412). Nadire presumably interprets Ele's insistent question in this way because she breaks her alignment with Ele from

line 398/415 onwards, and infer that Ele turns the Quran reading event into a legitimization conflict to have the upper hand on the local women. Therefore, in line 386/393, she challenges Ele's authority, and attempts to normalise Ele's so-called superior skills in reading and understanding the Quran by arguing that Arabic is not something Ele has learnt by putting effort as it is her mother tongue. Farah, the Iraqi woman, whose voice is not much heard until now, suddenly appears to answer Nadire's remark (line 402/419). Despite their bilingual situation, neither Ele nor Farah claims ownership over Arabic in lines 402/419, 402/420 and 405/422 by arguing that their language is Turkmen Turkish. In the second part of the conversation, both Nadire and Melike presumably realise the increasing tension in the room, and in lines 409/426 and 410/427, they attempt to smooth things over. By saying that "*inşallah cennete gireriz cennette dilimiz zaten Arapça*" ("inshallah we go to heaven our language in heaven is already Arabic"), Melike chooses "we" speaking with one voice as the subject of her talk, and includes all the participants to her good will. By using their shared collective identity, Islam, as a symbolic tool, Melike positions herself along with the Iraqi and Turkish women under one category. Thanks to Melike's move in line 396/403, the local and refugee women manage to reach alignment, and a feeling of solidarity and a sense of togetherness are discursively built on Muslim sisterhood. In lines 411/428 and 414/430, by positively answering Melike's call for solidarity, Ele gives up this legitimization conflict, and, first time, she appreciates what the local women have achieved by acquiring the Quranic literacy on their own for the sake of their religious faith. Ele's being positioned as an expert in reciting the Quran on the first Gold Day had performatory force on the following events. For example, in the following Gold Day, as soon as the local woman named Rukiye enters the room, she says that "*Kuran'ı kim biliyosa*

yanıma otursun” (“whoever knows the Quran sit next to me”) by looking at Ele. İsmiñur says that “*ustası var*” (“here is the master”) by directly addressing Ele. Following this dialogue, Ele gains right to sit next to Rukiye instead of sitting in a random place in the room, and offers help to Rukiye when she has trouble to follow the Quran during the whole recitation session.

To conclude, the excerpts presented in this section show that the expertise in the Quranic literacy can empower not only the local women but also the refugee women, and the women can earn respect and visibility when these skills and knowledge are skilfully capitalised by them. The ones who know what is the right thing to do can hold the floor, make themselves listened to by others, and exercise power on the other women. The extracts also show how Ele, step by step, manages to index her pious identity through the expert stance she constructs for herself, and the critical stances she takes up towards the local women’s practices. While we witness line by line how self is constructed discursively through interactional moves such as critical evaluations, stance-takings and reciprocal positionings, we also see how self is also constructed sociohistorically through resources brought by the interactants to the conversation such as their previous skills and social affiliations.

7.1.2 Construction of religious identity through national identity: Local women’s perspective

As opposed to the discursive positions taken up by the local women towards Ele and her skill in reciting the Quran in the face-to-face meetings, in the interviews I conducted with the local women, I notice that the promising atmosphere created on the Gold Days differs from the local women’s interview accounts about the invited Iraqi women. In the interviews which I will refer to in this section, the local women

tend to position the Iraqi women in a religiously inferior position by either making their different national identity visible at a surface level or implying such an ethno-national understanding at a subtle level. By intersecting the religious identity with national identity, some of the local women claim that Turkish Muslims are the most pious ones among other Islamic nations. For example, different from her interactional position in Extract 7.2 in which Melike attempts to reach an alignment with the Iraqi women, in the interview I conducted with her following the Gold Day, by adopting an ideological stance, Melike claims that no one can recite the Quran better than Turks. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.3

- 415 Melike: şunu da hiçbi zaman unutma (.) Kuran'ı Kerim Mekke'de yazıldı hani orda indi orda
 416 yazıldı İstanbul'da da okundu- Türkiye'de Osmanlı döneminde en güzel okuyanlar
 417 çıkmıştır Araplar falan değil şimdi şimdi Araplar kendilerini geliştirdi
 418 Hasret: hmm- kadın okuyuşu nasıldı? {Iraklı kadınları kastederek}
 419 İsmiur: biz güzel okuyo falan dedik de yani ne biliyim
 420 Melike: yok beğenmedim- Gelin'in okuyuşu daha açık kadın çoğu harfleri yuttu- şey değildi
 421 yani (.) bunu da unutma Mekke'de indi yazıldı İstanbul'da da okundu- ilk var ya şeyde
 422 (.) Mekke'de bizimdi orayı biliyon mu sen?
 423 Hasret: yok o kadar bilmiyom
 424 Melike: Mekke'yi de fetettik Osmanlı döneminde
- 431 Melike: *never forget this (.) the Quran was written in Mecca I mean it was sent down there it*
 432 *was written there it was read in Istanbul- the best reciters were from Turkey in the*
 433 *Ottoman period it is not Arabs recently Arabs have improved their skills*
 434 Hasret: *hmm- how was the women's recitation? {referring to the Iraqi women}*
 435 İsmiur: *we thought she read it well but I don't know*
 436 Melike: *no I didn't like it- the way Gelin read it was clearer the woman swallowed most of the*
 437 *letters- it was not like (.) don't forget this it was revealed in Mecca written there it was*
 438 *read in Istanbul- first in mmm (.) Mecca used to belong us do you know this?*
 439 Hasret: *no I don't know that much*
 440 Melike: *we conquered Mecca as well in the Ottoman period*

Melike, Interview- January 2017

Here, referring to the glorious days of the Ottoman Empire and her old achievements, Melike proudly positions herself as the descendant of the Ottoman Empire which ruled the whole Islamic world including the Arab regions. Therefore, while referring to the achievements of the Ottoman Empire, she uses the first-person plural as if she was the agent of those conquests (lines 422/438 and 424/440). By challenging Arabs'

authority over Islam, Melike continues idealising the Ottoman Empire, and creates an ideological association between the way Ele recites the Quran and the conquest of Mecca by the Ottomans supposedly because Mecca is the place where the Prophet Mohammed received his first Revelation through the Angel Gabriel (in the Mount of Hira). By adopting an essentialist position, Melike clearly equates the expertise in reciting the Quran with Turkishness as, in her eyes, Turks were strong and faithful enough to take Istanbul from the hands of Christians.

I interpret the ethnocentric position taken by Melike as the reproduction of the state ideology which blends Sunni-Islamic conservatism with Turkish nationalism while this ideological perspective at the intersection of Turkishness and Muslim identity has gained momentum by being extended by the ruling party, AKP, to include the historical narratives about the Ottoman Empire. As a result, with this adopted ideological lens, Melike argues that Ele, as a bilingual speaker of Turkmen Turkish and Arabic could not recite the Quran as good as Gelin, the monolingual Turkish speaker (line 420/436). Although Melike does not have enough Quranic literacy to make such an evaluation, by adopting an expert stance, she further claims that Ele swallowed some sounds. I assume that Melike's evaluation which favours the local women's Quranic literacy is highly ideological, and stems from the game of one-upmanship between the local and Iraqi women because it is well known among the local women that due to her lack of fluency in reciting the Quran, Melike avoids reciting it in the presence of her neighbours, and her avoidance has become the topic of certain conversations among the local women as no one has ever heard of Melike reciting the Quran in the gatherings. Together with Melike, Naciye is another local woman who avoids reciting the Quran in the presence of her neighbours due to her lack of experience in the Quranic literacy. Although both of them have taken some

informal courses on reading the Quran in the last a few years, it seems that they do not feel confident enough to recite the Quran; nevertheless, both take a quite assertive and an expert-like stance towards the Iraqi women's Quranic literacy. In the extract below, when Naciye is asked how well the Iraqi women recite the Quran, similar to Melike, she compares the way the Iraqi women recite the Quran with the Turkish women's performance, and addresses the clumsiness of the Iraqi women in reciting the Quran:

Extract 7.4

425 Naciye: bir Kuran okuyolar sen git de orda öğrenci yetiştiriyolar o camide git de gör o Kuran'ın
426 sesinde var ya ağlarsın- oturup ağlarsın biliyon mu?
427 Hasret: hı hı
428 Naciye: İsmiñur o kadar güzel okuyolar ki- bunlarda nerDE öyle Kuran okumak yalan yanlış
429 benim gibi okuyo işte ben de yanlış okuyom- o da {Ele'yi kastederek}

441 Naciye: *they read the Quran so well you should go there they train students in that mosque go*
442 *and see it you can cry hearing the voice of the Quran- you can sit and cry do you know*
443 *that?*
444 Hasret: *yeah*
445 Naciye: *İsmiñur they recite it so well that- how can these women read the Quran like them full*
446 *of mistakes just like me I read it inaccurately- so does she {referring to Ele}*

Naciye, Interview- December 2018

While the recitation of the Quran performed by the mosque teachers makes Naciye cry, by adopting a critical stance, she says that she is not impressed by the way the Iraqi women recites the Quran. By comparing the Iraqi women's performance with her own poor performance, she devalues the Iraqi women's skill in reciting it, and addresses their inadequateness. Although in this extract, Naciye does not explicitly use national labels while evaluating the Iraqi women, I suggest that the national identity of the reciters is still relevant to this conversation, and operates at a more subtle level. For example, I infer that with the way Naciye uses "*bunlar*" (these) to address the Iraqi women in line 4, she categorically separates the Iraqi women from the locals based on nationality. Besides, when we consider Naciye's level of expertise in the Quranic literacy and the Iraqi women's bilingual situation in Turkish

and Arabic, it is safe to assume that Naciye adopts a sceptical stance to the Iraqi women's skill in reciting the Quran. Even if there are certain technical differences between Arabic literacy and Quranic literacy, they are based almost on the same alphabet. Therefore, it is quite expected that an ordinary Arabic speaker can develop better expertise in reading the Quran than an ordinary non-Arabic speaker. Besides, Ele mentioned in one of the conversations that they started learning the Quran at the primary school as the Quranic literacy was part of the school curriculum in Iraq. As all the Iraqi women I worked with except for Kadime went to primary school, they received the Quranic literacy education. Even if both Melike and Naciye know that they are not good enough to compete with the Iraqi women in terms of the Quranic literacy, they are involved in the game of one-upmanship in order to prove the superiority of their own national community. As a result, even if they cannot gain the feeling of superiority through their own Quranic skills, they manage to feel so by invoking nationalist sentiments in the interviews. Similar to Melike and Naciye, Nadire whose mistake was corrected by Ele in the first Gold Days as referred to in Extract 7.1, also says that she does not like the way Ele recites the Quran because she improvised an articulation on her own way ("kendine göre mahreç uydurmuş"/ "*she made up articulation by herself*"). As a result, while Nadire was criticised by Ele for mispronouncing two sounds, next time when Ele read the Quran, Naciye became the one criticising Ele for her "made-up articulation".

Even if the local women criticise each other during the Quran recitation sessions due to their mispronunciation, I observe that the Iraqi women are exposed to harsher criticism than the local women due to their foreign status as this supposedly increases their visibility, and arouses interest and prejudice among the local women. Besides, the more the Iraqi women's way of reciting the Quran is denigrated, the

more competent the local women can present themselves, or we may say the more tolerable their mistakes in the Quranic literacy can be. Therefore, as shown in earlier works such as Sarangi and Roberts (1999), the act of denigrating “other” may be instrumentalised by the local women to strengthen their hands or to gain a feeling of superiority. For this reason, whenever the invited Iraqi women attempt to show off their skills, the local women attempt to underestimate or normalise their skills. For example, in one of the gatherings, as soon as Ele started to come to the forefront for reading the entire Quran four times during the month of Ramadan, the local woman named Zehra took a step to slow Ele down, and take the attention off of Ele by addressing Ele’s lack of expertise in Turkish:

Extract 7.5

430 Zehra: onların anadili- anadili gibi diyen
 431 İsmînur: heralde ondan demi? o da Türkçeyi konuşamıyo
 432 Zehra: yani Türkçeyi okutsak okuyamaz yazıyı
 433 İsmînur: hee (.) duydu {duydun mu}? biz de diyok Türkçe’yi okutalım işte Türkçe’yi
 434 okuyamıyor diyoz
 435 Ele: aman biraz da ben yapabiliyom siz hiç bilmiyseniz Arapça gene biraz da yani gene
 436 bilirim az (.)
 437 Gelin: en azından ben Türkçe’yi biliyom diyo =
 438 Ele: =siz Arapçayı hiçte anlamırsınız
 439 İsmînur: aaa doğru söyledi bak ben yine şeyi biliyom diyo biraz siz onu da bilmiyosunuz diyo-
 440 Arapça’da ne biliyoz? hiçbi şey.

447 Zehra: *it is their mother tongue- like their mother tongue*
 448 İsmînur: *probably that’s why right? then she cannot speak Turkish either*
 449 Zehra: *in a sense if we get her to read Turkish she cannot read it*
 450 İsmînur: *yeah (.) did you hear it? we say let’s get her to read Turkish we say she cannot read it*
 451 Ele: *at least I do it a little bit you know nothing in Arabic at least I know a little bit (.)*
 452 Gelin: *she says at least she knows Turkish =*
 453 Ele: *=you understand nothing in Arabic*
 454 İsmînur: *ah she said it right she says look I still know a little bit you don’t know even a little bit-*
 455 *what do we know in Arabic? nothing.*

Women’s Gold Day- August 2017

Similar to Nadire’s reaction in Extract 7.1, Zehra also tries to normalise Ele’s reading rate in the Quran by associating Ele’s skill with her linguistic background (line 430/447). While the initial topic of this conversation is the merits of reading the Quran during the holy month of Ramadan, the conversation, all of a sudden, turns

into a legitimization conflict among the women. The first step is taken by İsmînur, and it is continued by Zehra. The aim is to show that what Ele does is quite normal, not something extraordinary. While the local women can read and write in Turkish with ease, Ele, as a speaker of Arabic, can read and write in Arabic with a similar ease. While İsmînur addresses Ele's speaking skill in Turkish by arguing that Ele cannot speak Turkish (line 431/448), Zehra mentions Ele's illiteracy in Turkish (line 432/449). As a Turkish and Arabic bilingual, Ele accepts the challenge, and despises the local women's lack of Arabic (line 435/451). Although Ele speaks Turkish very well, and the local women have no information about Ele's literacy status in Turkish, because Ele comes from Iraq, they straightforwardly assume that she is literate only in Arabic, and speaks only Arabic. Although this whole conversation takes place in Turkish, to compare their level of Arabic with Ele's Turkish is arguably the product of a nationalist and monoglossic state of mind as Ele is still not seen as a member of the imagined Turkish community of speech.

Even if the Iraqi women who are invited to the local women's gatherings are not seen as the members of their community, because they are female, and because they claim Muslim identity, they may be subjected to severe criticism for their deviant actions. Apart from the harsh criticism the local women make in the way the Iraqi women recite the Quran, the Iraqi women are exposed to criticism for their different religious conducts. The local women can project an intolerable stance towards their different conduct by invoking the nationalist ideology. For example, on one of the gold days, the sharp eyes of the local women notice that the Iraqi Turkmen women, Ele and Farah do not wear any socks. Melike takes the floor, and asks them what sect of Muslims they belong to. Although she knows very well that they are

also Sunni Muslims, she asks this question arguably to show the gap between their faith and practice and to denigrate them:

Extract 7.6

- 441 Melike: işte bişi sorucam (.) sizin mezhep Şafi mezhebi mi?
442 Farah: (.)
443 Melike: mezhebiniz ne? (.) Hanefi Sunni Şafi Şia hangisi?
444 Farah: Sunni
445 Melike: Sunnisiniz
446 Farah: evet (.)
447 Melike: sizin mezhepte mesela bizim mezhepte de o yoktur ıhh diğer mezheplerde de
448 bilmiyorum (.) hani dikkat ediyorum ikinizin de ayağınız çıplak- dışarda ayak çıplak
449 gezmek namahrem değil mi hocam?
450 Ele: yok yok namahrem değil
451 Sincan: /ama takvaya bakarsan/
452 Melike: /namaz kılınmaz/ onu biliyorum
453 Ele: yo yo hayır
454 Naciye: el ayak yüz haram değil onu biliyorum AMA
455 Nadire: topuğu kapatıyosun kılınıyo
{üst üste konuşmalar}
456 İsmiñur: ama bunlar uzun giyiyorlar upuzun
457 Ele: biz uzun giyiruk
458 Melike: hayır Peygamber efendimiz bile çıplak ayakla namaz kılmazmış
459 Ele: hayır hayır- ben çorap hiç giymem
460 Pamuk: ayaklarım yanıyo napim çıkarıyom
461 Farah: yani boydan üstü halal
462 Sincan: giyersen güzel
463 Melike: geçenkinde de dikkat ettim hani sizin mezhebi geçtim de biz çorapsız çıkmayız yani
464 çıplak ayaklan dışarıya gezilmez- ama dikkat ediyorum sizin ayağınızda çorap yok

- 456 Melike: *I will ask you something (.) is your sect of Islam Shafi?*
457 Farah: (.)
458 Melike: *what is your sect? (.) Hanafi Sunni Shafi Shia which one?*
459 Farah: *Sunni*
460 Melike: *you are Sunni*
461 Farah: *yeah (.)*
462 Melike: *in your sect for example in our sect we don't have it uhm I don't know the others (.) I*
463 *mean I observe that both of your feet are bare- is going out bare foot forbidden isn't it*
464 *my hodja?*
465 Ele: *no no it is not forbidden*
466 Sincan: */but if you consider piety/*
467 Melike: */salaat {five-time prayer} cannot be performed/ I know this*
468 Ele: *no no no*
469 Naciye: *hand foot face are not haram I know this BUT*
470 Nadire: *you cover your heel and it can be performed*
{overlapping talks}
471 İsmiñur: *but they wear long very long*
472 Ele: *we wear long*
473 Melike: *no even our Prophet didn't use to perform with bare feet*
474 Ele: *no no- I never wear socks*
475 Pamuk: *my feet burn what can I do?*
476 Farah: *mean this length is halal*
477 Sincan: *if you wear it it is good*
478 Melike: *I realised it in the previous meeting I mean let's forget your sect we don't go out*
479 *without socks I mean it is not gone outside with bare feet- but I observe that there are*
480 *no socks in your feet*

First, by invoking the norms and values associated with the Sunni Islam (line 447/462), and then by taking the Prophet Mohammed as the parameter of her evaluation (line 458/472), Melike makes the Iraqi Turkmen women's sockless feet as the objects of her stance in this excerpt, and argues that it is not permissible for a Muslim woman to go sockless. Then, a discussion breaks out among the women about whether a Muslim woman is required to cover her feet from heel to toe, and how long a dress should be to cover all the parts of the feet. Although Nadire who is granted the title of 'hodja' by Melike for being a religious school graduate disaligns with Melike, and insists that uncovered feet are not haram, Melike maintains her stance. She continues referring to the religious books she reads and to the Prophet Mohammed's life. When she realises that the epistemic validity of her stance is contested by the other women, this time, she starts arguing that it may not be haram, but it is immoral referring to customs and moral norms (line 463/478). Even if Ele contests Melike by saying that because the weather is too warm to wear socks in Iraq, they are not used to wearing it, this does not convince Melike, and she maintains her stance. In the follow-up interview, Melike carries this religious discussion into a nationalistic frame, and argues that because they are now in Turkey, they have to abide by its rules:

Extract 7.7

465 “diyo ki Arabistan’da diyo sıcak bölgede diyo çorap aranmaz diyo bura Arabistan değil ki bura
466 Türkiye- buranın dört mevsimi de var- kışı da görüyon yazı da görüyon burda çorap istenir
467 arkadaş- yok öyle bi şey YOK- peygamber efendimiz bile ayağı çıplak namaz kılmamış- sen ehli
468 sünnetim diyo musun? sünnete uyuyo musun? bitti (.) yok öyle bir şey yok- ben bunu bire bir
469 kitaptan okudum- ondan sonra annesi diyo ki e şurdan şöyle şey yapardık da diyo şey geçirirdik
470 diyo işte şura gözükmessin- bacak gözükmessin topuk gözükmessin avret- topuk avretse ucu da
471 avret çünkü o ayağın parçası ayrı bir şey değil”

481 “she says that in Saudi Arabia she says as a warm region socks are not necessary here is not
482 Saudi Arabia here is Turkey- there are four seasons here- we have winter we have summer here
483 demands socks my friend- there is no such a thing NO- even our Prophet did not perform his
484 salaah with bare feet- do you consider yourself a follower of the Prophet? that's it (.) no such a

485 *thing no- I read it exactly like this in a book- and then her mother says we used to do this do that*
486 *she said they wore something over it so that that part would not be visible- legs wouldn't be*
487 *visible heels wouldn't be visible- if a heel is a religiously private part then its tip is also*
488 *religiously private part because it is also the part of feet it is not something separate"*

Melike, Interview- September 2017

Now that the Quran was written hundreds of years before the Turkish Republic was founded, Melike's nationalist stance in the interview, and her remark "*bura Türkiye*" in line 465 ("here is Turkey", line 482) has nothing to do with the Quran and religious discourse. This actually reflects her own expectation and the norms of the community which she is the member of. Besides, when the expression, "*bura Türkiye*" is used by a local to a new-comer foreigner, the person potentially implies that as a citizen, she or he is one of the legitimate owners of this country, and; therefore, she or he is in the position of authority to determine the norms no matter what the Quran actually says. As a result, this extract shows that in order to keep her argumentational position, Melike draws on both Islamic and nationalist discourse, and indirectly gives a message, which is if the Iraqi women want to be recognised by the locals as Sunni Muslims, then they have to align with the locals' practices, and act accordingly. Besides, with the epistemic stance she constructs through the references she gives to the religious books and the Prophet Mohammed's life, Melike manages to present herself knowledgeable. Her effort to position herself as a proper Muslim who is sensitive about the conduct of religious rules serves the purpose as she can hold the floor long enough and be listened to even if the other local women do not align with her stance fully.

In the extracts presented in this section, I attempted to show how the local women make national discourse relevant to religious discussions. The way the local women invoke national identities in religious debates clearly shows how religious conservatism is blended with Turkish nationalism in this context. While the local

women's approach contrasts to the Islamic 'ummah' understanding which distinguishes the whole humanity as Muslims and non-Muslims regardless of their ethnicity, it is in alignment with the state ideology of Turkey which blends Sunni-Islamic conservatism and Turkish nationalism, and emphasises the important role Turks have played in spreading Islam.

7.1.3 Construction of religious identity through national identity: Iraqi women's perspective

In the previous section, I have discussed how the Quranic literacy and religious knowledge are instrumentalised by the local women in their encounters with the Iraqi women in order to enhance their self-image. I also explained how the nationalist ideology is invoked by the local women along with the religious discourse to strengthen their hands. While I interpreted those interactional moves in a Goffmanian sense as a part of a game of one-upmanship between local women and refugee women to subjectify themselves, I also addressed the intersection of nationalist and religious identities in gendered bodies which are disciplined in that direction. In this section, I will shift the focus to the Iraqi women, and referring to their interview accounts, I will attempt to explore the stances they construct and positions they take up towards the local women in the intersection of gender, religion and nationality. Due to their refugee position in Turkey, the Iraqi participants tend to suppress their nationalist sentiments and to make less comments about national identities while they are relatively more open while giving criticism to the local women's religious and gendered practices as they often interpret such accounts as their moral and religious responsibility. Therefore, the extracts I will present in this session may demand a more subtle reading to uncover the underlying national discourse.

I discussed earlier how *Türkleşme* (Turkification) is adjectified by the Iraqi Turkmen women to describe an upward social mobility. In Extract 6.28, while being identified as a Turk puts a smile on Ele's face as she interprets this as a kind of a compliment, within a gendered religious frame which I will explore in this section, *Türkleşme* can be interpreted by the Iraqi Turkmen women as a negative criticism or even an insult. To be more specific, in the extracts I will present in this section, the national identity *Türk* and the act of becoming a Turk, that is *Türkleşme*, are used by the Iraqi women to index "unfaithfulness", in other words, losing one's religion or Europeanisation by extending its meaning with religiously negative connotations. Therefore, I suggest that Turkish identity invoked in such contexts does not index an ethnicity or nationality; instead, it indexes a less pious self. Therefore, what is referred to with Turkification by the Iraqi women is a process of becoming like the local women who are seen less pious than Iraqi women.

