IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

MASTER THESIS

MEMORY AND EMOTIONS IN THE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: THE ALGERIAN DESCENDANTS IN ADANA

IBTISSEM CHATTA

THESIS SUPERVISOR

ASSIST. PROF. NURSEM KESKİN AKSAY

ISTANBUL, 2021

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by

IBTISSEM CHATTA

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology

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ASSIST. PROF. NURSEM KESKİN AKSAY

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APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

Thesis Jury Members

Title - Name Surname	Opinion	Signature
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This is to confirm that this thesis complies with all the standards set by the School of Graduate Studies of Ibn Haldun University.

Date of Submission Seal/Signature

ACADEMIC HONESTY ATTESTATION

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

KİMLİK İNŞASINDA HAFIZA VE DUYGULAR: ADANA'DAKİ CEZAYİR ASILLILAR

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Bu tez, Adana ve Kozan'daki Cezayir asıllıların kimlik oluşumunu, Türkiye'de kimliklerini ve aidiyetlerini nasıl tanımladıklarını ve anlamlandırdıklarını anlamak için üç farklı kuşağın anlatımlarına dayanarak incelemektedir. Bu araştırma, Türkiye'de Cezayir asıllı olmanın ve iki kültür arasında yaşamanın ne anlama geldiğini açıklamayı ve diasporik kimliklerinin nasıl oluştuğunu incelemeyi amaçlandır. Bunun için 20 kaydedilmiş görüşme yapılmıştır, farklı topluluk buluşmalarına katılınmıştır ve katılımcı olarak gözlem yapıldı. Bu çalışma, diaspora bağlamında kimlik oluşumunu araştırmak için hem bireysel hem de kolektif kimlik teorilerini ele almaktadır. Araştırma bulguları, katılımcıların kimlik inşasının nesiller boyu aktarılan anavatan nostaljisi ve kolektif hafızasından etkilendiğini göstermektedir. Buna ek olarak, katılımcıların Cezayir'le olan duygusal bağları, Türkiye'de etnik kimliklerini sürdürebilecekleri ütopik ve nostaljik bir anavatan versiyonu yaratmalarına yol açmıştır. Sahadaki gözlemler, Cezayir asıllıların dini aidiyetleri, kültürleri, sembolleri ve gelenekleri aracılığıyla anavatanları ile sağlam duygusal bağları olduğunu, ancak bu aidiyetin nesilden nesile değiştiğini göstermektedir. Bu çalışma farklı nesillerin, azınlıkların ötekileştirilmesi ve ayrımcılığa uğraması konusunda, Türkiye'de farklı siyasi bağlamlar yaşadıklarını ve bu durumun onları kimliklerini stratejik olarak konumlandırmaya ve müzakere etmeye yönlendirdiğini göstermektedir. Katılımcılar da Türkiye'ye aidiyetlerini, varlıklarını meşrulaştıran anlatılar, semboller ve "kullanılabilir" hatıralar aracılığıyla müzakere ederler. Dolayısıyla bu araştırma, bir

entegrasyon ve aidiyet stratejisi olarak melez bir kimliğin ortaya çıkışını göstermektedir. Melez kimliklerin diasporik alanlarda ortaya çıktığı, geliştiği ve müzakere edildiği de tartışılmaktadır. Bu anlamda bu çalışma, diasporik mekânı hafıza ve duygu repertuarları aracılığıyla keşfederek "üçüncü mekân" (Bhabha 1994) kavramsallaştırmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırma, Adana ve Kozan'da Cezayir asıllıların kimlik oluşumuna odaklanan ilk araştırmadır; bu anlamda Cezayir diaspora kimliği literatürüne olduğu kadar Türk ve Cezayir tarih yazımına de katkı sağlamaktadır

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aidiyet, Hafıza, Melezlik, Kimlik, Nostalji, Üçüncü Mekân.

ABSTRACT

MEMORY AND EMOTIONS IN THE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:
THE ALGERIAN DESCENDANTS IN ADANA

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This thesis examines the identity formation of Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan based on the narratives of three different generations to understand how they define and give meaning to their identity and belonging in Turkey. The research aims to explain what it means to be Algerian descendants in Turkey and live between two cultures and analyze how diasporic identity formed. For this, I conducted 20 recorded interviews, attended different community gatherings, and engaged in participant observation. The study considers both individual and collective identity theories to investigate identity formation in a diaspora. The findings suggest that interlocutors' identity construction was influenced by nostalgia and collective memory transmitted through generations. Moreover, the interlocutors' emotional connection to Algeria led to creating a utopian nostalgic version of it through which they sustain their ethnic identity. Observation in the field suggests that Algerian descendants have solid emotional ties to the homeland through their religious affiliation, culture, symbols, and customs, but this belonging changes according to generation. The study shows that generations experienced different political contexts in Turkey regarding otherizing and discrimination of minorities, leading them to position and negotiate their identity strategically. Interlocutors also negotiate their belonging to Turkey through narratives, symbols, and "usable" memories that legitimize their presence. Thus, this research shows the emergence of a hybrid identity as a strategy of integration and belonging. It is also argued that hybrid identities emerge, nurture, and are negotiated in diasporic spaces. In this sense, this study contributes to the "third-space" (Bhabha 1994)

conceptualization by exploring the diasporic space through memory and emotion repertoires. This research is the first to focus on the identity formation of Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan; it contributes in that sense to the literature on Algerian diaspora identity but also to the contemporary Turkish and Algerian historiography.