The Iraqi women's reason for creating an indexical association between Turkishness and less piety obviously stems from the transformation of the Eastern and Islamic Ottoman Empire governed with sharia law into a secular and Western Turkish Republic. As mentioned before, the Iraqi women have some information about this ideological shift, and the more they live in Turkey, the better they can see the differences between the order of life in Iraq and Turkey. For example, in the eyes of Ele, having a public holiday on Sundays in Turkey instead of Fridays as in the case of Iraq is a sign of Christian faith. Not closing the stores and workplaces during Muslim prayer times in Turkey while all the places including schools are closed during Muslim prayer times in Iraq is another sign of Iraq's religious superiority over Turkey. Besides, the negative changes Ele observed in her daughters' and sons' behaviour also make her think that Turkey as a country and her

people as Muslims are not pious enough. Therefore, when she blames her sons and daughters with Turkification, she means that they abandoned their religious practices. For example, in the following extract, Ele compares the Iraqi Turkmen children back home and now in terms of their faith, and she claims that they have become “Türkiyeli”:

Extract 7.8

472 Ele: bizim çocuklarımız altı yaşında yedi yaşında hep namaz kılar buraya gelince (...) dedim
 473 valla bunlar Kuran’da gelmiş- altı yaşıy- altı yaşında namaz öğrenirsey ondan sonra
 474 daha oruç tutmayı öğreniyse bizimkiler hep küçüğe oruç tutarlar- şimdi buraya
 475 gelene kadar yoruluyolar çalışmadan çalışmadan yoruluyolar namazı daha bırakıyolar
 476 Hasret: hıı
 477 Ele: dedim siz daha Türkiyeli oldunuz namaz hepsiye bıraktınız- valla benim çaycıda
 478 çalışanın vardı beş vakıta camiyada kılardı
 479 Hasret: oohh
 480 Ele: burda yok (.)

489 Ele: *our children used to perform their five-time prayers at six seven they all used to perform*
 490 *it when they came here (...) I said these are written in the Quran- the age of six- at the*
 491 *age of six you learn how to perform it then you learn how to fast ours used to fast when*
 492 *they were small- now after they came here they get tired of working they give up their*
 493 *five-time prayers*
 494 Hasret: *hmm*
 495 Ele: *I said you become like a Turk you all quit your five-time prayers- honestly my son who*
 496 *works in a tea house used to perform his five-time prayers in the mosque*
 497 Hasret: *oohh*
 498 Ele: *here no(.)*

Ele, Home visit- October 2017

Here we see that Ele is uneasy because of her children’s abandoning their religious practices while they all performed their religious duties from the age of 6 onwards in Iraq. While in line 475/492, she first attempts to relate their abandoning their religious practices with their hard work in Turkey, then she argues that they stopped to follow an Islamic way of living as they align with the locals by Turkifying. Therefore, in general, she blames the new context they moved in for her children’s estrangement (line 477/495). Similarly, Ele’s daughter-in-law, Farah, also complains about her kids for forgetting all the Quranic verses they memorised back home:

Extract 7.9

481 Farah: Amirle Nasira her şeyleri unutmuşlar- Irak'ta- işte burayı öğrenende her şeyleri unuttu
482 Hasret: hatırlamıyo mu?
483 Farah : yoo unutmuşlar hepsini (.)
484 Ele: valla bu surelerin hepsini biliyodu daha Amir hepsini hafız etmişti şimdi unutmuş=
485 Farah: = unutmuş imdi şarkı söylüyor {gülüşmeler}
486 İsmınur: Türklere benzedi
487 Farah: evet valla şarkı bes {yalnız} dinliyo- hiç Kur'an açmıyo bes şarkı dinliyo

499 Farah: *Amir and Nasira have forgotten everything- in Iraq- when they learn here they forget all*
500 Hasret: *don't they remember?*
501 Farah : *no they forget everything (.)*
502 Ele: *honestly she used to know all the surahs Amir memorised them all now he forgets =*
503 Farah: *= he forgets now he sings songs {laughs}*
504 İsmınur: *he resembles Turks*
505 Farah: *yeah honestly he only listens to songs- he never opens the Quran he only listens to songs*

Ele, Home visit- October 2017

Here, Farah says that instead of repeating the Quranic verses, now her son named Amir sings Turkish songs (line 487/505). Thus, following Ele's remark, Farah also implies that her son is becoming like Turks, that is less pious. While in Iraq, Quranic literacy and Islamic lessons are the important parts of the primary school curriculum, in Turkey, Islamic lessons start from the fourth grade onward. Therefore, Amir forgot what he had learnt in his school in Iraq. Based on my conversations with the Iraqi families, the school curriculum in Turkey which has less religious component than that of Iraq is another reason why Iraqi families associate Turkishness with irreligiousness and Europeaness.

Because before they sought refuge in Turkey, the Iraqi families had lived under the rule of the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant) for at least three years with the strict rules of sharia law, most of the Iraqi Turkmen women I interviewed with say that as women, they find the life in Turkey more free and comfortable. Even if they interpret this comfort something positive to a certain extent because they can go to places where they had never gone in Iraq, such as outdoor markets and the downtown, they also think that the young generation, especially their young girls,

may choose freedom and comfort over their faith and customs in Turkey, and; as a result, they may distance themselves from the moral norms they used to adhere to strictly in Iraq. For example, Ele fears that her daughter-in-law, Farah, may start becoming more demanding, and that similar to the local women, she may want to have her own flat instead of living with her husbands' relatives, and may act differently by violating their own communities' norms. Ele has also a 9-year-old daughter, and she is not sure whether she can raise her morally and piously in their new space. In one of our conversations, she shares her concern about this issue as follows:

Extract 7.10

488 “bizimki- Irak'ta en güzel yer bizim şehrimiz olurdu hepsi kapanır hepsi şöyle pantolon da
489 giyinmiydi şimdi buraya gelende bazısı da buralaşmış giymiş aman şöyle- kızlar bizim de
490 Iraklılar da alışmış hepsi giyi ama biz bunlar on iki yaşından sonra hepsi etek giyer kimse de
491 giymez pantolon giymez şimdi hepsi pantolon giyiyo (.) valla hep diyim siz daha
492 Türkleşmişiniz.”

506 “our place- the most beautiful place in Iraq was our city everybody covered themselves no one
507 wore pants now after they came here some of them have localised they wear- our girls the Iraqi
508 ones are used to they all wear it but after the age of twelve they all used to wear a skirt none of
509 them used to wear pants now they all wear them (.) honestly I tell them that they have Turkified.”

Women's Gold Day- August 2017

Ele's object of stance in this extract is the Iraqi women wearing pants. Ele blames the Iraqi women wearing pants as becoming less Iraqi by resembling Turks. This way of using *Türkleşme* (Turkification) implies Ele's positioning of the local Turks as less pious than the Iraqi women. As in the case of this extract, the women wearing pants are often associated with Turkishness by the Iraqi women, and this is not welcomed by them apart from some young Iraqi women such as Farah and Sonya. For example, Kadime, the oldest participant of this study, claims that a woman wearing pants resembles a Christian while another old participant of this research, Sebe, claims that a woman wearing pants resembles a man. What both of them mean is that wearing

pants is against the nature of a Muslim woman; thereby, haram. Apart from this religious point of view, since none of the Iraqi Turkmen women used to wear pants back home, wearing pants symbolises a transformation in a negative sense. It is interpreted as a morally incorrupt change made by the Iraqi women for the sake of crossing over another group. The Iraqi families in the Kadife Street also fear that the other Iraqi families residing in the same neighbourhood may gossip about the women in their family if they start acting like Turkish women. For example, Sonya, a 25-year-old Iraqi woman with four children says that:

Extract 7.11

493 “İraklılar gelip geçiy hiç Türkölere bakmiy Iraklılara bakiyler (.) benim de evim de alçak mı
494 Iraklılar girip çıkıyler dışarı cadı cadı bakallar cadı cadı- yok Türkölere bakmazlar Iraklılara
495 bakarlar- kocam bunun için bırakmaz (...) biz yani kocalarımızdan korkmayaydık kızlarımız
496 aynen sizin gibi giyerdi böyle- bes {fakat} erkeklerden korku çekiyler {gülüşmeler}”

510 “Iraqis are passing by they don’t watch Turks they watch Iraqis (.) my home is on the ground
511 floor Iraqis look at it like a witch witch witch- no they don’t watch Turks they watch Iraqis-
512 therefore my husband doesn’t let me (...) if we weren’t afraid of our husbands our girls would
513 wear exactly like you- but they are afraid of men {laughs}”

Sonya, Home visit- December 2017

As implied by Sonya, similar to the local women, the Iraqi women are also expected by both male and female members of their communities to bear the responsibility of sustaining the moral and religious order starting from regulating their own bodily practices. As in the case of wearing pants, such moral rules which are often rationalised with certain religious explanations function as tools to exert patriarchal moral standards on the women. While some women act within the norms of the patriarchal order because these norms and practices are already ingrained in their life; therefore, they are often taken for granted and not considered as a tool for oppression of their bodies and desires, some women such as Sonya are attached to social and religious norms, in a Goffmanian sense, to sustain their decent self-image. Therefore, they choose to make changes in their appearance depending on the social situation.

When they are invited to an Iraqi woman's home, they may wear their traditional long velvet clothes under their long and loose coat, and when they are invited by a local woman, they may wear pants under their long and loose coat. For example, while Ele strictly criticises the Iraqi Turkmen women abandoning their traditional clothes for Turkification and selling out their group values, Ele's daughter-in-law, Farah, chooses to strategically switch between pants and her traditional clothes.

The first time when I saw Farah wearing pants was on one of the women's Gold Days. While in the first two gatherings between the local and Iraqi women, the Iraqi women chose to sit in their long coats, *pardesü* in Turkish, presumably because they were not sure whether their clothes were suitable for the gathering, in the third gathering, only Farah took off her coat. Although the local women insisted the Iraqi women on taking off their coats, they rejected it presumably to disguise their heritage clothes, resembling kaftan. In the third meeting, there was Ele, Farah and Tagrid. Because, this time, Ele had pants on her, she supposedly wanted to show it to the local women; therefore, she took off her long coat while the other two sat again with their long coats for three hours. It was the first time Farah took off her heritage clothes, and put on pants and t-shirt. While the other Iraqi women sat in their long coats, she gave her coat to the hostess to be hanged. In other words, she chose to align with the local women by fulfilling the local expectations and standards, but she supposedly sold out her group to cross over the local community as she acted differently from Ele and Tagrid. Following this gathering, in my interview with the local women, I raised this issue and asked them whether they realised Farah's pants:

Extract 7.12

497 "ben dicektim de şimdi ayıp olur diye demedim- dedim aslında giyme kendi şeyini giy dicektim
498 (...) dikkat ettim onu ben de dikkat ettim de (.) dicektim ben onu sen kendini nasıl rahat
499 hissediyorsan öyle giyin pantolon giyme diye- şimdi eğer var ya iihh dindar bir insan kendi
500 şeyini bırakıp da Allah vermesin dinden bile çıkar diye bi şey var Hadisi Şerif var iihh kendi
501 elbisesini bırakıp da gidip de ecnebinin elbisesini giymesi şey değil (.) onu ben orda uyarayım

502 dedim o da dine giriyo şimdi dini şeylerde yükümlü kalıyon”

514 “I was going to say but then I didn’t because it could be inappropriate- I was going to say indeed
515 don’t wear that wear your own things (...) I paid attention to that I also paid attention to that (.) I
516 was going to say however you feel yourself comfortable wear so don’t wear pants- now if uhm if
517 a pious person quits her own things god save us she can even lose her religion there is such a
518 hadiths ihm if you quit your own clothing and wear a non-Muslim’s clothing it is not good (.) I
519 said I should warn her this is related to religion you are responsible for telling this”

Melike, Interview- April 2017

This extract shows that while Farah wanted to show her alignment with the local women through clothing by putting on more modern clothes, she found herself to be blamed by both the Iraqi women and the local women for selling out her group and emulating non-Muslims, in other words, *ecnebi* (line 501/518) to use Melike’s word. Although Melike wanted to criticise Farah for her clothing as she thinks that to warn her about a religious misconduct is the religious responsibility of the more knowledgeable side, she chose to remain silent.

Although Ele, Farah’s mother-in-law, openly criticises the Iraqi Turkmen women for wearing pants and abandoning their five-time prayers, Farah does not challenge Ele verbally, and remains silent although she is also one of them. However, in one of the instances, when Ele says that the Iraqi Turkmen girls have become less pious since they came here and Turkified by wearing pants and going out alone, Farah positions herself as projecting the same stance with Ele, aligns with her, and co-constructs this dialogue with Ele by providing extra evidence to strengthen Ele’s *Türkleşme* argument:

Extract 7.13

503 Ele: valla- görmüyo musun sen bizim kızlarımız burda ne yapıyolar?
504 İsmınur: aynen
505 Ele: bizimkiler hep şöyle bizim gibi etek giyerdiler
506 İsmınur: hee
507 Ele: hepsi (.) şimdi hepsi pantolon kamizliyolar (giyiyorlar)=
508 Farah: = telefon ellerinde
509 Ele: hı telefonları ellerinde şöyle hepsi geziyolar valla bizim kadınlarımızın şansına mı
510 oldu? biz ordaki kadınlar hepsi =
511 Farah: = evde çalışırdı

512 Ele: erkeklerine- erkeklerine dikkat eylerdi bi de çocuklarına evdekiler daha çalışırdılar
 513 kızlar daha okula gider döner- şimdi dışarı da çıkıylar parka gidiyeler şöyle her şey
 514 yapıylar burda diyem valla bunlar kadınların şansına mı oldu erkeklerin hiç şansından
 515 değil
 516 İsmınur: değil demi?
 517 Ele: vallah (.)
 518 Farah: vallah erkekler çalışıyo kadınlar geziyo
 519 Hasret: doğru.

520 Ele: *honestly- don't you see what our girls are doing here?*
 521 İsmınur: *exactly*
 522 Ele: *ours used to wear skirts just like us*
 523 İsmınur: *yeah*
 524 Ele: *all (.) now they all wear pants=*
 525 Farah: *= mobile phones are in their hands*
 526 Ele: *yeah their phones are in their hands they all hang out really is it due to our women's*
 527 *chance? we all the women in Iraq=*
 528 Farah: *= used to work at home*
 529 Ele: *their men- they used to take care of their men and their kids the ones at home used to*
 530 *work the girls used to go to school and come back- now they go out go to parks they do*
 531 *everything here I say honestly this is women's chance not men's chance*
 532 İsmınur: *it is not right?*
 533 Ele: *honestly (.)*
 534 Farah: *honestly men work women hang out*
 535 Hasret: *right*

Ele- Farah, Home visit- October 2017

In this dialogue, Farah takes side with Ele (lines 508/525 and 511/528), and they construct a moral evaluation of the Iraqi Turkmen girls. In this way, they position themselves as morally upright for remaining as genuine Iraqi women and not converging towards Turks. While Ele constructs wearing pants as her main argument against the Iraqi Turkmen girls (line 507/524), oddly enough, Farah has pants on her. Instead of objecting to her mother-in-law's critical stance towards wearing pants, she chooses to align with her, which results in the emergence of a paradoxical gap between the constructed discourse by Farah along with Ele and Farah's practice. This gap may imply the ambiguity Farah experiences between the moral pressure on her and her personal desire. As a result, for now, Farah seems to have chosen to contest Ele's authority by wearing pants and ignoring her negative evaluation even if she is not brave enough to challenge Ele verbally.

In the extract above, the non-feminist moral stance Ele indexes is another point worth discussing. As a woman, increasing freedom and mobility of the Iraqi Turkmen women after their migration from Iraq seems to worry Ele as she thinks that this puts the Iraqi men in a difficult situation (line 514/531). While the Iraqi men have to work very hard in Turkey under difficult conditions to earn money, she thinks that the Iraqi women take the control of their bodies and time by going out, socialising with people and wearing what they like although based on my observations this is not exactly the case. In my other conversations with her, Ele made similar statements, and criticised the Iraqi women for being more demanding and disobedient in their relationship with their husbands. She thinks that the Iraqi women picked up this from the local Turkish women. For example, as a result of their Turkification, she says that they do not want to give birth to more than two children and to share the same home with their husbands' family. Therefore, Ele openly states her discomfort and concern for the future due to the changing gender roles and increasing strength and autonomy of the Iraqi women. We may interpret these examples as empowering and emancipatory role of migration on women.

When we look at the parameters on the basis of which Ele evaluates the Iraqi women, they can be straightforwardly argued to be the products of the patriarchal order. While the local women try to oppress the refugee women due to their actions and appearance, we see that the Iraqi women also do similar policing work to their female counterparts by exerting patriarchal moral standards on them. While doing this, the extracts have shown that they often apply to religious norms because to give a reference to a religious norm brings an automatic recognition and legitimacy both in the refugee and local women's community.

Another important point the extracts presented so far in relation to Turkification have shown us is the essentialist understanding adopted by the Iraqi women towards Turkish women by associating Turkishness and Turkification with irreligiousness. Although through the face-to-face meetings with the locals, the Iraqi women have noticed the level of religiosity of the local women, engaged in religious debates with them, and read the Quran together with them, their insistence of positioning Turks in general as less pious is the result of a stereotypical perception of Turkish women which is still sustained even after the real contact with them.

Besides, as opposed to the Iraqi Turkmen's claim that they are ethnically Turks, and that their family roots come from Turkish towns in Anatolia (see Chapter 6), to say that they are now Turkifying creates an ambiguity. In other words, while the Iraqi Turkmen participants sometimes claim Turkishness and desire to be acknowledged as such, they can also claim that they are now becoming so, which means they were not Turkish before. One of the reasons why such a paradoxical situation emerges is that Turkishness used in such contexts does not index an ethnicity; instead, it indexes a way of living and acting which belongs to the members of that nation. What is referred to with Turkification is the process of becoming like the locals. It operates as an adjective depicting a certain type of situation and people. In such contexts, the Iraqi Turkmen participants prefer to distinguish themselves from the locals by making their Iraqi identity visible as they feel themselves closer to Iraqis in terms of way of living and the level of religiosity. As a result, Turkishness may have totally different symbolic value and indexes depending on which frame of reference is preferred, and its desirability can change for the same participants depending on the context.

7.2 Construction of womanhood and sexuality

In the previous section, I discussed the local construction of womanhood through religious identity while at some point I had to expand the discussion to include a third layer with nationalism as nationalism and religiosity tend to overlap with each other as in the case of Turkishness and Sunni-Islam. In this section, I will explore the stances constructed by the local women around the theme of sexuality to reveal local meanings associated with femininity, and attempt to find the relationship between constructed stances and gender ideologies by unfolding social roles and expectations in relation to womanhood and sexuality in this specific context. In the examples I will analyse in this section, the stancetakers are the local women, and the object of their stances are the Iraqi women.

Based on my ethnographic research in Kadife Street, I suggest that the local women who have a lower social status and power position in Kadife Street, automatically increased their social position with the newly arrived refugees. The refugee women have given the local women an opportunity to be hierarchically higher, and in this way, a right to criticise and to dominate them. The refugee women are often subject to severe criticism mainly because they do not perform their family-centric gender roles properly such as motherhood and wifehood, and violate certain norms attributed to womanhood such as modesty and chastity. As a way to index a counterstance against the refugee women, in many instances, I observe that humiliation stories with similar characters and themes are reiterated and circulated across the local women. While reporting such stories, the local women use indirectly reported speech to present the characters; therefore, the original narrators who have experienced these events and the secondary characters who are the refugee women are unknown. These stories are about mythical-like female refugee characters who

are heard of while mocking Turkish women for being ugly, slovenly or gullible. In these stories which are found worth reporting across time and space by the local women, there is a female refugee character who looks well-kempt and groomed with her exaggerated makeup, and a local Turkish woman in a scruffy image. The refugee woman arrogantly humiliates Turkish women for knowing nothing but cleaning their home with their untended and dirty clothes, and implies that she will seduce the local women's husbands. The local women narrating such stories, which are also indirectly reported to them by another local woman, often use these stories to demonise the refugee women while presenting the local women in these stories as the reasonable and moral characters. Every time a local woman narrates such stories, she can find a chance to inform other women about the "danger" of the refugee women in the neighbourhood. Besides, every time the narrator negatively evaluates the refugee women on the basis of such stories, she can also find a chance to present herself morally upright because the narrator implies that if she were a refugee woman, she would act more wisely and morally as a mother and a wife. In this way, she can position herself against the refugee women, and can arguably take pleasure in the ignorance of the refugee woman by claiming herself to be more reasonable, a better mother and a better wife. The extract of one of these narrated stories is given below:

Extract 7.14

520 "geçen kimdi birisi dedi de Iraklı mıymış ney işte- koföre gitmiş saçlarını felan boyatıyomuş
 521 çocuğun hali de hiç hal değilmiş (.) demiş ki biraz kendine bakma da demiş çocuklara baksan
 522 demiş Türk kadının biri de (.) o da demiş ki siz demiş ihm Türk kadınları anca iş yapın demiş biz
 523 kendimize bakarız kocalarımıza güzel görünürüz siz öyle iş yapın demiş"

536 "recently someone has said that was it Iraqi or so- she went to a hairdresser she was getting her
 537 hair dyed her kid was in a miserable condition (.) she said instead of looking after yourself take
 538 care your kids one of the Turkish women said this (.) she said that ihm you Turkish women only
 539 do your domestic duties we take care of ourselves we look nice to our husbands you only do
 540 your housework"

Women's random gathering- September 2017

Zülviye, here, recounts an anecdote shared by an unknown person whom she calls *birisi* (someone). Later on, we learn that *birisi* is a Turkish woman. Zülviye makes both of the women's national identities visible because, from her perspective, this narration is obviously based on a confrontation between an irresponsible Iraqi woman and a conscientious Turkish woman. The Turkish character contests the Iraqi woman for being a bad mother because the Iraqi woman in this story dedicates her efforts to beautify herself while her child is in a miserable condition. Despite the local woman's warnings, the Iraqi character does not accept her unscrupulous act, and takes a counterstance against the "virtuous" and "conscientious" Turkish woman who wants to give advice. Besides, she humiliates the Turkish women arrogantly for not taking care of themselves and their husbands, and for miserably dedicating their whole energy to their domestic duties. Therefore, the Iraqi woman in this story is positioned as the bad character who attempts to gain superiority over a "virtuous" and "conscientious" Turkish woman.

As a result, while the refugee character is not sophisticated enough to recognise her ignorance, both the local woman narrating this story and her listener get embarrassed on her behalf, in other words, cringe with embarrassment. The narrator of such stories reveals her position by showing full alignment with the local women in the story. By denigrating the "other" of this story, she glorifies her own group members including herself. As Schifffrin (1996) argues, for this very reason, the narrative indeed turns into a "self-portrait" rather than the portrait of others. For example, while Zülviye narrates this encounter, she does not only animate what that person has reported to her. She arguably aligns with the Turkish woman by reproducing her words without any criticism. Besides, because she presents this anecdote while the local women are discussing the dirtiness of the refugee women

and their home, she agentively uses it as evidence to strengthen the hands of the local women questioning the personal hygiene of the Iraqi women.

As implied by this narrative, in Kadife Street, as a reflection of the hegemonic gender ideologies, women are conventionally expected to sacrifice themselves for their families by putting their desires and needs aside. If they violate the maxims of womanhood, as in the case of this narrative, they are positioned as selfish and bad mothers and wives. When we look at the parameters on the basis of which the refugee women are evaluated through such stories, they can be argued to be the products of patriarchal order prevalent in society, and “women themselves (may) actively try to conform to prevailing ideals of feminine behaviour through the effort and calculations” (Cameron, 2003, p. 450). In other words, every time the refugee women are policed through patriarchal moral standards by the local women, women who are historically oppressed through these sexist standards become the ones reproducing them. It seems that these internalised sexist norms have become the normal state of affairs among the local women, and investing in these collective norms to this degree arguably stems from the women’s desire for recognition.