Keywords: Belonging, Hybridity, Identity, Memory, Nostalgia, Third-space.

DEDICATION

To all the Algerian diaspora community in Adana and Kozan,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I feel indebted to my interlocutors who contributed to this study, opened me the doors of their homes, and shared their valuable life stories. I am particularly grateful to Ahmet K., who was my contact person. Without his tremendous help, this study would have been impossible to make.

Completing this thesis would have been impossible without my teacher and supervisor's tremendous help, support, and comfort Asst. Prof. Nursem Keskin Aksay. I am forever grateful. I also would like to thank all my teachers at Ibn Haldun University who enlightened me with their valuable teachings, Prof. Dr. Alev Erkilet and Asst. Prof. Heba Raouf Ezzat, who were for me role models. I am also thankful Prof. Ramazan Aras and Prof. Mehmet Özay; with their valuable teaching and advice, I wrote this thesis. Appreciations are also due to Assoc. Prof. Süleyman Şanlı for participating in the defense process of this thesis.

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Ibtissem Chatta

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Algerian migration to the Ottoman Empire has started at the dawn of French colonization in 1830 and continued until 1914. The Algerian pre-colonial era identity was deeply rooted in religious understanding and tribalism (Bennison 1998). The French 'civilizing mission' use in Algeria, whose aim was to modernize and civilize the indigenous population in African colonies, was a way to justify the excessive brutality towards Islamic culture in Algeria. Although Algerians were subjected to great oppression and massacres in their homeland, the new imposed and societal change resulted in a massive migration of Algerians to the Ottoman territories and, more specifically, to the Ottoman Arab territories in the late 19th century. At that time, the Ottoman Empire was the most dominant and influential Muslim state that allowed the migration of Muslims looking for refuge and became the new home for Algerians, leaving their homeland never to return.

The main focus of this thesis is to explore the identity construction of these Algerian descendants who settled in the southeastern city of Adana and the district of Kozan in Turkey. There is a general belief that Algerian migration is often directed to European countries and especially France, but the Algerian descendant community I choose to study is settled in Turkey for the last century. The Algerian descendants in Adana are an ethnic minority constituted of roughly 5000 individuals and draw attention with their slightly brown skin and curly black hair and have essentially not lost their physical appearance (Figure 1.1). In addition, the Algerian descendants of the first, second, and third generations, who were born and raised in Turkey, have inherited from their forefathers the use of Algerian dialect Arabic, cultural and religious traits but also memory and emotions related to the past.

Figure 1.1. Family members from First, Second, and Third Generations Algerian Descendants.

Hence, the community I am inquiring about has been living in Adana for decades, which led me to investigate and critically explore their identity construction experiences in Turkey as migrant descendants. By analyzing the interview transcripts and my observation in the fieldwork, I explain in this study the identity construction of my interlocutors in relation to memory, emotion, and space repertoires. Furthermore, I look at my interlocutor's identity construction with all its complex experiences of being an ethnic minority and descendants of immigrants in Turkey to apprehend the in-betweenness strategy and positioning they adopt to cope with the challenges of otherizing and discrimination in the host country.

It was apparent in my fieldwork that my interlocutors were very much attached to the past and romanticized the homeland they have yet to visit. I understood that memory and emotions play an influential role in the identity building of the diaspora in the sense that the memory and the nostalgia inherited from the previous generation led my interlocutors to develop a sense of belonging to the homeland, even if only in imagination. Following that, several questions arose for this study: Firstly, how is the attachment to the homeland maintained through generations, especially that all the descendants were born in Turkey? Secondly, how do my interlocutors identify

themselves and their sense of belonging? Do they feel Algerian, Turkish, both or in-between? Have they created a hybrid identity as a strategy of adaptation to the host country? Do they perceive themselves as belonging to many places? Finally, did these hybrid identities lead to the emergence of a diasporic space where my interlocutors negotiate, shape, and reshape their identities?

Accordingly, this study explores how generations of Algerian descendants negotiate, shape, and reshape their identity in Turkey. These questions will be the guideline of this study's theoretical framework but also analysis of data. Knowing that there is no existing literature on the identity building of this community in Adana, to find answers to these questions, I have collected life stories and oral narratives from 20 interlocutors of the first, second, and third generations Algerian descendants living in Adana and Kozan (Figure 1.2).

My thesis consists of five main chapters. Given the ethnographic nature of this study, I explain in chapter two how this project was initiated, planned, and completed in the fieldwork in Adana and Kozan in October 2019. In this chapter, I present the different challenges that I confronted to make this project a reality. I was introduced to the community by my contact person, an Algerian descendant of the second generation, who introduced me as an Algerian researcher keen to write a thesis about this community. Establishing some contact before being introduced to the community was a crucial aspect of a successful approach, and I believe that my position as an Algerian was advantageous and helped my interlocutors trust me. In this chapter, I also elaborate on different academic discussions related to ethnographic fieldwork as the necessity to consider the researcher's experience in ethnographic research and self-reflexivity. In that sense, I am separately explaining the methodology of this work in chapter two, especially emphasizing my self-reflexibility, my positionality as an Algerian, and the "native researcher" issue.

For this study, it was necessary to understand historical circumstances in which Algerians have left their homeland to settle in the Ottoman lands in the late 19th century. Chapter three analyzes the factors and circumstances that drove Algerians to leave their homeland, which will be useful in apprehending the identity question of their descendants in Adana and Kozan. To do so, I will analyze the underlying reasons

behind these migrations existing in the historical literature in Arabic, French, and Turkish (Saâdallah 1983; Bellah 2006; Samur 1992; Bardin 1980; Sissani 2003). Furthermore, I will explore political and religious issues closely related to the migration issue, such as the French colonization and the significant changes that occurred in the Algerian society (Bennison 1998). Finally, the international context in which this migration happened is also looked at in this study; I will explain how the Pan-Islamism movement and the migration of great Algerian leaders influenced the migration of thousands of Algerian tribes. This chapter also contributes to the historical narrative of the Algerian migration through my interlocutor's description of their forefather's journey to settle in Kozan.

Chapter four is a critical analysis of the literature on Algerian diasporic groups to explain how I position my study in the literature. I start by describing how researchers apprehend identity construction among Algerian diasporic groups, specifically in France, where assimilation and integration of Algerian descendants are related to class and political issues (Alba 2005; Silberman, Alba, and Fournier 2007). While researches are focusing on the identity building of diasporic communities worldwide, a critical review of literature also showed that no study focused on the identity building of Algerian descendants through memory, emotions, and space repertoires so, this research contributes to the diasporic literature in this matter. In this chapter, I will also present the theoretical framework of this study. As the primary concern is identity construction, I review the different use of individual and collective identity theories but also ethnicity and narratives to explore how my interlocutors' identity is constructed according to their positioning in the host country (Eder 2009; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Anthias 2002, 1998). The concepts of hybridity, in-between cultures are also discussed in the theoretical framework (Brah 1996; Bhabha 1994, 1996; Hall 1994, 1992) to explain the formation of hybrid identity and the position in the host society of migrant descendants. Post-colonial theories such as cultural hybridity and third-space are also considered in relation to identity construction (Bhabha 1994, 1996). Chapters three and four give the general framework of the study, while chapters five and six will focus more on the fieldwork findings and the discussions related to the findings.

Chapter five focuses on the narratives of my interlocutor's life stories and experience of positioning their identity in the host country through the role of memory and emotions. This chapter explores the emotional dimension and, more specifically, the intertwined role of nostalgia and memory in the identity construction of my interlocutors. More specifically, I will explore how narratives of the past lead to an intergenerationally transmitted nostalgia and create a sense of belonging towards an imagined homeland but also towards the host country. The identity building of my interlocutors is associated with the memory mechanism but also their experience of ethnic minority in Turkey. In that sense, I will also explore the underlying dynamics of collective memory to show how my interlocutors' use of “usable memories” (Wertsch 2002) is a strategy for legitimizing their present and future in the host country.

Finally, in chapter six, my interlocutors’ hybrid identity is explored in relation to creating a diasporic space in which identity and belonging are negotiated. Here, the matter is to look at how their experience in the host country influences their identity, which is primordial to understand. Thus, the hybridity in the identity formation of my interlocutors' identity is discussed to explore if they feel "both" or "in-between" (Bhabha 1994) through their positioning and experiences (Hall 1994). In this chapter, I will also detail the creation of a diasporic space or third-space (Bhabha 1994) in which collective memory is maintained, created, nurtured among the community members. I explain how North African descendants in Adana and Kozan create not one but three different diasporic spaces; cultural, emotional, and religious spaces where hybrid identities and belonging are negotiated. My contribution consists of analyzing these spaces through memory and emotional understanding of identity and belonging, which differs from Bhabha’s conceptualization of third-space in a binary power relation, a space in which “us” and “them” are differentiated. Rather, I explain how the homeland is materialized in the cultural and emotional space in which the shared nostalgia for Algeria and the past is nurtured among community members. I will also detail how the religious space in which belonging to the homeland and to the host country is negotiated. In this sense, the space discussion reveals the creation of a new terrain of belonging between two cultures in which interlocutor's hybrid identities emerge, dual culture coexist, and a balance between identities is found.