In another event reported by the local woman named Fatoş, the identities of the female characters are not known as in the previous one, and they are described with a third person plural by Fatoş while from the context of the talk, we understand that the third person plural is used to refer to the refugees in the neighbourhood. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.15

- 524 Fatoş: ne diyolar biliyonuz mu? ayıp olmasın erkekleri lokum gibi kadınları bokum gibi
525 diyolarlar
526 Hasret: kendileri mi lokum gibiymiş?
527 Fatoş: he (.) erkek Türk erkekleri- bizleri beğenmiyolar boyalı pudralı değiliz ya- kadınlar iyi
528 değil ellağam bunlar yatarken boyalı yatıyorlar Seher diyom- böyle olmasa yüzlerine
529 bakılmaz

541 Fatoş: *do you know what they say? disgraceful but men are like {Turkish} delight women are*
 542 *like shit*
 543 Hasret: *are they like {Turkish} delight themselves?*
 544 Fatoş: *yeah (.) men Turkish men- they don't like us as we don't wear makeup- Turkish women*
 545 *are not nice they say- it seems I tell Seher they sleep with makeup- otherwise you cannot*
 546 *look at their faces*

Fatoş, Interview- September 2017

Here, we learn from Fatoş that the authors of the statement “*erkekleri lokum gibi kadınları bokum gibi*” in line 524 (“their men are like Turkish delight women are shitty”, line 541), disdain Turkish women for their slovenly and unattractive image while they find Turkish men sexually attractive and sweet like Turkish delight. In line 527/544, Fatoş thinks that the reason why the refugee women find Turkish women simply ugly is their not wearing makeup while Fatoş argues that it is makeup which makes the refugee women look beautiful (line 528/545). In another interview, the local woman, Çiçek, also reports a similar dialogue between a refugee and local woman, and the main theme of this dialogue is again the negative stance indexed by the refugee women towards the local women’s neglected appearance:

Extract 7.16

530 Sevdâ: *eşi evde kalmış izinli canım eşim evde diye BİR güzel makyaj yapmış {Farah’ı*
 531 *kastederek}*
 532 Hasret: *valla mı?*
 533 Sevdâ: *valla*
 534 Hasret: *ohhh*
 535 Sevdâ: *biz eşimiz evde olunca makyaj mı yaparık? aceylen {çamaşır suyu} elbiseylen daha*
 536 *temizlik yaparık {gülüşmeler}*
 537 Hasret: *öğren işte öğren yaa*
 538 Sevdâ: *Demet de görmüş ooo bi yere mi gidiyon demiş de kocam evde diyomuş*
 539 Çiçek: *görümcenin alttaki kadın diyomuş ki siz Türk kadınları diyomuş eşlerine hiç şey*
 540 *yapmıyo- biz diyomuş böyle paspal dolaşsak diyomuş eşlerimiz hep üstümüze evlenir*
 541 *diyomuş- gurban oluyum sana üstüne bi boydan elbise giyiyo XXX*

547 Sevdâ: *because her husband was at home his day off she wore such makeup {referring to*
 548 *Farah}*
 549 Hasret: *really?*
 550 Sevdâ: *really*
 551 Hasret: *ohhh*
 552 Sevdâ: *when our husbands are at home do we wear makeup? with bleach with clothes we*
 553 *continue cleaning {laughs}*
 554 Hasret: *learn from her*
 555 Sevdâ: *Demet also saw her and she asked ohh are going out? she said her husband was at*
 556 *home*
 557 Çiçek: *my sister-in-law’s neighbour says that ‘you Turkish women don’t do something for your*

558 *husbands- she says if we walk around slovenly like this our husbands get a second wife-*
559 *my dear she wears such a long dress XXXX*

Local women's group interview- October 2017

Here, the theme of this dialogue is again the refugee women's well-kempt appearance. When Sevda came across with her Iraqi neighbour, Farah, she was surprised to see Farah well-dressed with makeup (line 530/547). When Sevda discovered that the reason for Farah's well-maintained appearance was her husband's day off, that is, his being at home, Sevda's surprise doubled. In line 535/552, we see that Sevda constructs a binary opposition between "*biz*" (we), that is the local women, and "*onlar*" (they), the Iraqi women, and criticises her own group's lack of concern for their physical appearance and for their husbands. Çiçek aligns with Sevda through an indirectly reported narrative, and argues that the refugee women also think like Sevda concerning the local women's carelessness about their appearance and husbands (lines 539/557 and 540/558). Similar to the previous narratives in Extracts 7.14 and 7.15, in this narrative, the female refugee character also mentions the slovenliness of the local women referring to their untidy look and scruffy clothes. Because the refugee women think that the local women look sexually unattractive in their plain and dirty clothes, they imply that the local women's husbands may lose their desire for their wives. In this narrative, the refugee women argue that if their husbands were the local women's husbands, they had already got married with second wives.

As in Farah's case in Extract 7.16, we see that, in the speech narrated by Çiçek, the reason for the Iraqi women's well-groomed appearance is again their husbands. From these examples, we infer that it is under the responsibility of women to hold their husbands and to keep them interested. If one day their husbands leave them for other women, from this hegemonic masculine perspective, it is the women

who will be blamed for due to their deficiency and unappealing look. Similarly, in an event indirectly reported by Naciye, the reason why the local men cheat on their wives is again explained by their wives' slovenliness. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.17

542 “çok gençler diyomuş ya Kent Park'ta sizin kadınlar hiç bakımlı değilsiniz- sizin erkekler hep
543 başkalarına bakıyo diyomuş (.) biz AHA giydik pazen etek don {gülüşme}”

560 “many youngsters say in Kent Park that your women are not well-maintained- your husbands
561 always watch others (.) LOOK we wear a fustian skirt and underpants {laughs}”

Naciye, Interview- December 2017

Here, Naciye reports what some young refugee men hanging out in the city's biggest park, Kent Park, supposedly witnessed there. The male characters warn the local women to take care of their physical appearance more because they see the Turkish men hitting on the well-maintained foreign women in the park. Naciye accepts the criticism the imaginary male characters make by pointing at the traditional clothes on her. Similarly, in another interview, the local woman, Zehra shares some of her friends' concern about possible sexual affairs between the refugee women and their husbands. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.18

544 Zehra: bazı arkadaşlar tedirgin mesela işte ihm (.) erkeklerimizi baştan çıkaracaklar falan diye
545 duyduğum oluyo (.)
546 Hasret: doğru doğru ben de hani öyle bi duyum aldım öyle
547 Zehra: öyleymiş ama yani şeymiş bazı erkekleri işte baştan çıkartıp şey yapıyolarmış (.) ihm
548 hani kendilerini garantiye almak gibi
549 Hasret: evet duydum ben de (.)
550 Zehra: evli de olsa

562 Zehra: some of our friends are nervous for example ihm (.) I have heard about things like they
563 will seduce our men and so on (.)
564 Hasret: right right I have also heard about such things
565 Zehra: it is so but I mean they seduce some men they do ihm (.) it is like to guarantee
566 themselves
567 Hasret: yeah I have heard about this (.)
568 Zehra: even if he is married

Zehra, Interview- December 2017

In this extract, again, we see the portrayal of the refugee women as opportunists who use their femininity to take advantage over the “scruffy” and “gullible” local women by seducing their husbands. This sounds possible to Zehra because refugee women are in financially difficult situation, and they can use their sexuality to climb the social ladder (548/565). As in the case of all the examples presented so far in this section, this extract also implies that we should either accuse the refugee women of their immorality or the local women of their unattractive and unkempt look. Neither the local female characters in these stories nor the local women narrating them find the local men guilty because they are, in a way, victims seduced by deceitful and dangerous foreign women. Because these foreign female characters, in this case the refugee women, use their sexuality and femininity as a means of seducing men, men’s failure to resist them is seen normal. Therefore, this situation is portrayed as a battle between the local women and refugee women. Spreading about these stories is supposedly used by the local women as a way to keep the refugee women under control and to inform each other about this danger. The extract below is narrated by another local woman, Sevda, and this is based on a confrontation between the refugee and local women in Kırşehir’s central park:

Extract 7.19

551 Sevda: bir gün Kent Park’a oturmaya gittik dört arkadaş üçünün eşleri polis ben normal (.)
552 arkadaşla dedik ki sen önceden git tut (.) vardık bi kavga oluyo
553 Naciye: onlar {mültecileri kastederek}
554 Sevda: kadınlan kavga ediyo ama bizim bu niye kavga ediyo acaba kadın kalkmadı da
555 yerimizden o yüzden mi- biz onun evi Kent Park’a yakın olduğu için sen git bi kamelya
556 tut biz geliyok dedik
557 Naciye: nasıl tutacağsan? yer mi var da tutacağın?
558 Sevda: yok tutmuş- dedik ki aman niye kadınlan kavga ediyo tutmayaydı yerde otururduk felan
559 diye- vardıydık- ÇILdırıyo (.) noldu diyok? kadın diyomuş ki siz diyomuş Türk
560 kadınları diyomuş çamaşır yıka bulaşık yıka çocuk bak kocalar ihmal kocalar bize
561 geliyo {yabancı aksanını ve dilbilgisini taklit ederek} diyomuş
562 İsmi: hadi canım
563 Gelin: köpek vay

569 Sevda: *one day we went to Kent Park four friends the husbands of three of them are police*
570 *mine is normal (.) we told our friend to go early and hold a seat (.) when we arrived*

571 *there was a fight*
 572 Naciye: *they {referring to refugees}*
 573 Sevda: *she was disputing with a woman we were thinking why she was fighting whether it was*
 574 *because she sat on our seat- because her home was closer we asked her to hold a seat*
 575 Naciye: *how are you gonna hold one? are there any empty one?*
 576 Sevda: *no she found one- we said her not to fight just because of a seat we could have sat on*
 577 *the floor- we arrived there- she was going CRAzy (.) we said what happened? that*
 578 *woman reportedly said you Turkish women wash clothes clean dishes take care of kids*
 579 *husbands are neglected husbands come to us {imitating a foreign accent and grammar}*
 580 İsmiur: *come on*
 581 Gelin: *look at that dog*

Women's Gold Day- December, 2017

From this extract, I infer that Sevda's friend who went earlier than them in order to find a seat in the park narrates this event to Sevda. In other words, Sevda did not hear the refugee woman saying that the local women's husbands had affairs with the refugee women because of the local women's lack of concern for their husbands. Therefore, Sevda uses “-miş”, the suffix of the reported past tense, while indirectly reporting the refugee woman's words (“*kadın diyomuş ki*”/ “*the woman reportedly said that*”, line 559/578). When Sevda arrived at the park along with her other two friends, she says that they saw their friend disputing with another woman, and they assumed that it was a dispute over seating (line 554/574). However, when they arrived there, it turned out that the cause of this dispute was the refugee woman's humiliation of the local women and her claiming ownership over the local women's husbands. The claimed quarrel between random two women in Kent Park, apparently for no reason, sounds quite weird. The epistemic validity of this narrative is questionable because spreading fake news and rumours about refugees is a very frequently occurring phenomenon in the city, and what is claimed to be said by the refugee woman in the extract above is another variation of the same type of stories with a similar theme and characters. However, because this is not a detective story, instead of questioning the validity of this event, as analyst, I will focus on discovering the subjective meanings constructed by the participants through this story and the position taken up by Sevda and her interlocutors. In this narrative, we

see that Sevda positions herself as an innocent woman lacking in bad intention as she naively thought that there was a fight over a seat, and then wished to have sat on the ground instead of getting involved in this dispute. When Sevda shares the real reason behind the dispute (lines 559/578 and 560/579), the local women immediately show their negative reaction to the female refugee character in the story. İsmiñur expresses her surprise (line 562/580), and Gelin shows her reaction by insulting at the female refugee character in the story (line 563/581). Since Sevda started narrating this story, Naciye have taken up a negative stance against refugees in general, but she does this in a rather implicit way. As soon as Sevda says that there was a fight (line 552/571), Naciye completes Sevda's utterance by saying "*onlar*" / "*they*" (line 553/572), that is, "refugees" as for Naciye it is refugees who always make trouble in the city. In line 557/575, as soon as Sevda says that her friend went earlier to reserve a seat, Naciye implies that there are no empty seats in the park because of the refugees' "invasion" of the city parks. In this extract, I can read Naciye's reactions easefully thanks to an interview I conducted with her a few days before this conversation. In that interview, she claimed that Kent Park turned into a place where Syrian female sex workers and their Turkish customers negotiated the service. While indirectly quoting what the refugee women said in line 560/579, Sevda mimics the woman's foreign accent and constructs the refugee woman's reported sentence ungrammatically on purpose ("*kocalar ihmal*" / "*husbands are neglected*"). I interpret this as the reminiscent of the stereotypical representation of foreign women's talk in Turkish particularly the Russian ones (e.g., *ben var gitmek* / *I am go*). Hence, I get the impression that the 'Natasha discourse' is reproduced through Syrian women.

To make it clear, after the fall of the Soviet Union, increasing unemployment and financial crisis forced Slavic women into the sex-trafficking industry in countries

such as Turkey (see Borenstein, 2006). The Russian female name “*Natasha*” entered in the colloquial Turkish, and the word *Nataşa* started to be widely used to index a “foreign sex worker”. In the 1990s, the Turkish newspapers had full of stories about Turkish men having affairs with Russian women and divorcing their Turkish wives. At that time, their wives even organised marches with slogans “*Natasha go home*” in Trabzon, a city in the Black Sea Region. From these extracts presented in this section, I get the impression that while the stereotypification of Russian women is becoming outdated, the phrase *Suriyeli kadınlar* (Syrian women) has been replaced by it, and started to be used in today’s Turkey to index this so-called derogatory meaning. By looking at the extracts in this section, I suggest that the refugee women, often labelled as “Syrian women”, changed this imaginary role with the Russian women.

Following the conversation quoted in Extract 7.19, because I was suspicious about the reality of the narrated event by Sevda, as I could not imagine any refugee women initiating a quarrel with a random Turkish woman in a public space and threatening her with seducing her husbands, I asked Sevda whether she saw that refugee woman in the park. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.20

564 Hasret: kadını gördün mü sen tipi nasıldı?

565 Sevda: hee (.)

566 Hasret: tipi nasıldı yani?

567 Nadire: güzel bi şey miydi onu demek istiyö

568 Sevda: ful makyajlı bi şeydi (.)

582 Hasret: *did you see the woman how did she look like?*

583 Sevda: *yeah (.)*

584 Hasret: *how was her physical appearance?*

585 Nadire: *she means whether she was beautiful*

586 Sevda: *she was something with full makeup (.)*

Women’s Gold Day- December, 2017

Although I ask Sevda to describe the physical appearance of the refugee woman (line 564/582), initially, she simply says “yes” (line 565/583). When Nadire realises that Sevda does not give a proper answer to my question, this time, she repeats Sevda my question by reinterpreting the question I asked. Sevda’s answer “*ful makyajlı bi şeydi*”/ “*she was something with full makeup*” in line 568/586 presumably shows the equation of a woman’s makeup with indecency. While there are hundreds of different ways of defining the physical appearance of a woman, Sevda only addresses the refugee woman’s makeup because from her perspective, wearing makeup is, on its own, arguably enough to position a woman into a certain category.

Based on my close relationship with the local women, I suggest that the local women have a complicated relationship with wearing makeup. Although, as typical women of patriarchal society, they want to look good to their husbands, they cannot wear makeup because their community does not find wearing makeup appropriate for an adult woman who is married with kids. Because they cannot put on makeup while the refugee women can, I get the impression that the local women rationalise their not wearing makeup for themselves as if it was their free choice by referring to the religious discourse, or they attempt to discourage refugee women wearing it. For example, in the following extract, Melike criticises Farah’s polished nails by relating this to their shared Islamic identity. This conversation takes place after the women end the debate about the Iraqi Turkmen women’s sockless feet. The Iraqi Turkmen participants in this dialogue are Ele and Farah:

Extract 7.21

- 569 Melike: YA ben merak ettim soruyom- siz ne diyosunuz bana?=
 570 İsmınur: = ha merak ettin
 571 Melike: canımı sıkma daha kötüsünü sorarım
 572 İsmınur: hadi sor (.) sor hadi sor
 573 Naciye: Melike sen çık dışarı kız hadi git benim çayımı doldur gel Melike (.)
 574 Melike: bizim dinde oje var mı?- sorDURma bana
 575 Naciye: gıız Melike al çayımı doldur gel
 576 Nadire: sana diyo sana

577 Naciye: YÜRÜ(.)
 578 Ele: ahahhaha
 579 İsmînur: yok yok ama zevk olsun diye
 580 Farah: yok dinimizde yok (.) yok yok aslında namaz olmaz
 581 Sincan: hasta mısın şimdi?
 582 Farah: yo ben iiih şimdiiii ihhh=
 583 İsmînur: = doğum yaptı (.)
 584 Sincan: şey hastasın şu anda?
 585 Ele: ha ha biraz da (.) bunu da vurursan abdestlenirsin bir gün durur
 {üst üste konuşmalar}
 586 Sincan: bizde kırk gün Şafilere atmış gün
 587 İsmînur: ha kırk gün sonra şey yapabilir namaz kılabilir
 588 Sincan: tabi kırktan sonra
 589 Ele: kırk gün kılınmaz
 590 Sincan: sizde atmış- atmış gün

587 *Melike: I am curious and asking- what are you telling me? =*
 588 *İsmînur: = ah you are wondering*
 589 *Melike: don't annoy me I can ask even worse*
 590 *İsmînur: okay ask (.) come on ask*
 591 *Naciye: Melike go out girl come on go and bring my tea Melike (.)*
 592 *Melike: is there nail polishing in our religion?- DON'T make me ask*
 593 *Naciye: you girl Melike take my tea refresh it*
 594 *Nadire: she is telling you*
 595 *Naciye: you go girl (.)*
 596 *Ele: ahahhaha*
 597 *İsmînur: no no but just out of pleasure*
 598 *Farah: no in our religion no (.) no no indeed performing five-time prayer isn't possible*
 599 *Sincan: are you sick now?*
 600 *Farah: no I uhm now I uhhh=*
 601 *İsmînur: = she gave birth (.)*
 602 *Sincan: well are you sick now?*
 603 *Ele: yeah yeah a little bit (.) even if you polish your nails you can perform an ablution it*
 604 *remains one day*
 {overlapping talks}
 605 *Sincan: forty days in ours sixty days for Shafi people*
 606 *İsmînur: ah you can perform your five-time prayer after forty days*
 607 *Sincan: yes after forty days*
 608 *Ele: it cannot be performed for forty days*
 609 *Sincan: in yours it is sixty days- sixty days*

Women's Gold Day- September 2017

This extract shows how the local women police the refugee women's every single act from their clothes to general manners. Ele and Farah are under constant examination in these gatherings, and questioned by the local women for their deviant actions violating the societal norms. Every time they criticise the refugee women on the basis of moral and religious practices, as in the case of the previous examples in this section, we see how the local women manage to position themselves as morally upright. Following Melike's criticism on the Iraqi women's sockless feet, this time,

she makes Farah's polished nails as the object of her stance. Because according to Islam, one cannot perform her five daily prayers with polished nails, Melike relates Farah's polished nails to the religious discourse in line 574/592, and rhetorically asks Farah whether polishing nails is an acceptable practice for a Muslim woman. By saying something irrelevant in lines 573/591 and 575/593, Naciye tries to change the topic and to end this whole debate because earlier to this gathering, the local women made a decision about avoiding topics which would potentially cause conflict as the Iraqi women are, above all, their guests. However, Melike breaks the deal, and Naciye's efforts to interrupt Melike does not work. İsmınur realises that this question has put Farah under pressure, and expresses her stance in favour of Farah by trying to find a justification for her polished nails (line 579/597), as she cannot perform her religious practices like this. For example, İsmınur speculates that Ele she may be on her period, or she may be still in the post-partum period as she gave birth two months ago. Farah's mother-in-law also tries to give support to Farah by saying "*ha ha biraz da*" ("yeah yeah a little bit") in line 585/603 although Farah does not normally perform her five daily prayers, and Ele mentions this reproachfully. For this reason, Ele answers by saying that "*ha ha biraz da*" which is neither a positive nor a negative answer. Then, by saying that "*bununla olursa abdestlenirsin bir gün durur*" ("you perform an ablution it remains one day") in the same line, Ele supposedly wants to show the other women that she knows the rules of Islam; thereby, she indexes an epistemic stance aligning with the local women. However, Sincan chooses to diverge from both Ele and Farah by arguing that they have different rules because they are not from the same sect of Islam (line 586/605). Despite the alignment effort made by Ele (line 589/608) through echoing the religious principle

uttered by Sincan, Sincan does not position Ele as one of them as she still insists that Ele and Farah are liable to different religious rules (line 590/609).

Following this gathering, in my conversation with Farah, she says that she is not surprised to be criticised for her polished nails because a very similar incident occurred to her while she was giving birth inside a clinic. This time, the stancetaker is a midwife, and the object of her stance is again Farah's polished nails. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.22

591 Farah: = şey ben ıhh çocuk doguyodu hastahanede dogruyodum şeyi üstüneyim doguruyom
592 deyi sen deyi yüklüsün buraya niye boya yapıysın? {gülüşmeler} evet evet {gülerek}
593 İsmınur: kim dedi?
594 Farah: işte şeye çıkmıştım doguruyom
595 Hasret: doğuruyo
596 Farah: aynen hemşireler başımda onla diyi sen diyi yüklüsün (.) bunları niye yapmışsan?
597 Hasret: vay arkadaş ya
598 İsmınur: şimdi benim derdim o mu diyeydin?
599 Ele: geldim ben dogum yapmaya
600 Farah: ben dogum yapıyom sen bana ne soruyusun?
601 İsmınur: ayyyyy (.) seviyom diyeydin /makyaj yapmayı seviyom diyeydin/
602 Hasret: /ya herkesinki kendine yani/
603 Farah: evet ben aglamaya düşmüşüm derdime düşmüşüm

610 Farah: = well I was giving birth in the hospital I was delivering the baby I was over the thing
611 she said you are pregnant why did you polish your nails? {laughs} yeah yeah {by
612 smiling}
613 İsmınur: who said it?
614 Farah: I mean I was lying I was delivering
615 Hasret: she was delivering
616 Farah: exactly the nurses were by me they say you are pregnant (.) why did you do that?
617 Hasret: come on my friend
618 İsmınur: you would say whether this is my problem now
619 Ele: I come to deliver the baby
620 Farah: I am delivering the baby what are you asking me?
621 İsmınur: awww (.) you could have said you like it /you could have said you like wearing makeup/
622 Hasret: /every man for himself/
623 Farah: yes I was crying I was dealing with my own problem

Farah, Home visit- October 2017

This extract shows that very similar stances can be constructed to the same objects by different local actors. It is either an uneducated local woman or a well-educated teacher or a nurse, a very similar logic of argumentation can be constructed, and they may be equally invested in the reproduction of hegemonic collective norms. This

effort put adamantly both by the local women and the midwife in order to discipline another woman's body through the practice of policing clearly shows that, knowingly or unknowingly, the women contribute to the reproduction of patriarchy. After these two incidents, Farah accepts the defeat by saying that "*daha yapamıyom korkuyom*" ("I cannot do it again I am afraid"), and decides not to polish her nails again. Since then, I have never seen Farah with polished nails. Although I tell her jokingly that I bought a new nail polisher which would look great on her nails, she smilingly rejects my offer. These extracts about nail polishing show that the local women's utterances have had performative force on Farah. As Bourdieu (1991) argues this is not a force coming from the linguistic power of constructed sentences, but a force coming from the authority and the social position of the person uttering the sentences.

I cannot help but assume that if the one giving birth was not a refugee woman but a local woman, she would not come under attack by the same midwife for her polished nails. From the narratives presented in this section, I infer that there is something disturbing the local women especially when they meet a well-groomed refugee woman with beautiful makeup. It seems that the words 'refugee woman' and 'makeup' are mutually exclusive in the eyes of the local women. I suggest that the local women may assume that while, as the legitimate owners of the country, they have no time and energy to take care of themselves, refugee women live in comfort, and find enough energy and enthusiasm to take care of themselves. Therefore, makeup indexes comfort and wealth which the local women lack, but the refugee women arguably have. Besides, it seems that the real image of a refugee woman the local women encounter in their neighbourhood does not fit into the idealised image of a refugee woman who is in misery and dirt because the ones they meet look more

like well-maintained and well-dressed women rather than the victims of war. If they are accepted to the country as refugees, I assume that the local women want refugee women to act like a “refugee” and look like a “refugee”, in misery and hunger.

Besides, when the refugee women dare to criticise the local women, as in the case of these stories, for looking less women while, as the “guests” of the country, they have no right to criticise the local women, the local women become aggressive. When they hear such narratives, this feeds their anger at the refugee women although the reliability of the sources of these narratives is highly questionable. For example, it is quite often that very same stories can be narrated by the Turkish women who reside in different neighbourhoods and even different cities, and the narrators often narrate these stories as if they took place in their own neighbourhood.