Figure 1.2. First Generation Descendants of Algerians in Adana and Kozan.

CHAPTER II

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO STUDY IDENTITY

This chapter elucidates this research's methodological aspect, which explores the identity formation of the Algerian descendants living in Adana, including the first, second, and third generations born and raised in Turkey. Besides, I will support the methodological choices to conduct this research and explain the difficulties and obstacles I faced in the fieldwork. Moreover, I will detail the complete ethnographic fieldwork and the interactions I had. Finally, as an Algerian student studying a community of Algerian descendants, I will explain how I adapted my positionality toward this research.

The study explores the identity construction of Algerian descendants in Adana; thus, the aim was to grasp how my interlocutors narrate their experiences and their understanding of identity in diaspora. As in various diaspora studies, the interviewed people create and tell their stories in their own words. Bridget Bryne (2012) states that "Interviewing has been particularly attractive to researchers who want to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misrepresented or suppressed in the past" (Bryne, 2012, 209). I also realized that this research was an opportunity for recognition of this Algerian diaspora. Hence, my role as a researcher was to provide this particular community in Turkey with a space to represent themselves for the first time.

Given the ethnographic nature of my research, I collected data through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. I have completed 20 face-to-face oral interviews and had the chance to engage in participant observations in different circumstances, one during a gathering of the community in Adana and some other meetings among the community. I also had the opportunity to conduct interviews in my interlocutor's homes, where there was a convivial atmosphere and welcoming people (Figure 2.1). In the course of my ethnographic fieldwork, I have met with many

Algerian descendants and others of Mauritanian and Libyan descendants. Although I have not interviewed most of these people, our interactions and small talks have been helpful for my study, and I am thankful to all of them.

Figure 2.1. The Fieldwork in Adana and Kozan.

As I have detailed in chapter three, the migration of Algerians started at the down of French colonization in Algeria. In Algeria, most families have at least one family member living abroad, so Algerians are used to seeing diverse Algerian diaspora worldwide, especially in Europe. This migration phenomenon is for a range of writers due to "the simultaneous and contradictory processes of colonialism." (Samers 1997, 33). Having lived in France during my university education, it was apparent that the

Algerian diaspora and their descendants were continuously at the center of integration and assimilation-related issues in the French political sphere. My initial topic of interest was thus to focus on the identity construction of the Algerian diaspora in France. However, this topic was already widely researched in academia. Furthermore, I am now living in Turkey, and I continue to witness similar issues related to the growing Syrian population in Turkey, raising new challenges and interrogations on this migration phenomenon and the identity of these migrants. I have always wondered how ethnic communities in diaspora cope with their host society and, more specifically, their descendants, who have not known the homeland. This research also reflects my journey of discovering my identity and belonging. I left my country Algeria when I was 17, first to complete my undergraduate degree in France, then I moved to Turkey, where I live until today. My little experience away from my homeland had me experience otherizing and stigmatization, which led me to focus on identity issues in diaspora for my master thesis.

I have grown up listening to our elders' stories about colonization and its various consequences on Algerian society, culture, customs, language, and migration. The colonization is undoubtedly the main reason that led to the scatter of Algerians around the world. There is a growing Algerian community in Turkey established for studies, work, or business. Still, the community of Algerian descendants I am focusing on is entirely different from what I had imagined. When I learned about this community in Adana, it immediately triggered my attention since it was an unusual historical migration. I wanted to understand how descendants of Algerians experienced the formation of their identity and sense of belonging to see how they negotiate the betweenness of the Algerian and Turkish identities. From the analysis of the data, I constructed the analysis of this thesis based on three main factors that participate in the identity formation of my interlocutors, namely memory, emotions such as nostalgia and longing and also space discussions. Here, I will explain how I initiated the research process in this community.

2.1 Initiating the Research Project in Adana

Initiating and planning this research project in a city far from my residence was one of the biggest challenges. After submitting my research proposal to my supervisor that

was later accepted, the first challenge in the ethnographic work was to find some connections among the Algerian community in Adana to establish contacts. I had to find individuals who were compliant to participate in this project, talk about their lives openly, share their impressions and emotions, and open their homes to me. Therefore, I initiated some research on the internet, especially on social media, to find groups or public pages about these Algerian descendants; however, this research was not fruitful. At that point, I started to lose faith in the feasibility of this research. I then decided to talk around me about this project, and I have learned that one of my husband friend's had some connections with this Algerian group which helped me get in touch with them.