To increase the validity of their argument and to sustain the bad image constructed for the refugee women, apart from such narrated stories based on a confrontation between a refugee and a local woman, the local women also rely on their own observations in the neighbourhood. As in the case of the previous examples, sometimes, the object of the local women’s stance becomes the refugee women’s clothes and makeup. Sometimes, they produce examples to prove the bad motherhood of the refugee women as opposed to the ideal motherhood of the local women. Sometimes, they attempt to prove the immorality of the refugee women by referring to the refugee women’s intimate relationship with other men. The extract taken from the interview I conducted with the local woman, Naciye, is given below, and this based on her own observations in the neighbourhood:

Extract 7.23

604 “mesela biz bir erkekle tanımadığımız bi kişiyle böyle muhattap olupta mesela bi sohbet edip ya
605 da bir ev ortamında öyle oturup yiyelim içelim mesela bi çay içelim bişi yapalım diyemeyiz
606 bunlar HER erkekle pazarda da görsem çarşıda da görsem akraba da diye olsun olmasın bunlar
607 çok böyle içli dışlı oluyolar (...) aynı evin içinde kalıyolar aynı yeri paylaşıyolar aynı banyoyu

608 paylaşıyorlar açık cılbak oturuyorlar- ben yazın hep görüyodum- bizden daha açıklar Hasret biz ne
609 güzel yazmamızı alıyok şeyimizi pardesümüzü alıyok gazağımızı giyiyok”

624 *“for example we cannot say let’s sit down with a man whom we don’t know let’s hang out with*
625 *him and have a chat with him eat and drink tea with him and do something together in the home*
626 *setting these people are with EVERY man even if I see them in the open market in the town he is*
627 *your relative or not these are very intimate with men (...) they stay in the same flat they share the*
628 *same place they use the same bathroom they sit naked- I always see them in summer- they are*
629 *more open than us Hasret we wear our headscarves take on our long trench coats wear our*
630 *jumpers how nice”*

Naciye, Interview- December, 2017

By comparing the refugee women in Kadife Street with the local women, Naciye attempts to show the big moral gap between two parties. While the local women conduct themselves modestly through their manner, appearance and behaviour, Naciye claims that the refugee women do not conform to the social group norms in relation to womanhood. For example, based on what she observes in the open market and downtown, she says that the refugee women build intimate relationship with men while the local women avoid talking to men who are not their relatives. Besides, because the refugee women in Kadife Street live in joint families often along with their husband’s relatives, Naciye questions the morality of the refugee women who have to share the same physical spaces such as a bathroom and bedroom with other males. Similar to Naciye’s accounts, in my interview with a group of local women, the same issue about the extended family system adopted by the refugees in the neighbourhood is raised, and the local women intersubjectively agree that neither the Islamic view nor the traditional norms about womanhood can accept such an immoral lifestyle:

Extract 7.24

610 Çiçek: kız orda beş altı aile kalıyomuş burda iki aile kalıyomuş bir göz odada iki aile
611 kalıyomuş bi- öbür odada iki aile kalıyomuş altı yedi şey- aile kalıyomuş öbür tarafta
612 Sevda: burda bir aile şorda bi aile
613 Çiçek: tamam bu mantıken hadi de ki mesela senin babanlan ben bu odada yatıyım kalkıyım
614 nasıl olacak?
615 Hasret: hmm
616 İsmiur: nerde kaldı Müslümanlık?
617 Çiçek: hee bu Müslümanlık nerde? hadi onun açıklamasını yapsınlar bakalım (.) tamam

618 Müslümanlık elhamdülillah herkes Müslüman ama ben yeri geliyo kardeşinlen kaynınlan
 619 bi odada yatmıyosun (.) evin horan kızı olduğu halde yatmıyosun
 620 İsmınur: gecelikle gözükecen dışarı çıkacan lavoboya gidecen
 621 Çiçek: ya he- haydi sen gel Şakir'in {Çiçek'in kocası} yanında yat ben İsmet abinin
 622 {İsmınur'un kocası} yanında yatıyım o nasıl olacak?
 623 İsmınur: aman aman
 624 Çiçek: insanlık mı? (.) Müslümanlık mı? (.) nasıl bir şey?
 625 Hasret: evet (.)

631 Çiçek: *five or six families stay together there the other two families stay together in one small*
 632 *room- in another room other two families in total six or seven things- families*
 633 Sevdâ: *one family is here another family is there*
 634 Çiçek: *okay logically okay for example come on tell me your father and me stay and sleep*
 635 *together in this room how is it gonna be?*
 636 Hasret: *hmm*
 637 İsmınur: *where is your Muslimhood?*
 638 Çiçek: *yeah where is Muslimhood? they should come on and explain this let's see (.) okay we*
 639 *are Muslim thanks to God everybody is Muslim but sometimes I don't even sleep in the*
 640 *same room with my brother or brother-in-law (.) even if you are the girl of the family*
 641 *you don't*
 642 İsmınur: *you will appear with your nightie you will go out go to the bathroom*
 643 Çiçek: *yeah- come on you sleep by Şakir {Çiçek's husband} I sleep with brother İsmet*
 644 *{İsmınur's husband} how is it gonna be?*
 645 İsmınur: *heavens no*
 646 Çiçek: *is this humanhood? (.) is this Muslimhood? (.) what kind of a thing is this?*
 647 Hasret: *yes (.)*

Local women's group interview- October 2017

In this extract, similar to Naciye's accounts, the local interviewees project a conservative moral stance, and address the contradiction between the refugee women's faith and practice. First, İsmınur argues that sharing the same flat with other families does not comply with the Islamic ethics (line 616/ 637), and Çiçek aligns with İsmınur. Çiçek claims that no matter what the reason is, sharing the same flat with other families, even if they are the relatives of the women's husbands, cannot be legitimised (lines 617/638 and 618/639). In this way, she implies that even if the economic conditions force the refugees to live in an extended family system, this situation cannot be tolerated. To make the other women understand the reason why Çiçek adamantly opposes to this, she exemplifies the situation in lines 621/643 and 622/644 by asking İsmınur to imagine herself sleeping in the same room with Çiçek's husband. İsmınur cannot feel empathy with the refugee women, and conveys her feeling through an exclamatory word, "aman", and intensify its meaning by

repeating it twice as “aman aman” (line 623/645) which can be translated into English as “heavens, no!”. When Çiçek sees that İsmînur shows full alignment with her by constructing the same counterstance, she asks two rhetorical questions in line 624/646, and in this way, she argues that living in joint families comply neither with Islam nor with humanity. Both in Extract 7.24 and in Extract 7.23, the same issue is raised, the same stances are constructed, and the object of the stances becomes the chastity of the refugee women. Besides, in all the extracts presented in this section, the object of the local women’s stances is the refugee women, and it is, in a way, implied that it is women who bear the moral responsibility of sustaining societal norms.

In this section, I discussed how the local women exert normative pressure on the refugee women in order to control their deviant action by making reference to collective norms largely the products of patriarchy. The extracts presented in this section show how the local women produce their subjective local meanings associated with womanhood and sexuality through the stances they construct and positions they take up. The extracts also reveal how the local women construct their stances in a way that would position themselves as the protagonists of the stories and the refugee women as the antagonists. While the refugee women are portrayed as sexualised and seductive objects who are threat to social unity and family life, the local women show how well they play their gender roles by suppressing their own sexuality and controlling deviant actions disrupting the harmony. As a result, while the local women marginalise the refugee women for arguably challenging the principles of feminine norms, they portray themselves as the ideal women who devote themselves to their families and to the continuity of collective norms.

7.3 Construction of womanhood and hygiene

In the previous sections of this chapter, I focused on how the local women and refugee women construct stances towards each other on the basis of their loyalty to religious and traditional feminine roles, and I showed their attempts to capitalise on them. In this section, I will discuss how the local women sustain the game of one-upmanship with the Iraqi women over hygiene, and how womanhood is locally constructed through the stances they construct towards another conventionalised practices of womanhood, namely domestic cleaning. In this section, through the spontaneous interactional data and interview accounts, I will discuss how the local women lay claim to the devoted housewife status by questioning the Iraqi women's achievement in hygiene.

Based on my observations, I get the impression that the local women are very intolerant to any change, and to any deviation from what they are used to. A strange smell, an inconceivable object or an indefinable substance can all be seen as sources of a potential problem by the local women. For example, if they cannot identify a smell, they tend to label it as bad. To illustrate this, all the local women I talked to complain about the unpleasant smell coming from their refugee neighbours' home, and, in general, they perceive their refugee neighbours and their home smelly. Some even said that they could not enter their Iraqi neighbours' home because of this claimed unbearable smell. I suggest that this situation can partially be explained by the local women's negative approach to differences, and their cultural intolerance because I assume that the local women create a link between pleasantness of an object and their level of familiarity. In my interview with Çiçek, the local woman, I raised this issue, and her answer is given below:

Extract 7.25

626 Hasret: acaba bunların yemeklerini bize değişik geldiği için mi burnumuza kötü geliyo- kokusu
627 kötü değil ama değişik olduğu için mi kötü diyoz?
628 Çiçek: (.) bak keki aşağıdaki {Ele} de yapıyo mesela ben de yapıyom (.) benimki güzel kokuyo
629 ama onların kekinde değişik bi şey geliyo
630 Hasret: hah işte o değişik mi kötü diyon acaba?
631 Çiçek: evet (.)
632 Hasret: değişik olunca sen kötü diyon belki ha?
633 Çiçek: evet.

648 Hasret: *is it maybe because their food is strange to us it smells bad? its smell isn't bad but*
649 *because it is different we say it smells bad*
650 Çiçek: (.) *look the one below {Ele} makes a cake I also make a cake (.) mine smells good but*
651 *something strange comes to my nose from theirs*
652 Hasret: *yes do you say bad to something strange?*
653 Çiçek: *yes (.)*
654 Hasret: *is it because when it is different you say bad don't you?*
655 Çiçek: *yes.*

Çiçek, Interview- January 2018

Based on my previous conversations with the local women, I developed a hypothesis to explain the issue of bad smell arguably coming from the refugee women's home.

In order to see to what extent the local women agree with my hypothesis, I asked this to Çiçek. By answering my question through an example (lines 626/648 and

627/649), Çiçek aligns with my argument, which is what we call a bad smell may be the one we are not familiar with. In her example, while the cake made by Çiçek has a pleasant smell, similar cake made by her Iraqi neighbour has a different smell, in

other words, a disturbing and undesirable smell. To check whether I understood

Çiçek well, I asked the same question two more times in lines 630/652 and 632/654,

and Çiçek showed her alignment first through an example, and then by ratifying it

with "yes". In another interview I conducted with a local woman named Cebire, her

remark, "*mantı büküyorlardı gerçek yemek de yapıyorlar*" ("they were making mantı

{local food resembling tortellini} they make real food as well"), is also the product

of the same state of mind as from the local women's perspective, authenticity and

likeability of an object is related to the level of familiarity with their own culture.

While in the previous sections we saw that there was one definition of Turkishness,

one definition of Muslimness, one definition of womanhood from the local women's perspective, here, we see that there is one definition of a good smell and delicious food. In other words, no matter to which theme we shift our attention, the prevalent monolithic vision which tends to essentialise diverse people, cultures, languages and objects by positioning them hierarchically lower than theirs is sustained by the local women across events.

In addition to its perceptual dimension, the unpleasant smell which is argued to come from the refugee women's home may also have a class-based explanation. Because all the refugee women I interviewed so far live on the ground floor and design their home with old furniture mostly donated by their local neighbours or bought from second-hand furniture stores, this bad smell may be a result of their material condition. Besides, because most refugee families in the neighbourhood live in large numbers, no matter how well their home is cleaned, to keep it clean is a difficult task. Therefore, we may argue that the local women's perception of cleanliness may have both economic and cultural dimensions. For example, Ele's household used to consist of eighteen people until her daughter, Doha and her family rented a separate flat and left home. After that, the number of people living in Ele's three-room flat dropped to thirteen.

Because of this general perception among the local women about the dirtiness and smelliness of the refugees' flats, they approach very suspiciously to the traditional food offered by the refugee women. On the other hand, offering food to their neighbours is an important part of the Iraqi women's culture, and they want to sustain this traditional practice in their new environment. For example, based on my observations, there are almost no local women in Kadife Street who has not been offered Iraqi bread made by their Iraqi neighbours. It is often the case that the doors

of the locals sharing the same apartment with the Iraqi families are knocked on by their Iraqi neighbours to offer their traditional Iraqi bread as a friendship symbol. The first real contact between the local women and refugee women is often built by means of this traditional bread. This practice gives a chance to Iraqi women not only to build a first real contact with their local neighbours, but also to show off their skills in the kitchen to their local neighbours. However, while some accept it, others send it back to the Iraqi families for several reasons. If the local women accept the bread, it is highly likely that there will be some follow-up food exchanges, which will bring verbal exchange alongside.

In my interviews with the local women, some say that they accept the Iraqi women's bread and like it, and give something back to them on the following days. In such positive cases where the food is successfully exchanged, they report that the contact between two parties is increasingly sustained. However, some of the local women say that because they think the Iraqi families are already crowded and poor, and because they feel pity for their economic condition, they send the bread back to them. Some say that when they recognise that it is the refugees knocking on their door, they prefer not to open it due to their lack of trust to refugees. Some say that because the refugees in the neighbourhood are dirty and their homes are smelly, they either do not accept it or throw it away after receiving it. For example, in my interview with Naciye, first, she says that because she cannot be sure about the hygiene of the person making the bread and of her kitchen, she cannot dare to eat it. She also implies that regardless of the material conditions of their homes, to drink water in refugees' home even causes nausea for her. The extract is given below:

Extract 7.26

634 “ekmekte ne var? suyla mayayla yoğurmuş- bi hamur (.) ama onun eli nasıldı? tırnağı nasıldı?
635 ayağı nasıldı? yattığı yer nasıldı? ortam nasıldı? insanın içi almıyo Hasret- ben yemek değil ya su
636 bilene içmem orda- anladın mı?”

656 “what is inside bread? she kneads it with water and yeast- just dough (.) but how was her hand?
657 how was her nail? how was her foot? how was the place she slept? how was the setting? your
658 inside does not accept it Hasret- let alone food I don’t even drink water there- do you get me?”

Naciye, Interview- December 2017

Here, Naciye acknowledges that different from other home-made meals, bread has basic ingredients such as flour, water and yeast. Even if it does not have any ingredients she is not familiar with, because she thinks refugees are dirty, she says that she does not even drink water at their home. Similar to many other local women, Naciye has never visited her refugee neighbours, and her perception of dirtiness of their home is largely based on her presupposition. In Extract 7.26, even if she seems to ask questions measuring the hygiene of the refugees and their home, one can infer that these are rhetorical questions because at the end of her sentence, she declares her absolute position by saying that “*su bilene içmem orda*” in line 636 (“I cannot even drink water there”, line 658) while *orda* (there) does not refer to any specific place or person. In other words, without giving a specific reference to a real person or a physical space, Naciye positions herself against refugees in general, and states that under no circumstances would she eat or drink their offerings. As Scheibman (2007) discusses, the way she uses generalisations without giving a specific reference to a person, a space, time or an event may indeed be a tool to reinforce her position and strengthen her claim. In the following extract, even if Sevda takes up a similar position with Naciye, different from Naciye, she refers to her specific neighbours, and talk about them without discussing in general about refugees and dirtiness:

Extract 7.27

637 Hasret: getirdiler mi hiç? yemek dediydin heralde demi?
638 Sevda: getirdiler getirdiler- ha tamam alıyosun ama direkmen çöpe
639 Hasret: niye şey yapmıyosun?
640 Sevda: yincek gibi değil
641 Hasret: sebep?
642 Sevda: çünkü yaşam standartları çok pis o kadar pis ki yani Allah’ın gücüne gitmesin tamam
643 onlar da Müslümanlar (.) onlar da bi can taşıyo ama yencek gibi değil- ben sana videoya

644 çekip de bi kameraya alsam- yani ev kirli olduğu için yemeyi de için almıyo- içim
645 almıyo (...) niye çocuklarımız da istemiyo Hasret? (.) komşumun kızı var bunun kadar
646 bugün annesi demiş ki bak şey getirdi İranlılar pisküvüt getirdi- ıgğğ demiş bak çocuk
647 daha birinci sınıfa gitmiyo (.) niye bu çocuk bunu diyo?

659 *Hasret: have they ever brought you food? you said something like food?*
660 *Sevda: they brought they brought- okay you accept it but automatically to the garbage*
661 *Hasret: why don't you eat?*
662 *Sevda: it is not edible*
663 *Hasret: the reason?*
664 *Sevda: because their life standards are so dirty so dirty so dirty I hope this doesn't offend Allah*
665 *okay they are also Muslim (.) they also carry a spirit but it is not something you can eat-*
666 *I wish I could video-record it for you- I mean because their home is dirty your inside*
667 *does not accept it- my inside does not accept it (...) why don't our kids want either*
668 *Hasret?(.) our neighbour has a daughter just like her today she said to her mum look*
669 *the Iraqis brought biscuits- she said ughh look she is still a small child not even a first*
670 *grader (.) why does this kid say this?*

Local women's group interview- January 2018

Here, Sevda says that even if she accepts the food offerings of her refugee neighbours, it directly goes to waste no matter what the food is due to the poor hygiene and poor living conditions she has observed in her neighbours' home (line 642/664). I have observed that there are many other local women throwing Iraqi bread away after they receive it, and I have seen many times Iraqi bread put near or inside the garbages of Kadife Street during the year. It seems that because the local women do not openly tell their Iraqi neighbours that they do not eat their bread, the Iraqi women continue bringing them. Melike who listens to this conversation between Sevda and me challenges Sevda for throwing away the food by saying that “*olur mu aldın mıydı çöpe koydun muydu onun bile sorgusu var nasıl vercen?*” (“no way when you accept it and throw it away it has also interrogation how are you gonna pass it?”). Different from Sevda, Melike says that because she does not eat her refugee neighbours' food offerings, she prefers to send them back rather than accepting and then mistreating the food. Although to reject a food offering brought to her sounds quite offensive, by invoking the religious discourse, Melike argues that not accepting the food one will not eat is the right thing to do, and in this way, she justifies her rejection.

In her interview account, to strengthen her claim, Sevda adds that the local women's kids disgust the food offered by the refugee women, and do not want to eat them (lines 645/667 and 646/668). I assume that Sevda means even the kids known to have less prejudice towards people, and therefore, being more objective, reject eating food offered by their refugee neighbours. However, when we consider the children of Kadife Street who reject playing a game with non-Turkish kids, and bully them just because they are members of different social groups, we can infer that they can also develop certain negative attitudes towards certain groups no matter at what age they are. This obviously stems from their parents who warn them to be more cautious about interacting with Syrian kids in the park and accepting their food offerings. Therefore, in Sevda's example, it is highly likely that the kids are affected by the opinions of their families and neighbours, and show such a negative reaction even to a store-bought biscuit.

Based on my observations, domestic hygiene is a well-established womanhood parameter in Kadife Street. Commonly accepted proposition among the local women is that the more you clean your home, the better woman you are. Therefore, hygiene is a way for a woman to demonstrate her skill. One can even notice the sensitivity of the local women to hygiene from the way they describe people with adjectives associated with hygiene and cleaning such as *kirli*, *pis*, *pırlı pırlı*, *temiz* ("dirty, filthy, spick and span, clean"). The way they define people with hygiene terms arguably shows local women's cleaning-centric understanding towards not only objects but also people. However, while evaluating the sensitivity of the refugee women concerning hygiene, the local women tend to equate poor hygiene with refugeeeness by stereotyping refugees as dirty and smelly people. Because Ele, the Iraqi woman, assumedly understood the sensitivity of the local

women to hygiene, I notice that, in the face-to-face gatherings with the locals, she puts an extra effort to prove that she also shows the same level of sensitivity to hygiene by producing utterances such as “*kış gelirdi iki sefer yıkardım {halıyı}- valla Hasibe teyze görürdü valla ben iki sefer yıkadım*” (“when the winter came I washed {the carpet} twice- honestly aunt Hasibe saw it honestly I washed it twice”). In her another talk, she tells the local women that she has made herself sick for the sake of keeping her home clean. The effort she puts into depicting an image of a woman who is ready to sacrifice herself for the sake of fulfilling her domestic duties is recognised, and her sensitivity in cleaning is appreciated by the local women. To sustain such an image, Ele often helps her neighbours whenever she sees them outside cleaning carpets or beating wools. In one of the gatherings, her having offered help to one of the local women’s house cleaning becomes the focus of the conversation, and she proudly explains to the other local women that she helped her Turkish neighbour in cleaning. However, the conversation does not unfold as Ele desires because the theme is quickly shifted by the local woman, İsmınur from Ele to the issue of refugee women and hygiene. Exctrct 7.28 clearly shows that no matter how hard Ele tries to make herself visible as an individual by proving her domestic skill conventionally associated with womanhood, her refugee identity is made relevant, and larger discourses associated with refugeeeness is invoked; as a result, to a large extent, the state of refugeeeness overshadows her other identity claims:

Extract 7.28

- 648 İsmınur: geçenlerde bir tanesi {mülteci bir kadın}- yok yok nerde yıkatmaya verecek? size
649 temizliğe gelebiliriz demiş biri- sen kendini temizle demiş {yerli kadın da} {gülerek}
650 Hasibe: kim onu diyen gi?
651 İsmınur: kadının biri diyo ki bi tanesi temizliğe gelebiliriz size temizlik yapmaya demiş =
652 Pamuk: = vaaa senin bunlar temizlik yapacak?
653 İsmınur: ahah teyze gibi (.)
654 Hasibe: amma bu yapar {Ele’yi işaret ederek}
655 Pamuk: bu yapıyo
656 İsmınur: o çok temiz canım
657 Zülviye: adam var ya televizyonda biri demiş ki dünyada en temiz kadın Türk kadınlarıymış

658 Ele: valla ben kış gelirdi çıkana kadar halı yıkardım (.)
 659 İsmınur: sen kendi evini temizle demiş (.) kendini {gülerek}
 660 Hasibe: İlyas ağam öldüğünde baş sağlığına geldi- bu vardı şey vardı- ben de yapabilir miyim?
 661 niye yapmıyon ki dedim elin var ayağın var süpürgeyi de sen al sil {Ele'yi kastederek}
 662 İsmınur: oh {gülüşmeler}- bak görüyo? sana demiş (.) temizlik mi yapmışsın yardım mı
 663 etmişsin?
 664 Ele: ha ha geldim yardım eyledim özüne evet Hasibe abla didim kalkım ben ne oturacam ben
 665 de yapım- yardım ettim özüne
 666 İsmınur: sizden bi tanesi demiş ki orda böyle oturuyolarmış
 667 Ele: heh
 668 İsmınur: temizliğinizi yapalım parasıyla temizliğe geliyom demiş- bi kadının biri- o da demiş ki
 669 önce kendini temizle- bizimkilerden biri de- kimise (.)

671 *İsmınur: recently one of them- no no how can she get it washed?- she {a refugee woman} said*
 672 *she can do cleaning- she {a local women} said first go and clean yourself {laughs}*
 673 *Hasibe: who said it?*
 674 *İsmınur: one of the women says that we can come to clean your home to do cleaning =*
 675 *Pamuk: = ohh no these ones will do cleaning?*
 676 *İsmınur: hahaha like this aunt (.)*
 677 *Hasibe: but she can do {she points at Ele}*
 678 *Pamuk: this does*
 679 *İsmınur: she is very clean yeah*
 680 *Zülviye: a guy someone on TV said that the cleanest woman on earth are Turkish women*
 681 *Ele: honestly until winter is over I wash carpets (.)*
 682 *İsmınur: she told her to clean her own home (.) herself {by laughing}*
 683 *Hasibe: when my brother İlyas died she {Ele} came to express her condolences- she was here*
 684 *someone else- can I clean it as well? I said why not you have hands and feet take the*
 685 *broom and clean*
 686 *İsmınur: oh {laughs}- look see? she said it to you (.) did you do cleaning to help her?*
 687 *Ele: yeah yeah I came I helped her yes I said sister Hasibe I will stand up why sitting? I will*
 688 *also do cleaning- I helped her*
 689 *İsmınur: one of you said that they were sitting like this*
 690 *Ele: yeah*
 691 *İsmınur: we can do your cleaning in return for money she says she does cleaning- one woman-*
 692 *she said first clean yourself- she is one of us- whoever (.)*

Women's random gathering- September 2017

This dialogue takes place shortly after Hasibe has criticised her Iraqi neighbour for washing her rug improperly as while she was folding it, muddy water was leaking from the rug. While this is criticised by the local women, Ele repeats how many times she has washed her rug outside even in the cold days of the winter. Following this conversation, İsmınur starts narrating a dialogue between a refugee and a local woman. In this indirectly reported dialogue, the refugee character wants to offer a cleaning service to a local woman, but the local woman rejects it by telling her to start cleaning from her own personal hygiene. İsmınur narrates this event three times during this one-minute extract, and uses this story to strengthen the equation between

refugee women and poor hygiene. Her reporting this event which denigrates refugee women without criticising the Turkish female character in the story indirectly shows that İsmînur does not think in a different way from the local woman in the story. By aligning with the local character in the narrated story, Pamuk shows her reaction to the refugee woman's nonsense offer as, from her perspective, the words, 'refugee' and 'hygiene' cannot get together (line 652/675). Hasibe supposedly thinks that this generalised attitude towards refugee women is unfair to Ele, and articulates her opinion about Ele (line 654/677). Both İsmînur and Pamuk take a step back, and co-construct a consensual opinion with Hasibe about Ele's hygiene care (lines 655/678 and 656/679).