I was terrified that my project idea would be declined by this community and delayed for a long time before making the first phone call on a summer day in 2019. My first conversation was with my contact person Ahmet K.; I introduced myself as an Algerian graduate student living in Istanbul who was willing to meet the community in Adana and initiate a research project. Fortunately, Ahmet K. was thrilled by the idea and suggested staying in touch for further planning. In that sense, and with my supervisor's advice, I started building a trusting and friendly relationship with the persons I reached by calling them regularly. I believe that my position as a student and even more as an Algerian gave me a positive image, and it helped my interlocutors trust me. Undoubtedly, building a trust relationship with these persons was one of the crucial aspects that facilitated my welcoming when I met the community in Adana in October 2019.

As I stated earlier, my contact person facilitated the communication with the community there. I also explained in detail the aim of this research and the category of persons I was interested in interviewing. In that sense, I was fortunate to be accompanied by him because he has put so much effort into helping me reach potential interlocutors. Also, he has a good reputation and is a respected person among the community, so the fact that he introduced me to the Algerian descendant community helped me to be trusted by my interlocutors. Thanks to him, I met the community and established some contacts that lead to further interviews. I can say that my method of recruiting interlocutors was the sampling method, as elaborates Gill Valentine (2005), "The initial contact may be a friend, relative, neighbour, or someone from a social

group or formal organisation. As the term implies, through this method, recruiting gains momentum, or 'snowballs' as the researcher builds up layers of contacts." (Valentine 2005, 117). One interlocutor would introduce me to another or advise me to talk to specific knowledgeable persons, and this technique allowed me to win their trust (Valentine 2005).

At the beginning of each interview, I would explain the purpose of the research and asked permission to record the interview. In some cases, I also video recorded the interviews (Figure 3.2). Some of my interlocutors did not have any issue using their full names; however others refused their names to be used, so for ethical reasons I choose not to use any of my interlocutors' family names. Interviews were conducted in either Turkish or Arabic (Algerian dialect) and were recorded before being transcribed and translated by me into English. On average, interviews lasted from 30 minutes up to 1:30 hours and were structured according to the themes I wanted to address.

Figure 2.2. The Interview with Süleyman in Kozan.

Interviews were conducted with each person individually, even though I was never alone in the room with interlocutors; either family members were present or my contact person (Figure 3.3). Interlocutors were generally enthusiastic about the research topic, and I assumed they were longing for this moment. Prior to each interview, participants

were explained the aim of the research and were asked to speak openly about anything they considered significant, even if it was not in the scope of the question asked initially. After each interview, I asked the participant to authorize me to use their words and image in my research. Most of them accepted immediately except one interlocutor which after finishing a video recording with him, refused that his image being used. After the interview, he probably realized that his identity understanding could create issues for him and was not comfortable that his image would be associated with his words.

Figure 2.3. The Fieldwork in Adana and Kozan.

After completing my fieldwork in Adana, I had spent many precious times and have had so many souvenirs with the community, interlocutors made me feel at home and we have created solid bonds. Also, during the fieldwork, I realized that being an Algerian researcher has triggered emotions and memories about the past in my

interlocutors' narratives, I will develop this issue in the researcher's role and reflexibility section. Consequently, I considered that emotions had a significant role in the identity building of my interlocutors, which led me to analyze their identity construction through emotions.

2.2 Structuring the Ethnographic Fieldwork

The qualitative research approach was the most suitable for this study as face-to-face interviews allowed me to observe interlocutors' body language and emotions. Having this said, Alain Bryman (2012) also mentions the fact that there is a problem of generalization when it comes to qualitative research methods:

> It is often suggested that the scope of the findings of qualitative investigations is restricted. When participant observation is used or when qualitative interviews are conducted with a small number of individuals in a certain organization or locality, they argue that it is impossible to know how the findings can be generalized to other settings (Bryman 2012, 406).

I want to stress that my intention from this study is not to generalize the findings to other diaspora groups; instead, the purpose here is to analyze narrations and life stories collected individually and relate them to relevant theoretical frameworks. For this study, I have used diverse qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and Oral History. All the data were collected during the fieldwork in Adana and several surrounding villages (Kozan, Nalören, Yüksekören, Damyeri) in October 2019. In addition, I conducted my interviews with persons from three different generations to understand how they build their identity through the narrative of the past, memory, and emotions.

The semi-structured interview technique was one of the most appropriate methods to use in my ethnographic research because it "allow for an open response in the participants' own words rather than a 'yes or no' type answer." (Longhurst 2003, 105). Indeed, before interviews, I had prepared a list of questions that frame the topics I wanted to approach; they were a combination of open and closed questions, which permitted flexibility for both sides. In that sense, Valentine (2005) elaborates on interviews as a human-oriented experience :

> The advantage of this approach is that it is sensitive and people-oriented, allowing interviewees to construct their own accounts of their experiences by describing and explaining their lives in their own words. This sort of conversation offers the chance for the researcher and interviewee to have a far more wide-ranging discussion than a questionnaire would allow (Valentine 2005, 111).