However, at this moment, with ethnocentric sentiments, Zülviye challenges the stance jointly produced by the other three local women. Referring to a TV programme she watched, she argues that the cleanest women on earth are Turkish women (line 657/680). By shifting the topic of the conversation from Ele to Turkish women, Zülviye supposedly attempts to take the attention off of Ele. However, as the other three women give Ele a chance to take the floor by addressing her skill in cleaning, Ele wants to enhance her self-image by re-explaining the women the effort she made to clean her rugs even in the winter (line 658/681). Because Ele helped Hasibe clean her home, Hasibe supposedly feels indebted to Ele; therefore, she does not want to leave Ele alone in this conversation, and announces the other women that Ele helped her clean her home (lines 660/683 and 661/684). In this way, Hasibe acts as a local guarantor of Ele's skill in hygiene. As a result, thanks to the previous investment Ele made in her neighbours by helping them when they are in need, she stands out in this conversation, and achieves to gain a special place among the other refugee women in Kadife Street. However, this does not last long as İsmînur starts

narrating the same dialogue which she narrated at the beginning about the refugee and local woman (line 666/689).

The utterance made by İsmınur which is, “*sizden bir tanesi*” in line 666 (“one of you”, line 689), demonstrates that Ele is still primarily recognised with her refugee status let alone as a Turkmen or simply as a woman. Whether the person who is referred to in this conversation with “*sizden bir tanesi*” is Iraqi or Afghan is not known even by the speaker herself. What İsmınur means with “*sizden bir tanesi*” is one of the refugee women as the refugees in the neighbourhood are often conceptualised as one homogeneous group. However, for Ele, not surprisingly, there is a huge difference between her own Iraqi Turkmen community and the others.

To conclude, the extracts presented in this section show that, as the women of the patriarchal system, domestic space, in which one of the forms of womanly expertise is developed, is seen as the main quarter by the both refugee and local women. Because they accept that their primary responsibility is to perform the domestic tasks at home, they either attempt to take pride in their success in cleaning or criticise other women for their poor performance in domestic tasks. While the refugee women want to demonstrate their skills as devoted and hardworking housewives to the local women through food offerings, the local women challenge the achievement of the refugee women in kitchen by rejecting to eat their food offerings or throwing them away. While the local women often rationalise their rejection of food offerings with refugee women’s failure for fulfilling domestic tasks, they position the refugee women as inferior to them concerning hygiene, and do not see the refugee women’s food offerings “worth eating”. Even if the Iraqi woman, Ele, lays claim to the devoted housewife status by challenging the imposed equation between refugeeeness and poor hygiene, despite her previous investment and

discursive moves, her refugee identity is made relevant to the conversation about hygiene. In this way, her domesticity is questioned by being positioned along with other refugee women. As a result, this section has shown us that the women continue reproducing patriarchal relations by sustaining gender division of labour, keep each other responsible for poor hygiene, and judge each other accordingly.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

This dissertation explored the construction of stances and identities in face-to-face interactions between the local women and refugee women, and attempted to identify the ideological linkages between the constructed stances and existing social structures. The main questions of this doctoral project were formulated as follows: “How are the stances constructed and identity categories created in face-to-face conversations between the local women and refugee women? How does this challenge or fit into macro level discourses in this context?”. Following the preliminary analysis of the collected data, two specific sets of questions organically emerged from the data, and they were formulated as follows:

1. What stances are constructed, and which identity categories are invoked in relation to monoglot language ideology? How does this challenge or fit into the macro level sociopolitical context?
2. What stances are constructed, and which identity categories are invoked in relation to womanhood? How does this challenge or fit into the hegemonic understanding of womanhood in this context?

In order to answer these questions, in the analytical chapters, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, I presented a total of 56 extracts which were taken from the spontaneous interaction data and the participants’ interview accounts, and discussed the construction of stances towards certain objects. Sometimes the object of stance became the ethnic, linguistic and religious identities, and sometimes the everyday objects such as pants, socks and makeup products. By situating these objects into certain ideological frames of reference, I attempted to show how their meanings were

partly co-constructed by engaging in conversation and partly reproduced through shared imaginations and ideological references.

In this chapter, before engaging in a theoretical discussion over the findings in Chapter 9, I will revisit the important parts of the dissertation by providing the summaries of each analytical chapter respectively.

8.1 Construction of monoglossic stances: Summary

In Chapter 6, I investigated the monoglossic stances constructed by the local women towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identities. The data revealed that the local women constructed a sceptical stance towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's authenticity in Turkishness, and often preferred to position them as Arabs. For example, in Extract 6.4, by idealising what a Turkmen look like around certain essentialised traits, both Naciye and Melike implied that the Iraqi Turkmen women did not meet the qualifications to be a Turk or a Turkmen, and presented them as culturally backward by invoking negative stereotypes attributed to Arabs in Turkish society. Referring to a programme they watched on TV, they both argued that they were sure about the Turkmen identity of the people they watched on TV. However, despite their first-hand experience with the Iraqi Turkmen women in face-to-face encounters, both Naciye and Melike rejected recognising the Iraqi women as Turkmens. To recapitulate, the local women positioned the Iraqi Turkmen women as Arabs, and insisted on addressing them as Arabs or Syrians interchangeably. For this reason, every time the Iraqi women spoke in Turkish in the gatherings, the local women expressed their surprise to hear them speaking in Turkish, as Turkish, for them, is the language which belongs to Turks. Although the Iraqi Turkmen women reminded the local women of their Turkish origin, it was often disregarded, and their

speaking Turkish was appreciated by the local women, as they thought that the Iraqi Turkmen women learned Turkish after they had moved here. Because from a monoglossic perspective the local women tended to equate national identity with linguistic identity, they positioned themselves as the legitimate owners of the Turkish language, and indirectly claimed ownership over Turkish. Apart from being an official member of the Iraqi nation and not fitting into the imagined Turkishness, because the Iraqi Turkmen women are Arabic-Turkish bilinguals, from a monoglossic logic, bilingualism itself casted a shadow on the Iraqi Turkmen women's authenticity in Turkishness. As a result, the data revealed that the Iraqi Turkmen women were accepted neither as a part of the imagined Turkish ethnic community nor speech community. I argued that this was in line with the hegemonic nation-state ideology which had a deep effect on fixing identities and concepts to certain top-down monolithic qualities. Therefore, in Chapter 6, I suggested that the local women reproduced nationalist ideology by favouring partnership based on nationalism.

While the local women positioned the Iraqi Turkmen women as Arabs for not fitting into the imagined Turkishness, and accepted them as outsiders by taking nationalism as their norm of reference, the data showed that the Iraqi women contested the way local women positioned them by rejecting the imposed Arabic identity and invoking their Turkish origin in the face-to-face conversations. For example, Ele emphasised that they used to live in a Turkmen-only city, and that her ancestors had come from Anatolia. She also mentioned that they only spoke Turkmen at home, and her small children spoke only Turkmen. By constructing a more assertive stance, another Iraqi woman, Kadime also rejected the imposed foreign identity, and questioned the level of Turkishness of the local women by

reversing the local women's argument about authenticity. From a similar monoglossic logic, the Iraqi Turkmen women, in general, situated the way they talked Turkish in a more superior and purer position due to its resemblance to the original Turkish, which is for them the Ottoman Turkish, and negatively evaluated Turkey-Turkish by positioning it as Westernised and degenerated. In section 6.2, I interpreted these examples as the Iraqi women's effort to capitalise on the shared ethnic and linguistic identities in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the local women and to claim a special place among the other refugee groups as Turkmens. These examples also suggest that the Iraqi Turkmen women adopted the same essentialist frame of reference with the local women while attempting to prove their Turkishness.

While the Iraqi Turkmen women claimed membership to shared ethnic and linguistic identities and emphasised their shared root with the locals arguably in order to gain recognition and to challenge the imposed foreign identity, time to time, they positioned themselves as foreigners by acknowledging their status-less position in the country. This shift from perceiving themselves as historical owners of the country as Muslim Turkmens whose ancestors came from an Anatolian town to the status-less foreigners occurred when they narrated events based on their encounters with gatekeepers. This shift in the Iraqi Turkmen women's self-positioning showed that they were well aware that the ethnic and linguistic capitals they held may be treated as useless capitals for having lack of legal recognition in Turkey. In such cases, I interpreted that Turkishness referred to a national identity rather than an ethnic label, and foreignness was related to not having a legally recognised status in Turkey, in other words, not having a national identity card.

In line with the nation-state ideology, the data also revealed that the local participants, generally speaking, evaluated the use of languages other than Turkish in public spaces negatively, and aligned with the prevalent language ideology in Turkey which has promoted monolingualism as a state ideology since its foundation. In section 6.3, I discussed Turkish-only policies implemented in the early Republican era, and in this way, attempted to build an ideological linkage between the state ideology and the local women's constructed stances towards increasing multilingualism in their neighbourhood. The data showed that the local women tended to attach an ideological meaning to the use of non-Turkish languages, and interpreted non-Turkish languages as a threat to their well-being. For example, while the local woman, Zülviye, interpreted the use of Arabic by the refugees in the neighbourhood as a sign of their refusal to learn Turkish, Naciye interpreted this as a symbolic resistance against the authority of Turks in the country. Similarly, Melike claimed that the refugees used Arabic in public spaces on purpose to show their otherness. Referring to her Iraqi Turkmen neighbour who switched between Turkish and Arabic in her conversation with her daughter, Aynur criticised their code-switching practices, and reported how vulgar her neighbour sounded when she spoke in Arabic. Because majority of the refugees residing in the neighbourhood come from Arabic speaking countries, in these examples, the stance object of the local women became the Arabic language, and speaking Arabic was politicised by the local women.

On the other hand, as opposed to the findings presented in section 6.3, the data revealed that the level of desirability of Arabic could totally change when Islam was taken as the frame of reference by the local women rather than the Turkish nationalism, and this resulted in the construction of shifting stances towards Arabic

depending on the context it was used. Therefore, in section 6.4, I discussed the important role the Arabic language played in the lives of the local women, and its utilisation on a daily basis as a tool to perform their religious practices. I inferred that the local women attached a different symbolic meaning to Arabic in a religious frame, and quoted the local women's statements addressing the privileged position of Arabic among the other world languages. For example, while Melike described Arabic as a heavenly language which all Muslims would use in their second lives, another local woman, Zehra explained her respect to Arabic with an emotional reaction she showed to a piece of paper in Arabic thrown on the ground. It was also due to the prestige of the Arabic language in a religious frame that the Iraqi Turkmen women participating in the local women's gatherings, could capitalise on their skills in Arabic, gain recognition, and in this way, they were positioned in a different light. By comparing the findings of section 6.4 with the previous section, I explained how Arabic could be accepted both as a holy language and an object of hatred. I concluded that when religious discourse was taken as the norm of reference, Arabic was positioned as a desirable language, and when nationalism was invoked, Arabic could turn into an undesirable language. As a result, this paradoxical situation emerging from the data showed that religious and nation-state discourses could conflict with each other, and depending on the identity invoked by the women, two contradicting stances could be constructed towards the same stance object.

In section 6.5, I extended the discussion I held around the reproduction of nation-state ideology by means of the monoglossic stances to include the Iraqi Turkmen women's refugee identity. The data revealed that the rejection and misrecognition of the Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identities were related to hegemonic refugee discourse as much as the nation-state discourse. Because the

Iraqi Turkmen women were primarily recognised as refugees by the local women, the partnership based on shared ethnic and linguistic identities arguably turned into useless capitals due to the semantic loadedness of the state of refugeeness. For example, the data showed that all the refugees in the neighbourhood were positioned within the same category as if they were homogeneous masses, and this resulted in the erasure of the ethnic and linguistic diversity among them. For example, Cebire constructed a neutral stance on her refugee neighbours' other social affiliations as if the state of refugeeness included all necessary information in itself.

While to be a refugee was generally positioned as a suspicious identity, the local women such as Gelin and Pakize equated refugee identity with terrorism. While such marginalisation and criminalisation of refugees reiterated itself across the local women, because the word *mülteci* (refugee) was a relatively new word for the local women, *Suriyeli* (Syrian) as a generic name was largely preferred to address refugees. In other words, the data showed that the word 'refugee' was observed to be replaced by the national label, 'Syrian'. In this way, the term, *Suriyeli* has expanded its semantic meaning and gained brand-new indexical associations which have little to do with its original meaning which refers to a national identity. Besides, the data revealed that in the local women lexicon, to be a Syrian indexed not only the state of refugeeness but also a low social class along with poverty and beggary. While, to be Syrian child was used by Gül to index a neglected and slovenly child image, to be a Syrian was used by Melike to index migration from a rural and underdeveloped place. While in the extracts presented in section 6.5, to be a Syrian was associated with a low-class status by the local women, the national label '*Türkiyeli*' (a person from Turkey) was instrumentalised by the Iraqi Turkmen women as an antonym of *Suriyeli* to index an upward social mobility. For example, the situations such as

moving from an old apartment to a new one, and replacing a traditional old-fashioned coal burning stove with a modern natural gas heater indexed a Turkish identity for the Iraqi Turkmen women because Turkishness, in such cases, was associated with climbing the social ladder.

As a result, the data in the first analytical chapter showed that by constructing a nationalist position, the local women projected an exclusionist stance towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identities, disfavoured their multilingual situation, and disregarded their identity claims. Although the meanings associated with certain identity categories were emergently constructed in discursive interaction to a certain extent as in the case of Syrian and Turkish identities, when the findings presented in Chapter 6 are brought together, it becomes obvious that the Turkish nation-state project has had a deep impact on the way the local women interpreted identities and approached social realities.

8.2 Local construction of womanhood parameters: Summary

In Chapter 7, I discussed the local construction of womanhood parameters, and attempted to reveal the local meanings associated with womanhood in this specific context by exploring the local and Iraqi Turkmen women's stance displays towards each other's social practices. First, I investigated the intersection of womanhood and religious identity, and discussed the role of religion in the Iraqi and Turkish women's lives. In section 7.1, I argued that the participants' commitment to the reproduction of religious norms could be partially explained by, in a Goffmanian sense, their instrumental motivations such as to gain respect and a positive self-image in their community while I also referred to Bourdieu's (1991) concept of habitus to explain their investment in religious and moral norms. Because the women of Kadife Street,

in general, adhere strictly to conservative values and lifestyle, I demonstrated the important role religious knowledge played in gaining respect, popularity and even power among Kadife Street women. In the same vein, I showed that, thanks to their skills in reading and understanding the Quran, the Iraqi Turkmen could also increase their legitimacy and power. For example, in Extract 7.2, I explained how Ele managed to take the floor by skilfully capitalising on her knowledge in reading the Quran. The extract revealed that by adopting a critical stance towards the way the local women recited the Quran, Ele managed to position herself as a proper Muslim and the local women as the novice reciters of the Quran.

On the other hand, the data showed that the sense of togetherness and intimacy was built momentarily, as the reciprocal intimacy was not sustained when the frame was changed. The interview accounts of the local women supported this finding, as the refugee identity of the local women was often made relevant by the local women. By invoking the nationalist ideology, in their interview accounts, the local women attempted to underestimate and illegitimise the Iraqi Turkmen women's religious skills and knowledge. For example, by comparing the way the Iraqi Turkmen women recited the Quran with that of Turks, Naciye constructed a nationalist stance towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's Quranic skills. Similarly, by positioning the invited Iraqi Turkmen women in a religiously inferior position, Melike claimed that Turkish Muslims were the most pious ones among other Islamic nations. By positioning herself as the descendant of the Ottoman Empire, Melike further argued that Turks had special skills in reciting the Quran. Intersecting the religious discourse with national discourse, which is in line with today's hegemonic Turkish politics (see Chapter 1), Melike further criticised Ele and Farah in front of the other women by making their sockless feet as the object of her stance. First

referring to the religious discourse, and then carrying the same discussion to a nationalist framework, Melike argued that now they lived in Turkey they had to abide by its norms, and constructed an authoritative position. As a result, the conversational extracts obtained from the refugee and local women's face-to-face gatherings show that with the participation of the Iraqi women, the Quran recitations turned into a power struggle and a legitimation conflict between them in order to prove the superiority of their own groups' conducts. While I interpreted these strategic moves in a Goffmanian sense as a part of a game of one-upmanship between local women and refugee women, I explained the ideological stances the local women constructed towards the Iraqi women's religious identities and conducts as the reproduction of the state ideology which blends Sunni- Islamic conservatism with Turkish nationalism.

While the local women constructed a nationalist stance and disfavoured the Iraqi women's religious conducts, the data revealed that, similar to the local women, Ele and Farah took up an essentialist and nationalist stance towards the local women's religious identity. For example, in their interview accounts, both Ele and Farah adjetified the Turkish identity to index a less pious self. By making the Iraqi women wearing pants as the object of her stance, Ele criticised the Iraqi women, and blamed them emulating Turkish women and choosing freedom and comfort over their faith and custom. Her conversational partner, Farah aligned with Ele's conservative stance even if she was one of the few Iraqi women who wore pants. In this way, both Ele and Farah implied that from an essentialist and a nationalist position, Turkish women were less pious than Iraqi women. As opposed to the previously mentioned indexes of Turkishness which were related to their desire for upward mobility, the Extracts 7.8, 7.9 and 7.10 revealed that Turkishness was used

by the same women as an undesirable identity which they did not want to be associated with. Therefore, in religious contexts, in contrast to their attempts to prove their Turkishness and to diverge themselves from Arabs, the Iraqi Turkmen women preferred to invoke their Iraqi background, and attempted to diverge from Turks, as Turkishness had negative symbolic value in such a frame.

In section 7.2, I investigated the stances constructed around the women's sexuality in order to reveal how parameters concerning womanhood were locally constructed and stances in relation to the societal roles and expectations about femininity were negotiated between the Iraqi and local subjects. I specifically focused on the stories narrated by the local women about the refugee women, as these stories were arguably used by the local women to construct a counter-stance against the refugee women. When these stories were analysed, they were found to be highly speculative. While the local women used indirectly reported speech to narrate them, as they did not know the original narrators, they failed to give a specific reference to the characters of the stories, space and time. While these stories resemble each other structurally, they also have similar contents based on a confrontation between a female refugee and local characters. In these stories, while the refugee women are presented as well-kempt and well-groomed characters with their exaggerated makeup, the local women are presented in a scruffy image. In these stories, the female refugee character arrogantly humiliates the Turkish women for their unattractive and slovenly image. The image depicted by the Turkish narrator for the female refugee character is the image of a deceitful and dangerous foreign woman who will potentially seduce the Turkish women's husbands by using her sexuality and femininity. The image depicted by the Turkish narrators for themselves is the virtuous and dedicated motherhood and wifeness. In the same section, I argued

that this imaginary battle between the refugee and local characters may be the reminiscent of the ‘Natasha discourse’ which is based on the stereotypification of Russian women and their sexuality in the 1990s’ Turkey. I inferred from the data that the imaginary dangerous and seductive woman image seemed to be re-embodied through Syrian women in today’s Turkey.

Another important detail underscored in the local women’s narratives became the female refugee characters’ makeup, and this issue was also raised in section 7.2. The analysis of the data showed that, in the local women’s narratives, the refugee characters often wore makeup, and the local women implicitly or explicitly projected a negative stance towards their makeup. From the local women’s statements concerning the refugee women’s makeup, I inferred that the local women equated makeup with indecency because wearing makeup supposedly contrasted to the normative expectations about the devoted and hardworking image of a woman. For example, while Sevda described the so-called troublemaker and immoral refugee character in her story with her makeup, Melike made Farah’s polished nails as the object of her stance on the Gold Day, and negatively criticised her practice referring to the religious discourse. In the light of these examples, I argued that wearing makeup was symbolised by the local women as an index of comfort and wealth which, the local women thought, they lacked while the refugee women had. This alleged unequal situation was found to be unacceptable by the local women because from their perspective although they were the legitimate owners of the country, they could not find enough energy and enthusiasm to take care of themselves. However, the refugees who were supposed to live in misery could live in comfort and wealth. This alleged comfort of the refugee women raised anger among the local women, and contrasted to the idealised image of a refugee.

In section 7.3, I focused on how the local women constructed a devoted housewife status for themselves by negatively evaluating the refugee women's sensitivity in hygiene. This section showed that, as in the case of the previous examples, the local women sustained the game of one-upmanship with the Iraqi women, this time, over hygiene by criticising the refugee women for not managing household tasks. The interactional data revealed that even though Ele laid claim to the devoted housewife status and put effort into proving her skills and achievement in hygiene in her discursive interaction with the local women, her refugee identity was made relevant to the conversation, and her identity claim was rejected due to the popular equation between refugeeness and poor hygiene. In the same section, I explained how the traditional home-made Iraqi bread was instrumentalised by the Iraqi women in order to build the first contact with the local women and to prove their skills in kitchen. While the local women such as Naciye and Sevda stated in the interviews that after they had accepted the bread, they threw it away because of the refugees' alleged poor living conditions and lack of hygiene at their home, by invoking the religious discourse, Melike said that she sent the bread back to the family, as she did not want to throw it away and to commit a sin. The reaction the local women showed to different food and smell also revealed the local women's intolerance to a slightest change and deviation from what they were used to.

As a result, the final section of Chapter 7 showed how the local and Iraqi women mobilised their domestic skills as their symbolic capital in order to demonstrate their skills in one of the forms of womanly expertise, namely domestic duties. Similar to the previous sections in the same chapter, the data presented in section 7.3 also revealed the prevalence of hegemonic gender ideologies among the local and refugee women, and their maintenance of gender division of labour.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, I will discuss the ideological motivations of the participants in positioning each other into certain social categories, and link their collective stance displays with their ideological agenda through three sub-sections which are regarding the issues of the construction of monoglossic stances, womanhood and refugee identity respectively. In the second section, I will shift the emphasis from reproduction of ideologies through stance displays to the more emergent, dynamic and conflicting aspects of identity construction by discussing emergent indexical associations, indexical changes and shifting values attributed to identities and linguistic resources by the subjects. In the third section, I will critically reflect on the post-structuralist identity theories and the concept of stance by centering the discussion around the micro-macro, in other words, structure-agency debate. By comparing the relevant literature with my doctoral project, in the third section, I aim to show the gap between the findings of this research and the recent conceptualisation of social identities and individuals.

9.1 Monolithic understanding towards social identities

One of the motivations of this research has been to explore how the local women and refugee women negotiate boundaries and social relations in their face-to-face contact. As Noble (2009) suggests, the emphasis of this research is on understanding the dynamic process of reciprocal identification rather than answering whether the refugees are in general accepted or rejected by the locals. While the encounters between the refugee and local women can be called a cross-community confrontation

from a micro scale, one may call these encounters cross-ethnic or cross-national confrontation as well since the locals position the Iraqi Turkmen women primarily as foreigners who are ethnically and nationally non-Turks. While the local and refugee women's getting together thanks to this doctoral project invoked a number of ideological and identity related issues, the focus organically shifted to the way stances were constructed in relation to monoglot language ideology and womanhood, as they became the most distinctive boundaries the local women set against the Iraqi Turkmen women. In line with this, in the analytical chapters, I investigated how monoglot language ideologies were invoked by the women, and then how womanhood was imagined and locally constructed.

The overall findings of this study have simply shown that ideological homogeneity is the underlying ideological discourse behind the way Turkishness and feminine identities are imagined as monolithic categories. Therefore, the vast array of examples presented in this dissertation, from nail polishing to the imagined representation of Turkishness, address that the very same homogenising logic is at work in the participants' evaluation of gender as well as ethnic and linguistic identities. Confirming Billig's (1995) concept of banal nationalism, this dissertation shows that nationalism is reproduced on a daily basis as an everyday phenomenon, penetrates the domestic settings of a group of housewives, and becomes a part of their routine talks. This dissertation, above all, has shown how a social event such as Gold Day are transformed into a political arena by the local women. A very simple everyday objects may be interpreted as index of a specific social identity, and are used to categorise each other. For example, the Iraqi women's not wearing socks on the Gold Day is automatically associated with another sect of Islam, and they are excluded from Sunni Muslimhood due to not wearing socks. Similarly, wearing

makeup is associated with indecency and irresponsibility, and Turkishness is reduced to certain imagined ascriptions. Therefore, the findings reveal that the boundaries of Muslimhood and national brotherhood are arbitrarily drawn. They clearly demonstrate that we cannot promote interaction between refugees and locals through traditional identity categories the boundaries of which are ideologically, ambiguously and arbitrarily defined, and have slippery and vague bases. To this end, this study shows us the necessity that instead of adopting “a selective humanitarianism within which brotherhood and Muslimhood is prioritised over right-based humanitarianism founded on normative values derived from international law” (İçduygu et al., 2017, p. 459), a right-based approach should be promoted. Instead of underlying the shared identities and commonalities between the refugee and local communities, we must promote living together despite our differences.

In this section, while bringing construction of monoglossic stances together with womanhood under the umbrella of “construction of monolithic understanding towards social identities”, the goal will be to address the same homogenising logic. To this end, the general patterns of the process of identity constructions observed in the women’s discursive interaction will be discussed, and the underlying ideological discourses which created the conditions for the observed collective stancetakings and reproduction of hegemonic monoglot and gendered ideologies will be addressed. In this way, I will synthesise how Turkish and feminine identities are imagined by the participants by touching upon each respectively under the same heading with regard to the construction of monolithic understanding towards social identities. In the final subsection, I will offer an alternative explanation to the observed exclusion of the Iraqi women by specifically focusing on their refugee status, but I will still argue that

the very same homogenising logic is at work while the local women construct an essentialised representation of refugees in general.

9.1.1 Reflecting on the reproduction of monoglot ideology

The overall findings of this study have shown that the local women position the Iraqi Turkmen women often through imagination by building their assumptions on ideological discourses rather than their first-hand experience. For example, by aligning with the nationalist discourse, the local women disregard the ethnic and linguistic claims of the Iraqi women although they are ethnically and linguistically in the same demographic category with the local women. While the local women take the national identity as the norm of reference to categorise the Iraqi Turkmen women rather than one-blood patriotism and ethnic absolutism, by presenting their way of living as culturally backward, the local women imply that they do not find the Iraqi Turkmen women qualified enough to be positioned as Turks. Besides, by invoking negative stereotypes attributed to Arabs in Turkish society, the local women also reject the refugee women's Turkmen identity by romanticising Turkmen-ness as well.

Despite the Iraqi Turkmen women's identity claims, the sceptical stance sustained by the local women towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identities across the gatherings show that the local women position the Iraqi Turkmen women mostly through a relatively fixed imagination rather than a shared engagement. In other words, despite their first-hand experience with the Iraqi Turkmen women, by adopting an ideological stance of nationalism, the local women position them outside the imagined community. The exclusion of Iraqi Turkmens who are ethnically Turkish and linguistically speakers of Turkish from the imagined

national community confirm Anderson's (1983) proposition because the categorisation of insider and outsider by the local women is based on an artificial and imagined construction which has little to do with reality. As G. Bauman (1999) puts forward, although ethnic and linguistic ties are relatively more organic identification types than a national tie, which is indeed an artificial invention of modernist political elites, the local women take the dominant nationalist discourse as the norm of reference to determine the Iraqi Turkmen women's level of insiderness.

Besides, the data have shown that no matter how well the Iraqi Turkmen women speak Turkish, they are not seen as the legitimate owners of the Turkish language; therefore, they are persistently excluded from the imagined Turkish speech community as well. In this respect, their speaking Turkish fluently, singing folkloric and religious songs in Turkish and the explicit declaration of their ethnic and linguistic identity have not led to a change in their fixed and essentialised stances. This situation can be seen as the reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1991) theory on legitimacy and symbolic power. Confirming Bourdieu's proposition, this research shows that speaking Turkish in an intelligible way does not automatically function as linguistic capital firstly because the Iraqi Turkmen women do not have legitimate competence in Turkish, in other words, the way they speak is not one of the locally dominant codes, and secondly because, as the speakers of Turkish, they do not have enough authority and power to belong to Turkish speech community and to impose reception on the local women. By looking at these findings, we may argue that even if the sociocultural difficulties the new-comer refugee and migrant people experience are often thought to be related to their lack of linguistic capital, having linguistic capital does not bring automatic recognition to the capital holder. Therefore, this study shows that it would be simplistic to reduce the lack of communication channels

between the long-term residents and newcomers to linguistic capital as the social position of the speaker plays the key role in this equation, and language can only become one dimension of this multifaceted matter. Besides, the data have revealed that what is described as the authentic and prestigious Turkish both by the local and Iraqi Turkmen participants is not the standard Turkish but the Ottoman Turkish. The competition of both parties over the purity and authenticity of Turkish language has revealed that the closer the spoken Turkish is to the Ottoman and Islamic heritage, the more prestigious and authentic it has been perceived. Although none of the participants has the exact information about what Ottoman Turkish is, based on their nostalgic imagination, as opposed to the Standard Turkish which, they think, was largely Europeanised after the foundation of the new nation-state, they position Ottoman Turkish as a more pious and less European language; therefore, as more superior.

While the local women construct a suspicious stance towards the ethnic and linguistic identities of the Iraqi Turkmen women, overall findings have shown that the local women adopt a negative stance towards the use of languages other than Turkish by the refugees in public spaces. By aligning with the ideological stance produced by hegemonic monoglot language ideology in Turkey which has been explained in detail in Chapter 6, the local women evaluate both bilingualism and the use of a non-Turkish languages by refugees in a negative way, and attach an ideological meaning to their use. By politicising the use of Arabic in public spaces, they mostly perceive increasing multilingualism in their city as a threat to their wellbeing, and interpret the use of Arabic in public spaces as a symbolic resistance of refugees against the authority of Turks. As a result, by reproducing the monoglot ideology, which has been largely adopted by the state of Turkey since its foundation,

the local women turn the issue of which code to choose in public spaces into a legitimization conflict, and perceive protecting the values of ‘one nation one language’ ideology as a necessary condition for the wellbeing of society. In other words, the overall tendency of the local women has become that the ideal and desired society should be monolingual and homogeneous. Therefore, they align with homogeneity which “holds monolingualism (and by extension monoculturalism) to be the norm or the desired ideal for a society, and which axiomatically projects this monolingualism-monoculturalism onto individuals, each individual being ‘normally’ monolingual and member of one culture” (Blommaert, 1999, p. 427). By borrowing Wessendorf’s (2010) term, the local subjects’ negative stance displays towards the increasing linguistic diversity may also be read as “panicked multiculturalism” stemming from the sudden demographic change in the neighbourhood. From this perspective, the local women’s linguistic intolerance fuelled by the nostalgic accounts of the past which used to be linguistically and ethnically more homogeneous may be hopefully interpreted as a transitory stage, and this panicked atmosphere may be assumed to bring with itself voluntary or involuntary acceptance of ethnic and linguistic diversity over time although this intolerant atmosphere has the equal possibility of igniting retrograde ideologies of modernism such as monolingualism and homogeneity further.

This whole situation also shows us that, from the state-level perspective, the language and identity policies adopted by the Turkish nation-state has become successful as the monoglossic vision causing this observed linguistic intolerance is largely embedded in the local women’s way of thinking, and has penetrated even in mundane everyday conversations. If we return to the concept of banal nationalism coined by Billig (1995), in line with the argument made by him, this research shows

that nationalism is constantly reproduced even inside private domains of people, and continues to play a key role in identification and interpretation of the social world.

9.1.2 Reflecting on the reproduction of womanhood

Similar to the situation discussed in the previous section on the reproduction of monoglot ideology, persistence of status quo and commitment to dominant ideological norms are also observed in the way womanhood is imagined and idealised among the local women and refugee women. From the very same essentialist and monolithic logic, the findings reveal that while the local women reify what it means to be an authentic insider based on certain ethnic, linguistic and characteristic criteria, they also reify what it means to be an authentic woman. The analyses of the face-to-face interaction between the refugee and local women have revealed that by adopting an authoritative stance justified through religious and patriarchal norms, both the local women and refugee women put effort into upholding traditional gender norms and hierarchies through their discursive practices.

For example, in order to build counter arguments against the refugee women, gendered reproduction of Islamic doctrines through collective stance displays is observed among the local women, and the overall arguments they build against the refugee women imply that the moral responsibility of sustaining societal norms belongs to women. Similar body surveillance is also adopted by the Iraqi Turkmen women as a strategy to repress and exclude disobedient voices within the group. The Iraqi women criticise other Iraqi women wearing pants, and blame their in-group members selling out their collective values and crossing the local women's side which is seen to be less pious. Therefore, the findings have revealed that gendered

reproduction of Islamic doctrines through collective stance displays are used both by the local women and Iraqi women to repress disobedient voices both within their community and across the other female communities. Outliers are attempted to be eliminated through normative and stance saturated talks in order to gather around one voice which is the voice of hegemonic masculine authority. The reason why both the local women and refugee women sustain heteronormative practices and align with the patriarchal order can be best explained with Kandiyoti's (1997) concept of patriarchal bargaining. By performing the expected roles and sustaining the societal order, they may want to construct their individuality, and to make it visible to others. In other words, this way of acting can be a strategy to gain profit from this patriarchal system. Confirming Kandiyoti's arguments, the findings of this research show that it is not only men who benefit from this system. Women can also gain legitimacy and enhance their self-image in society by reproducing hegemonic gender norms and cooperating with the patriarchal system.

As illustrated in the second analytical chapter, by projecting conservative and moral stances, the local women produce moral judgements particularly on the basis of refugee women's womanhood, motherhood and wifehood, and narrate fictional sexual stories which have similar themes and characters in order to morally condemn refugee women. The data have revealed that while the local women make the refugee women as the objects of their stances and address their deviation from traditional and moral norms through storytelling, they align themselves with the hegemonic gender ideologies. In their narratives, by focusing especially on the refugee women and their bodily practices such as wearing makeup, the local women position them as sexualised and seductive objects who are threat to their social unity and family life. The findings have shown that the speculative stories which are

narrated over and over again with a similar plot and a repetitive style have validity and reliability in the narrators' story world. As Plummer (1995) puts forward, they are observed to have conservative functions as much as identity related functions. While these stories serve to impose certain moralities and keep the societal order, specifically in relation to gender hierarchies, intact, they are also utilised to make the group division between the refugee and local women more salient by the local women. In other words, while the local women morally criticise refugee women through such stories, based on imagined projections rather than real life experience, they also establish boundaries between 'us' and 'them' through the reification of certain idealised traits which are seen to be the necessity of being a real woman. Through such storytellings, the local women also promote the sense of belonging among each other, and stay united against the possible threat of the imaginary dangerous and seductive foreign woman. Besides, to create such "non-realistic conflicts" (Blokland, 2003) through imaginary stories is arguably used by the local women to justify and normalise their deviationist and discriminatory rhetoric towards other Muslim women who are to be seen 'one of them' based on the ummah understanding in Islam. It seems that although both parties are practicing Muslims who are committed to Islamic norms, by arguing that the refugee women violate the religious morals, the local women can escape from feeling any guilt from the condemnation and discrimination of refugee women because adopting this perspective automatically implies that they deserve such exclusion.

As a result, the collective stance displays of the local women towards the refugee women are in line with the broader societal order. Because their stance saturated talks are highly politicised and authoritative, they are constrained by normative and taken-for-granted assumptions, which potentially leads to having lack

of creativity and heterogeneity in their discursive interaction. If we assume an imaginary continuum between the reproduction and recreation of social truths, the local women can be argued to be near the reproduction end of the continuum as there seems to be a strong alignment between the subjects and societal values anchored in religious and patriarchal authorities. Due to the overall ideological coherence of their actions which do not contrast with the societal norms, at this point, it might be useful to return to Bourdieu's concept of habitus. The situation attempted to be explained in this section may be read as the embodiment of social structures through habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) and the daily reproduction of the monolithic norms in relation to language, ethnicity and womanhood. It might then be argued that as opposed to the postmodern depiction of the contemporary globalising world as more individualistic due to the weakened communal ties, in the case of this research, we see that people still sustain their commitment to monoglot, religious and patriarchal norms, and such hegemonic discourses are still being reproduced at an interactional level as if they were part of the natural order.

9.1.3 An alternative explanation: The stigma of refugeeeness

In this section, I will complement the arguments I have built in the previous sections on marginalisation and exclusion of the refugee women by the local women. To do this, I will extend the discussion I held on gender and nationalism to include refugee identity. It is evident that different from the other types of migratory movements, there are many more obstacles that make forced migration more challenging and painful ranging from the ambiguity in the legal status of both in-camp and off-camp refugees to the dramatic shift they experience in their socioeconomic status. For example, in Turkey, there are recently published studies (e.g., Erdoğan, 2014; Kahya,

2014) showing that refugees experience persistent structural and interpersonal discrimination nearly in all areas of their social and personal lives. It is often reported that in most neighbourhoods where refugees live they face severe social disapproval and exclusion (Biner and Soykan, 2016). Therefore, it may be the case that the local communities in some cases do not even give refugees a chance to fail by not letting them participate in social life. As Diken (2004) argues, the state of ‘refugeeness’ potentially turns the lives of an individual into a “bare life” (p. 89) by making them exempted from any types of belonging and identity. Even if the other identities a refugee has such as his or her social class and gender can still play an important role in his or her degree of recognition, the reality of being a refugee may overshadow these non-refugee identities. In other words, even if social actors can situationally challenge the stereotypes associated with refugeehood by minimising or maximising the weighing of refugee identity, as Goffman (1956) addresses, they cannot re-create new cultural meanings and values at that moment given for being a refugee which is very deeply and ideologically rooted in society.

Therefore, based on Goffman’s (1963) theory of stigma, I suggest that refugees in some communities may possess a stigma which contaminates all its members. Similar to the definition of the tribal stigma in Goffman’s work, the whole refugee community in one city or neighbourhood may be disqualified from the social acceptance due to their refugee identity while the severity of stigma felt by a refugee may change depending on other social identities. For example, being a gay Syrian refugee or a Christian refugee in a Turkish town may multiply the stigma felt by an individual. On the other hand, being a middle-class well-educated refugee may decrease the severity of stigma while she or he is still likely to be de-classed. Although there is always a place for resistance and space for exerting agency as

Giddens (1991) and Block (2013) address, based on my field experience, I would still argue that to develop certain networks and strategic tools over time in order to resist the possible discriminatory practices is not something most refugees have achieved so far in the neighbourhood. For example, as discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, despite the ethnic and linguistic diversity among refugee communities in Kadife Street, to be a refugee is reduced to be nationally Syrian and ethnolinguistically an Arab. This kind of prototypification and labelling practice may be read as an outcome of the local women's indifference towards refugees' individuality. While we may argue that the same homogenising logic is at work, as we have seen in the last two sub-sections, their indifference and tendency to label different refugee communities with one single label may be due to the ideological position the locals take up towards refugees in general. In other words, because the local women perceive the existence of the refugees in their neighbourhood as a political and national matter rather than a humanitarian matter, they tend to politicise this matter and to see refugees as a threat to their wellbeing. Therefore, I argue that the local women still experience difficulty in personalising the Iraqi Turkmen women who are invited to their Gold Days despite their face-to-face contact during the year.

As a result, the exclusion experienced by the Iraqi Turkmens may stem from their refugee identity, and be explained by 'stigma' the whole refugee communities in the neighbourhood including the Syrians, Afghans, Iranians and Iraqis arguably possess. It may be the case that the reality of being a refugee overshadows other identities they construct for themselves, and the stigma stemming from their refugee status contaminates all its members. If that is the case, and if they are disqualified from the social acceptance due to their refugee identity, then their shared ethnic and linguistic affiliations with the locals potentially become useless capitals for this

context, and the refugee discourse is situated at the center of the discussion rather than the nationalist and monoglot discourses.

Nevertheless, by bringing nationalist discourse along with the refugee discourse, I argue that to make sense of refugee and migrant debates more holistically, we need to understand all the underlying discourses leading to marginalisation and exclusion of refugees. As the findings of this dissertation suggest, nationalism is one of the key discourses shaping the arguments in relation to refugees. As a result, in line with the findings in the relevant literature (e.g., Mierina and Koroleva, 2015; Bonikowski and DiMaggio, 2016), this study has also shown the close relationship between anti-refugee discourses and increasing support for homogeneity and ethnic nationalism.

9.2 Emerging indexical relations and contradictions

In this section, I will shift the emphasis from the ideological dimensions of identity construction to the more intersubjective and dynamic dimensions of identity building process by discussing the contradictory and contested meaning making and identity building processes in the face-to-face meetings between the refugee women and local women. In other words, if we accept identity construction as a “dual discursive construction” (p. 95) to use G. Bauman’s (1999) term, after having discussed “the conservative re-construction of a reified essence at one moment,” (p. 95) concerning the reproduction of monolithic language ideologies and womanhood, I will shift the focus to “the pathfinding new construction of a processual agency at the next moment.” (p. 95). To be more specific, in this section, I will explore to what extent the previously discussed identities of the participants are stable and coherent, and the values attributed to social resources are emergent and discursively constructed. In the

end, I will argue that as opposed to the consistent image the participants construct at a surface level, the processes of identity construction include a number of contradictory and contested definitions at a deeper and more interpretative level.

The overall findings of this research have shown that no matter how much absolute the participants present themselves and others based on collective identities, when the data are analysed in detail, the practices and definitions assigned to these categories are seen to have loads of contradictions and ambiguities. In other words, different from the way participants reify their identities and others from an essentialist perspective, the discursive analyses of their talks reveal more multi-layered and context-sensitive patterns from the researcher's analytical perspective. Therefore, there exists a gap between what is conceptualised by the participants who tend to self-essentialise themselves and to stereotype other group members by invoking certain ideological principles and the perspective of the analyst of this research which is inclined towards the postmodern principles as discussed in the Chapter 2. According to G. Bauman (1999), in such a situation, a social scientist needs "to understand how they work, why people use them, and what people want to achieve with them" (p. 90) instead of underestimating our participants' interpretations or labelling their inclination as "false ideology". From this point of view, when we investigate the data in detail, despite the strong ideological linkages of the constructed stances with dominant discourses, the positioning practices of both the refugee and local women are seen to be fluid, and the boundaries they construct change depending on their interactional motivations and the contextualisation of the situations.

For example, depending on the frame of reference the subjects invoke at a certain point of an interaction, their interpretation of a situation and the value

attributed to a certain element may change. As discussed earlier, while religious capital can be skilfully mobilised by the Iraqi women to engage in a same activity with the local women and to gain legitimacy in their eyes, when nationalist and gendered discourses are reproduced by the local women along with the religious discourse, its functionality may decrease. The data have revealed that religious nationalism is largely adopted by both the local women and Iraqi Turkmen women, and a similar in-group favouritism is observed in the conversation of both parties. While the Iraqi Turkmen women make their Iraqi identity relevant in a religious frame, and use Turkishness to index a less pious and more European identity, the local women position the Iraqi Turkmens in a religiously inferior place by arguing for the religiously superior position of Turks among other Islamic nations. Therefore, it has been concluded that to be a Muslim does not bring an automatic recognition to the Iraqi women, and sharing the same religious identity may even come at a price for them in certain situations.

It was discussed earlier how religious norms were used by the women to justify the existent gender hierarchies and to sustain traditional moral norms. In such cases in which religious discourse intersects with womanhood, it has been seen that the violation of religious norms by a Muslim woman is subject to more severe criticism as she is seen as an ‘enemy within’ who is believed to give more harm to shared values than a stranger. For example, the reason why Farah receives harsh criticism from the local women on the Gold Days for not wearing socks and polishing her nails is her feminine identity along with her Muslim identity. For this reason, every time Ele and Farah are criticised for their deviant bodily practices from the hegemonic gender roles, Islamic discourse is invoked by the local women as the shared value to justify their criticism. Similarly, when the Iraqi women who wear

pants are criticised by other Iraqi women who still wear their traditional clothes, those wearing pants are positioned as enemies within the Muslim Iraqi female group, and are blamed for Turkification and losing their faith. In both cases, because the women claim belonging to the same identity category, which is Muslimhood, the ones who criticise supposedly argue to have the legitimate right to impose reception on norm breakers and even to stigmatise them.

Another capital which changes its value depending on how the conversation is framed has become the Arabic language. It turns out that depending on the context of use, the prestige of Arabic can totally change, and the speakers can shift their stances towards it. While the Arabic language has the power to make the local women cry and inspire the feeling of euphoria in a religious frame, at a different time with the same group of women within a nationalist frame, to use Arabic may become the source of hatred. Therefore, the findings have shown that the local women's positioning towards Arabic is contradictory and conflicting. For example, while they regard Arabic as the holy language which everybody in heaven will speak as a *lingua franca*, and place Arabic in a privileged position among all other world languages due to its symbolic meaning, the same group of women interpret the use of Arabic in a public space both as an individual and social threat. As exemplified earlier, because the monoglot language ideology is the part of the local women's *habitus* and arguably governs the way they imagine society, in many cases, this "psychological machinery" (Billig, 1996, p. 7) automatically offers monolingualism as the frame of reference. However, in a religious frame, Arabic is iconised by the local women, and the knowledge of Quranic literacy as well as comprehending an Arabic text are interpreted as the icons of being more pious than others. Thus, because the legitimacy of the Arabic language among the local women is not straightforward, and

depends on how its usage is framed, it can act both as a constraint and a resource for the Arabic speaking refugee women.

As a result, the shifting values towards the Arabic language show that because national and religious ideologies construct different systems of values concerning the use of languages, in some cases, they may conflict with each other, and this results in such paradoxical situations. It seems that individuals adopting both of these discourses as the norms of reference to themselves, as in the case of the local women, decide on which identity position they construct for themselves in relation to the context as the context tells them which discourse and the system of values they will invoke, and which identity they will make relevant for themselves. This situation is also related to their interactional motivations as discussed in analytical chapters referring to Goffman's (1967) game metaphor because such skills and capitals are chosen to be mobilised at certain moments of a conversation, and sometimes manipulatively used by both parties to hold the floor and to impress others. Therefore, the findings have revealed that even if the participants tend to self-essentialise themselves and to reify the identities and cultures of others, as Jaffe (2016) suggests, we should see identities as positionings and accumulation of various stances over time. Besides, if the very same thing such as religious or linguistic capital can be a resource to gain legitimacy as well as a constraint, this clearly shows us the constructed nature of social realities and concepts. What makes their analysis complicated here is their layered and conflicting nature stemming from the principle of interdiscursivity to use Bakhtin's (1981) term. Thus, these findings can also be regarded as constituting evidence of this principle which argues that discourse does not exist in isolation, and always intersect with other discourses in different degrees.

While this study has shown that depending on how social and linguistic capitals are contextualised the value attributed to them changes, we have also witnessed the emergence of new indexical associations attributed to the national identifications although, from the participants' perspective, they seem to be highly clear-cut and fixed concepts. For example, this study has shown that the national labels such as 'Syrian' and 'Turkish' point to social class as a result of the second order indexicalisation, to use Silverstein's (1976/1995) term. It has been revealed that both of these labels come to index specific person-types different from their original meanings. The findings have revealed that Turkishness has become an identity which the Iraqi Turkmens claim belonging and have desire to be ascribed so specifically when it is used as an ethnic and class index. However, it has also been used as a labelling tool by the Iraqi Turkmens to exclude and blame each other for value violation specifically in religious issues. While the data have revealed multiple indexicalities of Turkishness such as being a less pious, more European and climbing the social ladder, in some cases, being a Turk is used as an antonym of being Syrian to address a high-class status by the Iraqi women.

While Syrian identity automatically indexes refugee identity, the local women are observed to use it to index a low social class including connotative meanings such as poverty, beggary and opportunism. The examples in the data taken from the local women's interview show that being Syrian, Suriyeli in Turkish, is used as an adjective. There are expressions such as looking like Syrian, acting like Syrian and so on. For example, in the interview, Gül equates being a Syrian child with being neglected and uncared for, and claims that her daughter looks more like Syrian with her neglected appearance rather than the Syrian child who looks more like a Turkish child with her well-kempt appearance. From a similar point of view, in

certain contexts, being a Syrian woman comes to index a low-class, deceitful and dangerous foreign woman who uses her femininity to climb the social ladder. In such contexts in which being Syrian and a woman are collocated, it often includes stigmatisation and marginalisation, and invokes negative stereotypes conventionally attributed to foreign women particularly the Russian women in the Turkish context.