On one side, my interlocutors could express themselves as they wished, and on the other side, I guaranteed that I would have my question answered at least partially. As a result, the interviews generally transformed into informal conversations, which led my interlocutors to open up with ease and express themselves on personal issues without hiding their emotions. Furthermore, the benefit of semi-structured interviews has permitted me to accumulate a large amount of data and research other topics not initially in my research questions. In other terms, this qualitative method allowed me to think of identity construction not as an independent process but as connected to other concepts such as memory, nostalgia, space, and belonging. In that sense, Bridget Byrne (2012) states:

> Qualitative interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing individuals' attitudes and values – things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire. Open-ended and flexible questions are likely to get a more considered response than closed questions and therefore provide better access to interviewees' views, interpretation of events, understandings, experiences and opinions. They are also more open to hearing respondents' view 'in their own words' which allow for a more complex analysis.[…] When done well is able to achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other, particularly survey-based, approaches (Bryne 2012, 209).

Robyn Longhurst (2003) stated that selecting interlocutors was a primordial task for this study; therefore, I would like to provide some details about my interlocutors' profiles. The contact person that I mentioned earlier has helped me approach individuals to convince them to accept being interviewed for this research. I have tried interviewing as many people as possible; however, due to time restrictions, distance, and travel restrictions occasioned by the COVID 19 pandemic, I could interview a total of 20 persons, all descendants of Algerians between 19 and 90 years old.

Interlocutors from the first generation (Figure 2.4) were born in the '30s and are the direct descendants of the first Algerian migrants; they were born in Turkey and have never known Algeria. I state that this generation of descendants has substantial knowledge of the Algerian culture. They also learned Arabic, are very aware of the Algerian culture, and mostly married only with Algerian descendants. The second

generation (Figure 2.5) was born in the '60s in Turkey and has not visited Algeria also. Their attachment to their roots is more symbolic than the first generation; they do not speak Arabic fluently, and some married Turks. Finally, the third generation was born in the '90s, and I understood from interlocutors that the youngest generation is sometimes from mixed marriages with Turks. My interlocutors from the third generation (Figure 2.6) showed a willingness to return to the roots, which I will detail in the following chapters. In this study, I didn't focus on a class or gender-based understanding of identity because such a distinction was not visible in the fieldwork. Instead, this thesis shows the significance and role of memory, emotions, and space in the identity construction of my interlocutors in Turkey.

Figure 2.4. First Generation Algerian Descendants in Adana and Kozan.

Figure 2.5. Second Generation Algerian Descendants in Adana and Kozan.

Figure 2.6. Third Generation Algerian Descendants in Adana and Kozan.

I conducted my first interview as soon as I arrived in Adana. My first interlocutor was Ibrahim, the uncle of Ahmet K. I remember being very nervous at the beginning because it was the first interview I conducted in such a context. Ibrahim is from the first generation and can communicate fluently in Arabic. When I introduced myself to him as an Algerian student, I could see he was deeply moved emotionally to see me there. When he said to me, "You came to us, and I can smell Algeria through you[1]." I immediately understood that even though he has never visited the homeland, Algeria meant a lot for him. This sentence he said put me in the context of emotionality and longing, and I immediately realized the deep connection the Algerian descendants' community had for their forefather's homeland. This first interview was the first contact I had with this community. It was very fruitful for me because it helped me gather historical data about the migration story I could not reach in literature.

Indeed, before this research, no other study was carried on this particular community's history and identity construction in Adana, and this thesis is the first endeavor. For that matter, I had to explore this Algerian descendant community from a historical perspective to locate this group in the broader historical literature on the migration of Algerians to the Middle East. To help me do so, Oral history was the most appropriate method to focus on this community's narrative and stories. As to say, Oral history has been a key to unlock the unwritten history and social memory and helped me further explore the past of those Algerian Turks. As stated by Alessandro Portelli (1998), "oral sources give us information about illiterate people or social groups whose written history is either missing or distorted." (Portelli 1998, 64). Therefore, applying the Oral History method to gather information from this peculiar community seems to be the most valuable and authentic source of information. In that sense, the Oral history of the Algerian descendant community in Adana appears to be a new analytical methodology to fill in the gaps omitted in the literature on migration of diverse ethnic groups in Turkey.