Finally, the findings of this study have also shown that along with the recent indexical change to which being Syrian is exposed, it has the risk of iconisation as people seem to create a collective mental image about being Syrian. This thin line between indexicalisation and iconisation was discussed in Chapter 2 by referring Jaffe (2016) who argues that iconisation is an ideological process which naturalises the relationship between a sign and an object. Therefore, such a transition which would reduce the whole being of a social group to certain fixed negative images is a dangerous ideological process. As Jaffe (2016) discusses, if an indexical relationship between a sign and an object turns into an iconic relationship, then the sign which is used to identify the object are “more fused with their objects than indexes” (p. 1), and this may lead to “erasure” of internal variations within the group to use Irvine and Gal’s (2000) term. To make it more specific, as in the case of being Syrian, attributed qualities for being a certain type of people are essentialised, and come to be seen as the intrinsic feature of being so.

As a result, this study has shown that in line with the social and political forces, new meanings and values emanate, new indexicalities are established, some words expand their indexical field, and some labels undergo iconisation. However, the emerging indexical relations and strategic mobilisation of resources are not here interpreted as totally creative and constructive moves because it is through the reproduction of ideologies that new meanings are generated, the context is adjusted,

and new spaces are potentially opened up for possible changes. While these emerging indexical relations show that discursive reproduction is followed by the slow and subtle process of recreation, it also shows, what seems to be agentic and creative endeavour is also an ideological one because it is embedded in hegemonic patriarchal, religious and nationalist discourses. As Gal (2016) puts forward, this also shows us the “political nature of all sociolinguistic works” (p. 132). Bearing this in mind, in every step of this dissertation, structural and ideological backgrounds of the context where the subjects are situated in have been addressed, and the analyses and discussions of the moments of interaction have been made hand in hand with the investigation of the metapragmatic discourses surrounding the discursive interactions. Although social class as a concept has not been the focus of this project, it is exciting to discover through an investigation of indexical signalings the reflection of the recent societal change on language. While the recently emerging meanings attributed to being Syrian and Turkish should be interpreted as the linguistic evidence of emerging social classes in today’s Turkey, this change is also an indicative of how language is evolving in line with the recent political changes.

9.3 Reflecting on post-structuralist identity theories and stance

As it can be inferred from the research questions, to investigate the construction of identities at an interactional level and to find the ideological linkages between discursive acts and the larger social world have become the main agendas of this doctoral project. While the interactional data are investigated in detail in order to reveal the participants’ stancetaking practices at a local level, these stance displays are then situated in a larger sociocultural field in order to reveal the aligned ideological principles and invoked identity categories. In this way, the analyses have

been made both at an interactional and an ideological level. To investigate the role individual agents play in reproducing, legitimising, challenging and transforming ideologies inevitably raises the issue of the macro-micro, namely the structure and agency debate, and automatically makes it one of the central issues of this chapter. As addressed in Chapter 2, by taking post-structuralism as the norm of reference, the relationship between agency and social structures has been conceptualised as mutually constitutive, and the participants' social practices are interpreted as the products of the interplay between the structure and agency. While the subjects' evaluative actions have been analysed at an individual basis in order to reveal their underlying motivations and strategic moves within a particular speech event, their stances have been embedded in wider social and political dynamics.

As discussed earlier, the way post-structuralism theorises structure and agency has paved the way for agent-centered conception of identities and social realities, and this has resulted in a growing interest in exploring local practices, emergent local communities and individualities rather than societies and identity categories at large scales. For example, Bauman and Briggs (1990) criticise the ahistorical, acontextual and essentialist understanding of the structuralist framework, and advocate processional and subject-centered view of performances in order to grasp social realities in all their complexity. In this way, they attempt to promote a contextually driven and an "agent-centered view of performance" (1990, p. 69) among social scientific works. Similarly, in their individualisation thesis, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001) argue that the social sciences need to develop new conceptual tools as an alternative to collective categories which are used to identify people such as social class and nationality, as they claim that they lost their significance and turn into "zombie concepts" as a result of social changes which

occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. They further argue that along with transition from feudal and industrial society to neoliberal one, individuals have disembedded themselves from traditional collective identities and social norms, and started to imagine themselves not as members of large categories but as individuals who can create their own biographies and construct their idiosyncratic identities irrespective of their assigned identities such as gender, religion, class and nationality. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001) argue that although the recent societal change in Europe has resulted in the creation of self-culture and self-identification which means increasing diversity and plurality, this state of disembeddedness has also brought with itself increasing indeterminacy and ambivalence. Similar arguments are also made by Z. Bauman (2002), and he argues that, in today's consumer society, individuals are set free from political and societal affiliations, and this disembeddedness from families, cultures, societies and traditional identity memberships is fulfilled by consumerist culture and identity by marketing forces.

Bearing all these recent theories on identity construction and the role of structure and agency in mind, in this doctoral project, the analyses have been made at different levels, and these levels have been attempted to be reconciled in the end. The main analytical concept of this project, 'stance', can be seen as one of the products of this agent-centered and contextual trend popularised in various fields of social sciences including sociolinguistics due to its focus on the way individual agents interprets and evaluate objects, people and events by situating the act of stancetaking into a certain interactional context. However, due to the increasing emphasis brought on agency and immediate context by the stance theorists, according to Irvine (2009), the concept of stance may potentially result in prioritising the individualistic, performative and local aspects over structural dynamics and neglecting the larger

societal context. Therefore, referring to the concept of stance, Irvine (2009)

maintains that:

so agent-centered a concept, emphasizing an individual speaker's knowledge, intentions and attitudes explicitly expressed in talk, risks producing a form of methodological individualism, such that the speaker's role in constructing social and linguistic outcomes is taken to be the only, or at least the most crucial, focus of analysis and locus of explanation (p. 54).

Irvine (2009) eventually argues for conducting analyses at multiple analytical levels including both the immediate and larger context. A similar concern is also expressed by Du Bois (2007). In order to reconcile structure with agency, he proposes the stance triangle model, which is discussed in Chapter 2, and aims to link the microanalysis at an interactional level with the macroanalysis of the larger sociocultural field.

For this doctoral project, while stance is chosen as the main analytical concept, to investigate the role the individual agents play in reproducing, legitimising, challenging and transforming ideologies through their acts of stancetaking has been crucial. In order to move the talks beyond the moment of interaction and to ground the work into context by accessing personal histories and collective frames of reference, ethnography was chosen as one of the key components of this sociolinguistic project. Although stance as an analytical concept was instrumentalised to do a microanalysis of interaction and to reveal subtle meanings which may go unnoticed from a macro perspective, if it had not been combined with an ethnographic methodology, it may have resulted in interpreting meaning construction at the level of activity by "attribut(ing) too much explanatory power to individual agency" as Irvine (2009, p.54) suggests.

For example, thanks to the analyses of stance displays during the discursive interaction, it has been revealed how the Iraqi Turkmen woman, Ele, used her

expertise in the Quranic literacy and Arabic language as currencies to capitalise on and as an index of her pious identity. However, through a prolonged and systematic observation of the same context, it has also been noticed that although Ele managed to reframe her relationship from a different angle, and got full alignment from the local women, the authority and power Ele imposed on the local women during the Quran readings could not be sustained when the activity ended. Therefore, it turns out that Ele could only momentarily challenge the imposed refugee identity through the expert stance she constructed, and achieved temporal solidarity based on a shared religion and practice. For example, in the follow-up interviews with the local women, Ele's refugee identity was persistently made relevant. Her individuality was erased as it remained in the shadow of large-scale structural dynamics. Therefore, I was able to conclude that the reciprocal intimacy built momentarily while engaging in a shared religious activity cannot be sustained when the frame is shifted, and such shared practices can only result in the emergence of "brief moments of tight but temporary and ephemeral groupness" (Blommaert, 2017, p. 35). This situation clearly shows that similar to the temporality of the constructed grouping in a social interaction, the lifespan of stancetakings can be momentary. At this point, one can even speculate that the motivation behind the momentary construction of stances may lack intimacy and stem from the "rule of socialisation" to use Simmel's (1950) term (see Chapter 4). To this end, the emerging intimacy in the face-to-face contact between the refugee and local women on the Gold Days can also be explained by this etiquette. That is, it may be that case that because the refugee women were the hosts at the local women's home, the local women chose to ignore certain differences between them, and acted as if they were the same. While Goffman (1956) sees this game-like performance of the rule of socialisation as a part of a "facework", more recent

sociologist, Noble (2009: 51) calls this de facto mutual respect shown in an interaction “pragmatic being-together”.

As it can be inferred from this example, if stance is utilised as an analytical concept to analyse a discursive interaction, stancetakings of the same individuals should be compared across time and events in order to know how representative and habitual the momentarily constructed stance is. To achieve this objective, as in the case of this research, ethnography should be adopted as a methodological framework, and various data collection tools should be combined to be well informed about the trajectory of stance displays. Adopting such a methodological approach is also important to build an ideological linkage between subjects and sociopolitical structures they are embedded in because, as argued above, we cannot think of stance displays in their own right.

Another intellectual agenda of this dissertation in relation to the issue of macro/micro has been to ground the interpretations both in the immediate and larger sociopolitical context, and, in this way, to avoid grouping bulk of people into large categories of nation, culture and society in order. However, as opposed to this intellectual agenda, as the reader may have witnessed, in the interpretations presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, it was inclined to less agentive and more structural conceptualisations by mapping the participants onto certain identity categories because the participants showed a strong tendency to identify themselves with traditional collective identities such gender, religion and nationality, and such labels were frequently used by the participants themselves. For example, the local women consider being Muslim and Turk as the central aspects of their identities, and in their narratives, they often reify what it means to be a Muslim and a Turk based on certain normative assumptions and ready templates. The data show that from the

participants' perspective these collective identities are definable concepts which have clear-cut borders; therefore, they are often instrumentalised to make sense of the world and to position themselves and other people. The participants' observed loyalty to collective identities obviously differs from the contemporary sociological depiction of subjects and society as suggested above.

As discussed in Chapter 2, following the emergence of the social constructivist and post-structuralist theories, essentialist perspectives which aim to define the cores of idealised traditional categories of identities such as gender, ethnicity and class have largely lost their popularity in the social sciences. Today, identities are not often treated as clear-cut stable facts, instead they are conceptualised as situationally motivated and achieved practices which are managed in discourse (e.g., G. Bauman, 1996; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006).

However, different from the proposition put forward by today's identity research which is predominantly the product of the Western academia, this dissertation shows that despite the previously discussed a number of contradictory and contested patterns in meaning making and identity building processes, the participants sustain their loyalty to traditional membership categories, and demonstrate strong ties to their imagined religious and national collectivities and familial and neighbourly relations. For example, as it has already been discussed how Turkish, Muslim and feminine identities were imagined and reproduced in line with the hegemonic understanding by the subjects, and evaluations were made on the basis of the criteria provided by the hegemonic nationalist, religious and patriarchal discourses.

Ideological homogeneity favouring singularity over plurality and romantically conceptualising identities as fixed and ahistorical entities played a significant role in the subjects' positioning practices. As opposed to what Rampton (1997) observed in

London, being in an ambivalent subject position, losing the sense of belonging and loyalty to the traditional identity categories, or being critical about the social system are not accepted as a normal condition, and acting against the collective norms may even come at a price in Kadife Street. Because hegemonic ideologies in society are ingrained in the everyday lives of the subjects, even in a mundane conversation or an encounter with another woman, they may be invoked and reproduced.

On the other hand, we have also seen that although the participants clearly sustained their commitment and loyalty to traditional categories and a traditional lifestyle, they were at the same time involved in the game of one-upmanship and power struggles with each other in order to prove the superiority of their selves. Their displayed strategic calculations which arguably aimed to make their selves more visible can be interpreted as their desire to construct their own personal success stories. Although I am of the opinion that Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2001) individualisation thesis is still remote from the reality of life in Kadife Street, the women of Kadife Street are likely to have been influenced by the narratives of the twenty-first century based on individual success stories and circulated through mass media and consumerist culture. As a result, although we cannot argue that traditional categories are being superseded by the notion of individualisation, by looking at the strategic calculations the participants made and the social resources they mobilised in order to gain power and influence over the others, it may be the case that a social change which will prioritise the construction of individual identities and autobiographies is occurring very subtly and slowly.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I will discuss four important points under three sections. In the first section, I will provide the reader with the overview of this dissertation. In the second section, I will discuss the limitations of this study. While doing this, I will also offer possible solutions to overcome these limitations in future works, and discuss the directions for future research. In the final section, I will reflect on possible social implications of this research, and share my final remarks about the issues raised in this dissertation.

10.1 Overview of the dissertation

This dissertation is organised into 10 Chapters, and, in this section, I will briefly remind the reader of the contents of the previous chapters. Chapter 1 was one of the most comprehensive chapters of this dissertation. First, the personal motivation behind undertaking this doctoral project was explained, and its academic and social significance was addressed. Second, the research questions and motivations of this dissertation were presented. In the same section, the research gap in the forced migration literature was addressed by discussing the general methodological difficulties of working with refugees. It was also reported that this project would be the first research in Turkish sociolinguistics to bring refugees and locals together by adopting a linguistic ethnographic framework. Third, to give the reader some background information about the politics of immigration in Turkey, in Chapter 1, the legal status of refugees in Turkey was explained by referring to the recent regulations and 1951 Geneva Convention signed by Turkey, and the ideological and

political background behind the regulations about forced migration in Turkey was critically dealt with. In the same section, migration of Iraqis to Turkey was summarised in three waves by referring to Daniş and Bayraktar's (2010) classification, and the forced migration of Iraqi Turkmens was specifically explained by giving some additional demographic and sociocultural information about Iraqi Turkmens. In the same chapter, in order to set the ideological scene in Turkey, the sociohistorical and ideological background of the current Turkish politics was also discussed largely around the identity politics of the governing party, AKP, and the increasing conservative trend in Turkey was addressed by referring to the findings of the cross-cultural surveys such as International Social Survey Programme and World Values Survey. In the final two sections of Chapter 1, the key terms were explained in order to establish the terminology, and the plan of the dissertation was shared with the reader.

Chapter 2 consisted of two main parts which aimed to inform the reader about the epistemological and theoretical background of this doctoral project. In the first part, Linguistic Ethnography (LE), which was chosen as the primary methodological approach to the collection and interpretation of the data, was theoretically discussed around the relevant literature. Within the same section, post-structuralism which formed the theoretical basis of LE was discussed with a specific focus on language and discourse, and linguistic and ethnographic foundations of LE were also separately elaborated. In the second half this chapter, the concepts of indexicality and stance were discussed as the theoretical and analytical tools chosen for this dissertation, and the implementation of these concepts in doing identity research was theoretically discussed in detail.

Chapter 3 was devoted to reviewing the key works on construction of nationalist discourse, monolithic language ideologies, migrant identity and womanhood which were the main themes of this dissertation. In the first section, the discursive construction of national identity was discussed referring to the key works in the discourse of nationalism. It was then linked to the construction of monoglot language ideology, and the relevance of nationalism to the discourse of migration was also shown to the reader. In the second section, the sociolinguistic studies critically investigating the role of language in migration were reviewed particularly referring to the issues of legitimacy. In the third section of Chapter 3, the key sociolinguistic works investigating the construction of gendered identities were reviewed, and it was focused on the way womanhood was dealt with in the discourse of migration.

Chapter 4 aimed to inform the reader about the context of this study by giving both objective and subjective information about Kırşehir and Kadife Street. First, the demographic profiles of Kırşehir and Kadife Street were presented, and some information in relation to the legal status of the registered refugees to the city of Kırşehir was shared. Then, in order to situate the research site better before moving onto the analytical chapters, relying on the ethnographic details in the fieldnotes, some observations regarding everyday life in Kadife street and the neighbourly interaction among the women were shared with the reader.

Chapter 5 was designed to inform about the methodological choices and research design of this doctoral project. First, the processes of gaining entry both to the local and Iraqi women's communities were explained, and the main participants were introduced. Then, the data collection tools used to collect the ethnographic data were separately introduced along with the procedures followed to utilise each. In the

following sections, the processes of data transcription, analysis and interpretation were separately explained. After the ethical issues and validity concerns were also discussed, in the final section of the methodology chapter, the impact of the researcher's orientations and positions on the processes of data collection and analysis was critically reflected on specifically referring to the changing power dynamics between the researcher and research subjects.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 were the two analytical chapters of this dissertation, and aimed to explore the two main research questions of this dissertation respectively. In Chapter 6, the monoglossic stances constructed by the local women towards the Iraqi Turkmen women's ethnic and linguistic identities were investigated around the extracts taken from the interview accounts and the recorded spontaneous interaction data between the local and Iraqi women. A special attention was paid to exploring the local women's stances towards the use of non-Turkish languages in public places, and their shifting stances towards Arabic in nationalist and religious discourses. In the same chapter, emerging indexical meanings in relation to the Turkish and Syrian national identities were also investigated. In Chapter 7, the focus was shifted from the construction of monoglossic stances in relation to linguistic and national identities to the local construction of gendered identities and negotiation of roles and expectations specifically about womanhood. Within this scope, the local and Iraqi Turkmen women's stance displays towards each other's social practices, from their wearing and cleaning practices to their religious practices, were explored. First, the intersection of gendered and religious identities was specifically investigated through the extracts taken from the Quran recitation sessions. Then, the intersection of womanhood and sexuality was explored through the stance displays of the local women constructed when they narrated short stories about refugee women.

Finally, the local and Iraqi women's mobilisation of domestic skills as a symbolic capital was investigated. In both of these analytical chapters, Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle model was used as the main tool for the data analysis.

In Chapter 8, the summaries of the two analytical chapters were presented to the reader. In this way, before starting the theoretical discussion about the findings, the key themes and issues which emerged in the data were reminded of. In Chapter 9, it was aimed to critically reflect on the findings presented in the analytical chapters by relating them with the relevant literature discussed earlier in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. It consisted of three main sections. In the first section, it was critically reflected on post-structuralist identity theories with a specific focus on structure and agency debate and the concept of stance. By comparing the relevant literature with the research findings of this dissertation, the gap between the mainstream identity research and the main findings of this research was discussed. In the second section, the ideological aspects of the constructed stances and the underlying discourses leading to marginalisation and exclusion of refugees were addressed by linking the stance displays with social reproduction of dominant ideologies in relation to nationalism, womanhood and refugeeness. In the last section of Chapter 9, emergent, unstable and contradictory aspects of stance displays and emergence of brand-new indexical associations attributed to stance objects were discussed. It was then argued that as opposed to the consistent and absolute image the subjects projected about themselves and others, their processes of identity construction included a number of contradictory and contested definitions at a deeper and interpretative level.

After giving the brief overview of this doctoral project, in next section, I will address the limitations of this study, and discuss how they can be overcome and compensated by future research.

10.2 Limitations of the study and perspectives for future research

Exploring everyday interaction between the local and Iraqi participants and focusing both on the subjective and ideological aspects of the constructed stances have been complex issues. Analysing rich data generated through naturally occurring conversations has been another challenge for this research. Because even a small reality in social life consists of numerous elements which are all interrelated to one another, focusing on some aspects constituting the social reality and ignoring others for the sake of having neat and compact research have been difficult processes, and this situation has brought with itself some limitations. For example, although I have addressed the issues such as nationalism, womanhood, religiosity and the state of refugeeness, I have had to overlook many others. As mentioned earlier, although the issue of social class, which has been organically emerged from the data, deserves further investigation, due to the scope of this dissertation which has focused on the construction of monoglot language ideologies and womanhood in the shadow of forced migration, it has been left incomplete to hopefully become a future research direction. Besides, although the intersection of womanhood with religiosity as well as with nationalism has been demonstrated, there has not been done much critical reflection on their co-occurrence. While the lack of attention to this issue has been mostly stemmed from the intensity and depth of the issues I have had to cover in this dissertation, another reason is due to the absence of male voices in this research. Therefore, it would not possible to argue that it was specifically the female subjects who projected a conservative and nationalist persona due to certain ideological and local discourses they were specifically embedded in.

Another limitation of this study has been my inclination to investigate the research questions mostly from the local women's perspective. Although during one

and a half years I spent in Kadife Street, I invested much more time and energy in socialising with the Iraqi Turkmen women in order to understand their cultures, languages and evaluative frameworks and judgements, in this dissertation, I have reflected more on the local women's interpretation of the situations more than that of the Iraqi Turkmen participants. One of the reasons is that the local women have always been brave enough to criticise, to project their stance displays and to reveal their positions arguably stemming from their secure position in the neighbourhood. Therefore, their conversational turns on the Gold Day and interview accounts have been more stance saturated, and this has led to generating richer data from the local women. Second, because I have spent most of my life living side by side with the local women in Kadife Street, to observe this societal change from their perspective and to understand their reaction to the increasing cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity in the neighbourhood have been more interesting and decipherable. As the reader may have witnessed, the local and refugee women were not equally represented both qualitatively and quantitatively, yet considering the methodological difficulties working with refugees and the lack of such studies directly reaching the voices of refugees by being part of their private lives, I am of the opinion that this study is still an important contribution to forced migration literature as well as Turkish sociolinguistics. Nevertheless, as a future research trajectory, a larger research project which will include researchers with refugee background in addition to a local team can generate richer data. Additionally, my doctoral project has been limited only to adult female subjects and domestic settings. To reach a more satisfactory picture about everyday interaction between locals and refugees, future research projects can be extended to include men, and apart from private settings,

public spaces, schools, workplaces and mosques can be thought as possible research sites to explore interaction between local and refugee communities.

Another limitation of this study is evidently not having video-recordings of the face-to-face gatherings between the local and Iraqi women. As Block (2015) addresses, there has been an increasing interest in language and identity research towards a multimodal approach which goes beyond interpreting only the language data by including non-verbal semiotic details from paralinguistic features to visual elements. However, because videotaping the participants could be too much of an imposition on them particularly because they were all conservative women who would not want to be recorded visually, I had to rely on the audio-recordings and my fieldnotes to interpret the discursive interactions; therefore, visual details such as eye movements, facial expressions, gestures were not included to my data in detail. Besides, as another limitation, because there were always ongoing conversations simultaneously taking place in almost every minute of the audio-recordings, I missed some of the data. Even though I used two recordings, I could not overcome this problem. Technically speaking, the only way to solve this missing data problem in recordings could have been to ask each participant to wear headphones during the whole gatherings. However, this would have brought even bigger limitations to this study by affecting the quality of the data even if it could have increased the quantity.

The final point I will share with the reader is regarding my concern about the gap between the theoretical discussions I have held in this dissertation and the participants' perspectives. As a researcher who have adopted ethnography as the main methodological framework, I have put optimum effort in gaining an emic perspective by grasping the social realities from the participants' own perspective and interpreting finding as such. Despite this, while abstracting the research findings

in Chapter 9 and relating them with the relevant theoretical debates in social sciences, there occurred a gap between the way participants presented themselves as fixed and coherent subjects and I interpreted their identities and value assignments as fragmented and dynamic. In other words, I have realised that the more I abstracted the data, the farther I went from the emic perspective. Besides, to transform their voices and to make them something unrecognisable from a non-academic point of view has led to a feeling of uneasiness and raised concern about possible “epistemic violence” done on my participants, to use Spivak’s (1988) term. Although ethnography is one of the most democratic and down-to-earth approaches to collect data, it seems that there is not much escape from such alienation and distancing while personal voices are transformed into academic knowledge. As an alternative direction for future research and a solution to this problem, participatory research as a methodological perspective can be preferred rather than a classical ethnography, and subjects can be included not only to the process of data collection but also to the process of interpretation and theorisation through equal investment of both parties. In this way, published research studies can also be readable both for academic and non-academic communities. To achieve this fully democratic cooperation between researchers and participants, research partners outside the academia should be financially supported and legally employed to research projects regardless of their educational background.

10.3 Implications

Although the mass refugee migration from Syria to Turkey started in 2011, apart from the top-down protection laws granting certain legal rights to refugees, not much has been done yet at a state level to integrate refugees to their new communities.

Apart from certain non-governmental organisations and local solidarity groups which work for the integration of refugees by providing educational opportunities and counselling services in order to help them integrate and rebuild their lives in Turkey, no comprehensive integration policy which would develop the means of living together peacefully has been produced so far. Therefore, it is quite expected to discover that the locals in Kadife Street do not know how to deal with this changing demographic and increasing linguistic diversity in their neighbourhood, and that this sudden change has inevitably created fear among them.