Going to the fieldwork and spending time with the community have helped me develop and re-shape my research question. As mentioned by Reeves et al. (2013), "The research questions are therefore not necessarily specified at the beginning of this

[1]Personal interview with Ibrahim K. on 31.10.2019, Adana: “Sen geldin ya, Cezayir'in kokusu aldım.” (Translated by the author)

endeavour, instead this approach facilitates an inductive and iterative approach whereby thick description leads to the development of research questions as the social phenomenon is being studied." (Reeves et al. 2013, 1367). In that sense, writing and analyzing each interview transcript has allowed me to select and frame the theoretical background that shapes this research. This research is based on primary resources that are the narration and life stories of my interlocutors; thus, I regularly use a direct quotation from interviews to cite my interlocutors that contributed to this study. I also kept in touch with my interlocutors, and we are still calling each other regularly to clarify their narratives or share some documents, pictures, or books that they think can help me for my research.

To analyze the empirical data collected in the fieldwork, I have used the discourse analysis method. I have broken down and identified the critical issues that emerged in interviews transcripts and participant observation and classified them into categories (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This had helped me build a conceptual framework that best outlines this study that I will detail in Chapter four. I understood in the process that the research is a continuous understanding of the topic as stated by Ann Gray (2002) "ethnographic or qualitative research is a process of continuous interpretation" (Gray 2002, 147). My initial thematic inquiry was about concepts such as identity and sense of belonging in the diaspora, but after analyzing data, new research concepts have emerged, such as memory, emotions, and diasporic space. From this understanding, I aimed to draw this research based on the first, second, and third generations' understandings of each theme.

The interviews I have conducted during the fieldwork were in the form of narratives, which leave people the choice to organize their ideas and give significance to events they live as describe Graham Gibbs (2007):

> Narration or storytelling is one of the fundamental ways that people organize their understanding of the world. In stories they make sense to themselves of their past experience and they share that experience with others. So the careful analysis of topics, content, style, context and the telling of narratives will reveal people's understanding of the meanings of key events in their lives or their communities and the cultural contexts in which they live" (Gibbs 2007, 56).

After the fieldwork, I had to interpret narrations and pay attention to the style, the variety of words used, the speaking flow, the chronological order of the narration, and the body language of my interlocutors. In that sense, while transcribing interview transcripts, the participant's body language, facial expressions, and discourses were reflected in the texts as much as possible. Considering all these details was essential to apprehend the complexities of the critical concepts I was seeking to grasp.

2.3 Participant Observation in Adana and Kozan

While conducting this study, I have also engaged in participant observation which became one of my main research methods. Spending time with the community had me become implicated in their daily routine somehow. The participant observation method enables the researcher to be emerged inside the community after having earned their trust; as stated by H. Russell Bernard (2011), "It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives" (Bernard, 2011, 256). In a more elaborated way, Ian Cook (2005) defines this methodology as follows:

> As its name suggests, it involves researchers moving between participating in a community by deliberately immersing themselves into its everyday rhythms and routines, developing relationships with people who can show and tell them what is 'going on' there, and writing accounts of how these relationships developed and what was learned from them – and observing a community: by sitting back and watching activities which unfold in front of their eyes, recording their impressions of these activities in field notes, tallies, drawings, photographs and other forms of material evidence (Cook 2005, 167).

As formulated by Bernard (2011), there are three different categories of observation in the fieldwork, "(1) the complete participant, (2) participant-observer, and (3) complete observer" (Bernard 2011, 260). He describes each participant; the first participant completely immerses himself within the studied group as an adherent, omitting to state that the outcome is to do research. The complete observer is the researcher that does not get involved whatsoever in the group activities and only observes and record behavior with little exchange with the group. As for the second role, "Participant observers can be insiders who observe and record some aspects of life around them (in which case, they're observing participants), or they can be outsiders who participate in some aspects of life around them and record what they can (in which case, they're participating observers)" (Bernard 2011, 260). Below is a table

by James P. Spradley on the degree of participation of the researcher in the fieldwork (Spradley 1980, 58).

Table 2.1. Spradley's types of Continuum of Involvement in the Researcher's Participation (Spradley 1980)

Degree of involvement	Type of Participation
High	Complete
	Active
	Moderate
Low	Passive
No involvement	Non-participation

Source: Spradley 1980,58

In this study, I have applied the moderate participation method, as I was both an insider and an outsider participant-observer among the community, as described by Spradley (1980): "Moderate participation occurs when the ethnographer seeks to maintain a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation" (Spradley 1980, 60). I came to realize that on some occasions, I was an active participant, and on others, I felt detached from unusual situations and only observed as an outsider, as states Spradley (1980), "Doing ethnographic fieldwork involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously." (Spradley 1980, 57)

Practicing participant observation allows the researcher "to get the feel of what events are like, and to record your own perceptions" (Spradley1980, 51). The researcher participates directly or indirectly in events, gatherings, and through introspection, they analyze the events they engage in. Spradley (1980) emphasizes the importance of the introspectiveness of the researcher during the fieldwork. He mentions that the ethnographer uses his own self as a research instrument to understand and feel the experience of a new situation to grasp the cultural environment involved and understand people's behaviors (Spradley 1980).