First of all, this study has revealed the sharp division between refugee and local communities and persistent intolerance among the local women towards different cultures, languages, and ways of living. It has also revealed the need for developing multicultural and multilingual policies at a national level and launching pro-multiculturalist movements at a bottom-up level to promote progressive and pluralist approaches to different cultures and languages. It is evident in this study that speaking non-Turkish languages in public spaces receives negative reactions, and is viewed unfavourably by the local women in Kadife Street, and that the monoglot ideology of the state of Turkey is mirrored and reproduced in everyday life. Besides, this intolerant stance is pursued in different aspects of social life, and the morally loaded discussions of the local women reveal their desire to extend what is true for them to the rest of the community. This situation clearly shows that the skills which are aimed to be promoted in language classes such as intercultural competence, flexibility, openness and tolerance to different languages are indeed the necessary tools for the whole society. As a contribution to the solution of the persistent monoglossic bias in the country, either to learn new languages should be encouraged at a national level particularly among adults who are outside the formal educational

system, or gaining skills such as multilingualism, intercultural competence, openness and tolerance towards different cultures should be aimed to be developed through various informal channels. As a result, Turkey, hosting the largest refugee population in the world (UNHCR, 2017), should acknowledge her new social position and responsibility, transparently share the fact regarding refugees' "undeniable move from the notion of short-term "guest" towards permanent settlement and citizenship acquisition" (İçduygu and Millet, 2016, p. 6) with the public, and develop long-term integration policies targeting at both local and refugee population. This study clearly shows that there is no escape from global multilingual reality, and that even the small and modest cities of Turkey such as Kırşehir have to deal with similar multilingual challenges the big European cities have been facing.

Despite certain limitations I have openly stressed in the previous section, I think this study will be an important contribution to understanding the dynamics of everyday interaction between refugees and locals at a neighbourhood level. Through such studies which diagnose societal problems in a bottom-up fashion, we can find more realistic and democratic ways to promote meaningful interaction between refugees and locals, and develop long-term solutions to their structural and interpersonal problems. Only after we understand social actors' worries from their own perspectives at a community level, can we take a second step at a policy level such as planning integration policies and developing pedagogical tools in order to build resilience in local communities. Therefore, as Kaya (2018) underscores, the value of such research lies in letting the local and refugee participants speak for themselves by functioning as a mirror to society.

Because this study acknowledges the fact that without understanding the subjective realities of refugees and locals and their own conceptualisation of ideal

society, any policy and action plan would be deemed to fail, it supports Kaya's (2018) call for research in Turkey to ethnographically explore everyday life and social relations in contexts where refugees and locals live together and to directly report the social actors' own voices from their own perspectives. To this end, this doctoral project can be seen as an introduction to numerous societal issues it has raised, and a step towards understanding specifically the identity-related aspect of this existing social tension between refugee and local communities in Turkey at an interactional level.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF CITIES OF TURKEY



Fig. 1 Maps of cities of Turkey

Retrieved from <https://www.lafsozluk.com/2012/01/kirsehir-ilinin-turkiye-haritasindaki.html>

APPENDIX B

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT RANKING OF THE CITIES

İl Kodu	İller	SEGE-2011 Sırası	SEGE-2011 Endeks Değeri	İl Kodu	İller	SEGE-2011 Sırası	SEGE-2011 Endeks Değeri
TR100	İstanbul	1	4,5154	TRB11	Malatya	42	-0,0785
TR510	Ankara	2	2,8384	TR332	Afyon	43	-0,0797
TR310	İzmir	3	1,9715	TR905	Artvin	44	-0,1046
TR421	Kocaeli	4	1,6592	TRA12	Erzincan	45	-0,1056
TR611	Antalya	5	1,5026	TR631	Hatay	46	-0,1302
TR411	Bursa	6	1,3740	TR821	Kastamonu	47	-0,1471
TR412	Eskişehir	7	1,1671	TR813	Bartın	48	-0,1976
TR323	Muğla	8	1,0493	TR722	Sivas	49	-0,2208
TR211	Tekirdağ	9	0,9154	TR833	Çorum	50	-0,2405
TR322	Denizli	10	0,9122	TR823	Sinop	51	-0,2479
TR424	Bolu	11	0,6394	TR903	Giresun	52	-0,2564
TR212	Edirne	12	0,6383	TR633	Osmaniye	53	-0,2892
TR425	Yalova	13	0,6263	TR822	Çankırı	54	-0,3312
TR222	Çanakkale	14	0,5999	TR712	Aksaray	55	-0,3671
TR213	Kırklareli	15	0,5923	TR713	Niğde	56	-0,3761
TR621	Adana	16	0,5666	TR832	Tokat	57	-0,3821
TR721	Kayseri	17	0,5650	TRB14	Tunceli	58	-0,3892
TR422	Sakarya	18	0,5641	TRA11	Erzurum	59	-0,4327
TR321	Aydın	19	0,5597	TR632	Kahramanmaraş	60	-0,4677
TR521	Konya	20	0,5308	TR902	Ordu	61	-0,4810
TR612	Isparta	21	0,5272	TR906	Gümüşhane	62	-0,4814
TR221	Balıkesir	22	0,4764	TRC13	Kilis	63	-0,5733
TR331	Manisa	23	0,4711	TRA13	Bayburt	64	-0,5946
TR622	Mersin	24	0,4636	TR723	Yozgat	65	-0,6079
TR334	Uşak	25	0,3737	TRC12	Adıyaman	66	-0,9602
TR613	Burdur	26	0,3684	TRC22	Diyarbakır	67	-1,0014
TR413	Bilecik	27	0,3634	TRA22	Kars	68	-1,0923
TR812	Karabük	28	0,2916	TRA23	Iğdır	69	-1,1184
TR811	Zonguldak	29	0,2758	TRC32	Batman	70	-1,1203
TRC11	Gaziantep	30	0,2678	TRA24	Ardahan	71	-1,1384
TR901	Trabzon	31	0,2218	TRB13	Bingöl	72	-1,1920
TR522	Karaman	32	0,1864	TRC21	Şanlıurfa	73	-1,2801
TR831	Samsun	33	0,1579	TRC31	Mardin	74	-1,3591
TR904	Rize	34	0,1550	TRB21	Van	75	-1,3783
TR423	Düzce	35	0,1056	TRB23	Bitlis	76	-1,4003
TR714	Nevşehir	36	0,1029	TRC34	Siirt	77	-1,4166
TR834	Amasya	37	0,0510	TRC33	Şırnak	78	-1,4605
TR333	Kütahya	38	0,0198	TRA21	Ağrı	79	-1,6366
TRB12	Elazığ	39	-0,0103	TRB24	Hakkâri	80	-1,6961
TR715	Kırşehir	40	-0,0211	TRB22	Muş	81	-1,7329
TR711	Kırıkkale	41	-0,0687				

Fig. 2 Socio-economic development ranking of the cities

Kalkınma Bakanlığı (2013). *İllerin ve Bölgelerin Sosyo-ekonomik Gelişmişlik Sıralaması Araştırması (SEGE-2011)*. Ankara: Bölgesel Gelişme ve Yapısal Uyum Genel Müdürlüğü, pp. 50. Retrieved from <http://www3.kalkinma.gov.tr/Doc/Objects/View/15310/SEGE-2011.pdf>

APPENDIX C

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT LEVELS OF THE REGIONS OF TURKEY

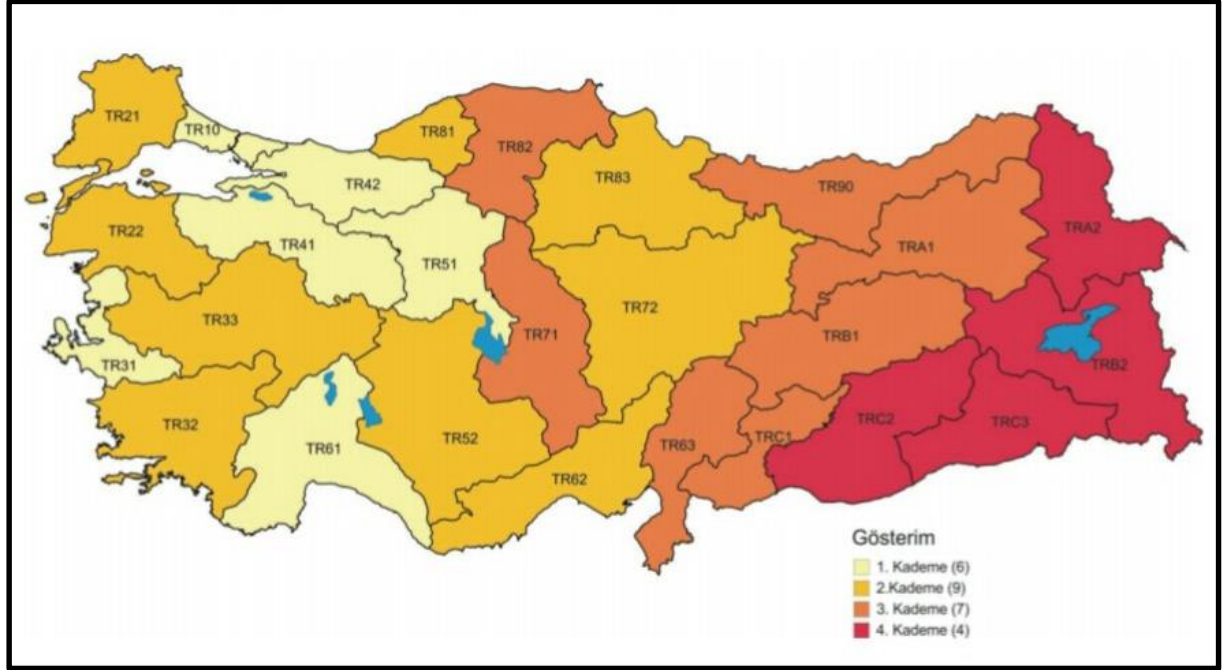


Fig. 3 Socio-economic development levels of the regions of Turkey

Kalkınma Bakanlığı (2013). *İllerin ve Bölgelerin Sosyo-ekonomik Gelişmişlik Sıralaması Araştırması (SEGE-2011)*. Ankara: Bölgesel Gelişme ve Yapısal Uyum Genel Müdürlüğü, pp. 78. Retrieved from <http://www3.kalkinma.gov.tr/DocObjects/View/15310/ SEGE-2011.pdf>

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF LOCAL WOMAN INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. Genel bilgi ve tutum (*General information and attitude*)

1. Kaç senedir bu mahalledesin?
(*How long have been in this neighbourhood?*)
2. Mahalle eskiden nasıldı şimdi nasıl? Değişti mi?
(*How was the neighbourhood in the past and how is it now? Has it changed?*)
3. Komşularla mı akrabalarla mı daha çok görüşüyorsun?
(*Are you mostly in contact with your neighbours or your relatives?*)
4. Çarşıya ne sıklıkta gidiyorsun? Neler yapıyorsun? Kimlerle görüşüyorsun?
(*How often do you go to downtown? What do you do? With whom are you contact?*)
5. Bir mülteci ile komşuluk yapmak ister misin? Neden?
(*Would you like to be in a neighbourly relation with a refugee? Why?*)
6. Fark ediyor mu Suriyeli, Iraklı, Afgan olması senin için? Türkmen ya da Arap?
(*Does it matter whether she or he is Syrian, Afghan or Iraqi? Turkmen or Arab?*)
7. Ne biliyorsun haklarında? Duyduğun bir olay ya da hikaye var mı haklarında?
(*What do you know about them? Is there any event or story which you hear about them?*)
8. Göçmen kime denir? Mülteci kime denir? Yabancı? Ecnebi? Suriyeli?
(*Who is called a migrant? Who is a refugee? A foreigner? An 'ecnebi'? A Syrian?*)

B. Dilsel kimlik ve tutum (*Language identity and attitude*)

1. Parkta sokakta artık bir sürü Arapça konuşan kişi var. Sokakta Arapça konuşmalarına ne diyorsun? Seni rahatsız ediyor mu şehrinde mahallende Arapça konuşan birini duymak?
(*There are many people speaking Arabic on the street, in the park. What do you think about their use of Arabic on the street? Does it disturb you to hear someone in your city or neighbourhood speaking in Arabic?*)
2. Bizim güne gelen kadınlar hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?
(*What do you think about the women participating in our Gold Days?*)
3. “Biz de sizin gibi Türküz”, diyorlar. Bazısı onları Türk olarak kabul ediyor, bazısı etmiyor. Ya sen?
(*They say, “we are also Turk like you”. Some accept them as Turk, some do not. And you?*)
4. Türkçeleri nasıl? Anlaşılır mı?

(How is their Turkish? Is it comprehensible?)

5. Onlar asıl Osmanlı Türkçesi bizimki diyor. “Sizinki bozulmuş İngilizceyle karışmış”, diyorlar. Ne diyorsun?

(They say the real Ottoman Turkish is theirs. They say, “yours is degenerated and mixed with English”. What would you say?)

6. Kur’an okurken duydun mu onları? Nasıl okuyorlardı? Buralı kadınların okumalarıyla karşılaştırabilir misin?

(Did you heard them recite the Quran? How did they recite it? Can you compare it with the way the local women recite it?)

7. Sen ne zaman öğrendin Kur’an okumayı? Nasıl öğrendin?

(When did you learn reading the Quran? How did you learn it?)

8. Arapça öğrenmek ve Kur’an’ı kendi dilinde anlamak ister miydin?

(Would you like to learn Arabic and understand the Quran in its original language?)

C. Dinsel kimlik ve tutum (*Religious identity and attitude*)

1. Onları din kardeşi kabul eder misin? Ramazanda terafiye gittin mi? Orada karşılaştın mı?

(Would you accept them as your religious sister? Did you go to tarawih on the month of Ramadan? Did you meet them there {at the mosque}?)

2. Mahalledeki mülteci kadınların giyim kuşamları hakkında ne düşünüyorsun?

(What do you think about the dressing style of the refugee women in the neighbourhood?)

3. Bizim güne gelen Iraklı kadınların giyim kuşamları nasıl?

(How was the dressing style of the Iraqi women coming to the Gold Day?)

4. Buralı kadınlardan daha dindar ve muhafazakar olduklarını düşünüyor musun?

(Do you think they are more religious and conservative than the local women?)

5. Günlerde onlarla karşılaşmalarında hoşuna giden şeyler nelerdi? Peki gitmeyen?

(What were the things you liked about them on the Gold Days? And the things you disliked?)

6. Temizlik anlamında nasıllar?

(How are they in terms of cleaning?)

7. Çok değişik yemekleri var. Bazen bize getiriyorlar. Hiç tadına baktın mı yemeklerinin ya da ekmeklerinin? Bizim yemeklere benziyor mu? Getirdiklerinde/ getirirler yer misin?

(They have a different cuisine. They sometimes bring us. Have you ever tasted their food or bread? Do they resemble ours? Do you eat it when/ if they they bring?)

D. Çokkültürlülük ve tutum (Multiculturalism and attitude)

1. Kendine yakın hissettiğin ve içinin ısındığı özellikleri de var mı?
(*Do they have qualities which you like and feel close?*)
2. Ne yapsalar nasıl davransalar daha yakın hissedersin kendini onlara?
(*What can they do or how can they act for you to feel closer to them?*)
3. Kızının veya torununun bir Suriyeli ya da Iraklıyla evlenmesini ister misin?
(*Would you like your daughter or granddaughter marry a Syrian or Iraqi?*)
4. Mahalleye zamanla uyum sağlayacaklarını ve buraya alışacaklarını düşünüyor musun?
(*Do you think they will integrate and adjust here over time?*)
5. Mahallede üç beş sene daha geçse Müslüman, Hristiyan, Arap, Ermeni insanlar buraya göçse her dilden konuşan insanlar olsa artsa mahallende kendini nasıl hissedersin?
(*How would you feel if Muslim, Christian, Arab and Armenian people moved here in a couple of years, and there were speakers of each language?*)
6. Mahallene güven duygun değişir mi? Rahatsız olur musun?
(*Would your sense of trust to your neighbourhood change in that case? Would this disturb you?*)
7. Senin arkadaşım dostum komşum dediğin ya da güvenebilirim dediğin insanda olması gereken özellikler neler?
(*What are the qualities of a person whom you can trust or call your friend and your neighbour?*)

APPENDIX E

DATA TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION GUIDE

Turkish:	regular type
English:	italic type
{ }	contextual information (e.g., analyst note, non-verbal events)
XXXX	unintelligible fragment on the recording
(.)	pause of more than one second
-	pause of less than one second or hesitation
CAPitals	high volume
=	contiguous utterances
/ /	overlapping utterances
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation

Adapted from Fuller (2007)

APPENDIX F

EXAMPLE FROM AUDIO RECORDING NOTES

18 Aralık - Zehra Raporaj

1.20 Misafir çektiğin durumun, onlar çok rahat fazla rahat kaldım Suriyeli yeti tarifi verdi bana

2.20 larbaki halleri rahatsızım, etrafta parkta caddede hep bunla karşılaşıyorum bunların konuşmaları, TR'de gibi hissettiğim kendim, rahatsızım

3.00 biz onların vatani koruyoruz, onlar burada 4-4'lik geliyor

3.20 çok rahatlar almış. /diplomaları vs. benim cocuğuma engel değil

5.40 Türkmenler saydımız (sadece böyle) ama Amerikalılar değil, çok rahatlar debatte gayriresmi kadın mevki

6.20 en iyi yerlerde oturuyorlar.

6.45 bozu ark. lar tedirgin erkeklerimizi elimizden çıkak diyo 7 syle ama kendilerini garantiye almak için adam evi de olsa

9.45 biz Köyleri de çocukları her milletten insan vardı Türk olmayan - yabancı

11.45 sizin zinde girdik. Kur'an okuyuşunu anladım (Türk Müsliman)

12.20 Kimsin diye sordusun sen de onları Savunulduğun Acımak başka olmak başka. Yardım ederim diye serrem

13.10 hiçbir fark görmedim bizde Familiolar - Sasırdım böyle düşünüyordum

14.00 farklı insanların katibi bizi bekliyor insan, duyuyor ya TV'de

14.35 kavgaları - beklemelerle ilgili - ev sahibi gibi davranıyorlar

15.00 Türk se bilgililer halkı rahat olmak için syle konuşuyorlar - Kürtlerden de oluyor

15.50 ne kadar rahatlar benim memleketimde, Türk milleti işsiz bulur para harcar beşyö

16.35 her yerdeler, sayfayı onlar sürüyor

18.00 kadife, bağlama sekli başı, Irak'tan sime raporajı

21.18 birkaç aile birlikte kalıyor ya!

21.20 alakasız, umunda değil, dağıp dağıp atma (Anne), desudo öyle mesela

25. çocukları talan etti ağacıları, fare gibi

31. yemeyi yemem de ekmeğini yemem /kendi opt. da da syle

35.30 ne kadar coğrafi km uzakta görse o kadar uzaklaşıyor

36.35 bi eziklik oluyor onlarda ama bunlar hiçte ezik hissetmiyorlar, çok rahatlar

40.0 kayıplar varsa birlikte okuyacaklar okula

ben bilgilendiriyorum, öncekiler mi /devlet yardım vs. /halklar

45.00 arapça değil tefsir kursuna gitmek istem - ama hep cennetinde varın gününce - anlaşılan da fevaz geliyor. 46.30 hoca diye mi oğru değil diye Kur'an

Fig. 4 Example from audio recording notes

APPENDIX G

ETHICS COMMITTEE OF BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ RESEARCH

APPROVAL FORM

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu

11 Ocak 2017

Sayı: 2017/02

Hasret Saygı


Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü

Sayın Araştırmacı,

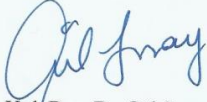
“Aidiyetliğin ve kimliklerin müzakeresi ve inşası: Mülteci ve yerel kadınların günlük karşılaşmaları” başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2016/49 sayılı başvuru İNAREK/SBB Etik Alt Kurulu tarafından 11 Ocak 2017 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.


Saygılarımızla,

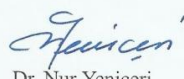
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu


Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya


Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal


Yrd. Doç. Dr. Gül Sosay


Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mehmet Nafi Artemel


Dr. Nur Yeniçeri

APPENDIX H
CONSENT FORM

KATILIMCI BİLGİ ve ONAM FORMU

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi

Araştırmanın adı: Aidiyetliğin ve kimliklerin müzakeresi ve inşası: Mülteci ve yerel kadınların günlük karşılaşmaları

Proje Yürütücüsü/Danışman: Prof. Dr. Yasemin Bayyurt

E-mail adresi: bayyurty@boun.edu.tr

Telefonu: (+90)212 359 6797

Araştırmacının adı: Hasret Saygı

E-mail adresi: hs_chemorrison@windowlive.com

Telefonu: 0 (553) 680 14 86

Bu araştırma mülteci ve yerel kadınların aidiyetlik duygusunu yüz yüze konuşmalarda nasıl inşa ettiklerini ve görüştükleri anlamak için onların arasında geçen günlük konuşmaları incelemeyi amaçlar. Bu çalışmada odak, aidiyetlik duygusunun zamanla mülteci kadınlar arasında göç ettikleri yerlerdeki yerel topluluklara duygusal, sosyal ve kültürel olarak nasıl geliştirildiği, inşa edildiği ve görüşüldüğü üzerinedir.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sizlerin altın günlerinizde ve Kuran okuma etkinliklerinizde konuşmalarınızın sesini kayıt altına alacağız. Bu kayıt bizim yerel ve mülteci kadınların mahallede birbirleriyle olan ilişkilerini anlamamıza

yardımcı olacaktır. Ayrıca sizin uygun gördüğünüz zamanlarda sizlerle yine aynı komşularınızla olan ilişkileriniz üzerinden sohbet etmek ve bu sohbeti kayıt altına almak isteriz. Bu görüşmelerde, sizlerin bize anlatacak hikayelerinizi ve tecrübelerinizi dinlemek isteriz.

Bu araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Katıldığınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında herhangi bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekme hakkına sahipsiniz.

Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır ve istediğiniz zaman çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu durumda sizinle yürütülen röportajlar imha edilecektir.

Araştırma boyunca sizinle müzakere halinde olup her kayıt sonrası dahil edilmesini istemediğiniz yerler ses kaydından kesilecektir. Benzer şekilde, kadınlarla olan sohbetleriniz süresince sohbetin kaydedilmesini istemediğiniz yerlerde herhangi bir kayıt işlemi yapılmayacaktır.

Sizden topladığım kayıtlarda, kullandığınız özel isimler, yer adları ve diğer tüm özel bilgiler silinecektir. Böylece kim olduğunuz benim dışımda kimse tarafından bilinmeyecektir ve bunun tahmini çok düşük bir ihtimale indirilecektir.

Bu formu imzalamadan önce çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Daha sonra sorunuz olursa, proje yürütücüsü ve danışmanım Prof. Dr. Yasemin Bayyurt'a (Ofis Telefonu: 0212 359 6797, Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi,

Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü, Bebek- İstanbul) sorabilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Kurulu'na (İNAREK) danışabilirsiniz.

Ben,, yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuzluk ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum.

Katılımcının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Adresi:.....

.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

SÖZLÜ ONAM DEŞİFRESİ

Bildiğiniz gibi ben bu mahalledeki kadınlarla bir araştırma yürütmek istiyorum. Bu araştırmada mahalledeki mülteci kadınlarla ve yerel kadınların aralarındaki günlük konuşmayı incelemek istiyorum. Eğer bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz sizlerin altın gününüzdeki ve mahalledeki diğer kadınlarla bir araya geldiğiniz Kuran okumaları gibi toplantılarınızdaki konuşmalarınızın sesini kayıt altına almak istiyorum. Bu kayıt benim sizlerin bu mahallede birbirinizle olan ilişkilerinizi anlamamı sağlayacak. Ayrıca sizin uygun gördüğünüz zamanlarda sizlerle yine aynı komşularımızla olan ilişkileriniz ve sizler hakkında sohbet etmek, sizlerin hikayelerini ve tecrübelerinizi dinlemek ve bunları kayıt etmek isterim. Bu araştırmaya katılmak zorunda değilsiniz. Katılmanız durumunda ise sebep göstermeden istediğiniz zaman çekilebilirsiniz. İstemediğiniz yeri ses kaydından silebilirim. Kayıt edilmesini istemediğiniz zaman konuşmalarınızı kayıt etmem. Kayıt ettiğim sohbetlerinizde sizin kim olduğunuzu benden başka kimse bilmeyecek. İsminizi, mahallenin adını, sizin söylediğiniz tüm isimleri takma isimlerle değiştireceğim. Kimsenin sizin kim olduğunuzu tahmin edilmemesi için elimden geleni yapacağım. Size üniversiteden danışmanımın ve araştırma kurumumuzun adreslerinin telefonlarının olduğu bir kart vereceğim. Eğer sorularınız olursa ya da herhangi bir sorun yaşarsanız ve haklarınızı öğrenmek isterseniz o kişilere ulaşabilirsiniz. Şimdi size bu çalışmaya katılmak isteyip istemediğinizi sormak istiyorum. Bu çalışmaya katılmayı ve benim sizlerin sohbetlerinizi ve sizlerle yapacağım röportajları kayıt etmeme izin veriyor musunuz?

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