Contrary to interviews conducted in a structured environment set by the researcher, life stories and narrations collected through participant observation enable the researcher to explore and interact with the people in their everyday life setting, taking part in informal conversation or events that occur naturally (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). During the fieldwork, I was immersed in the community practices on many occasions. First, I participated in a *Hatim Gecesi*[2] gathering, where the community come together to create a sense of rootedness and connects to their culture, history, and past. During that meeting, I engaged with them, helped the community, and closely observed the celebrations and customs. Furthermore, it was an opportunity to meet and talk to many persons that night, which was another way of collecting information through casual conversations. My observation of these gatherings in which North African descendants came together led me to focus on the hybridity of their identity. I observed that my interlocutors had a dual cultural identity, and even though they openly identify with both their cultures, these gatherings are, in my sense, a way to create their own space in which they negotiate their differences and try to balance between their identities. As part of my participant observation, I have also visited cemeteries in Adana and Kozan, where community members are buried. These visits to the graveyard allowed me to observe some rituals and emotions towards their deceased Algerian ancestors.

2.4 The Researcher's Role and Reflexivity

Ethnography is a criticized method on the ground of the "subjectivity" of the analyses and the researcher's influence on the research outcome because the "common-sense" of the researcher is not valid and not generalizable and needs to be substituted with a scientific one (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Evaluating the quality of qualitative method research is an essential concern among researchers in social sciences. Lots of discussions have emerged on whether it is possible to guaranty quality of analysis and interpretation compared to quantitative research rigorousness "to ensure that your analysis is as close as possible to what is really happening is worthwhile" (Gibbs, 2007, 91). In response to this issue, I will be focusing on the possible dubious aspects that

[2]In the Muslim world, Muslims gather in community to read the entire Quran in a single night and make invocations and share a meal together.

can bias the analyses and diminish the quality of the research. Gibbs (2007) point at reflexivity as an issue concerning interpretation and knowledge production in research, in his words:

> Put simply, reflexivity is the recognition that the product of research inevitably reflects some of the background, milieu and predilections of the researcher. The scientific model claims that good research is objective, accurate and unbiased. However, those who stress the reflexivity of research suggest that no researcher can guarantee such objectivity. The qualitative researcher, like all other researchers, cannot claim to be an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text of their research reports (Gibbs 2007, 91)

In parallel to the research development, the researcher's position towards the investigated object is a concerning matter amid the scientific community, which led me to question the degree of commitment or detachment I should adopt while conducting this study. The researcher is inevitably not value-free; and must be aware and alert of the different aspects of his/her identity (culture, religion, gender) in all the research process steps; it is an inevitable fact. Valentine (2005) mentioned that during an interview, it is primordial to take into consideration our own identity as she says: "When you are thinking about who you want to interview, it is important to reflect on who you are and how your own identity will shape the interactions that you have with others. This is what academics describe as recognizing your positionality and being reflexive" (Valentine 2005, 113). During this research, I have constantly challenged and questioned myself regarding the feasibility and my objectivity toward this topic as stated by Phil Johnson and Joanne Duberley (2003) "we must engage with ourselves through thinking about our own thinking" (Johnson and Duberley 2003, 1279). I questioned myself on the feasibility of this study to understand what it meant for me to be from the same ethnic background as the community I am studying. My experiences and my roots certainly influence my mindset, attitude, and perspective, thus initiating research that involves a community with Algerian background had taught me to adopt a strategy between 'detachment' and 'involvement,' described by Dmitri N. Shalin (1986) as follows:

> The sociologist qua participant observer never submerges himself entirely in the community life he studies he measures his involvement with detachment, sympathy with reflection, heart with reason all of which makes the replication of interactionist research not nearly as outlandish as it may sound and assures a higher predictive value of interactionist findings than most formal measurements could offer (Shalin 1986, 21).

The difficulty I personally had was formulating hypotheses or think about my research scientifically. The reason being my personal experience abroad and living far from my country of origin, which had bounded me to this topic. So, the challenge was to put apart the stereotypes[3] I had and focus on the study scientifically. Thus, the most critical issue for what is called "native researcher" in anthropology is to distance oneself from their "own people" and create a distance from their own culture for the sake of the research. In anthropological literature, this relation of connection and distancing of the native researcher is described by Emiko Ohnuki-Tiemey (1984) as follow:

> On the one hand, native anthropologists are in a far more advantageous position in understanding the emotive dimensions of behavior-psychological dimensions of behavior are hard for outsiders to understand. However, the intensity with which native anthropologists recognize and even identify the emotive dimension can be an obstacle for discerning patterns of emotion. As an endeavor to arrive at abstractions for "the native's point of view," if non-native anthropologists have difficulty in avoiding the superimposition of their own cultural categories and meanings, native anthropologists have the task of somehow "distancing" themselves, both intellectually and emotively (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984, 584).

Through observing this community, I tried as much as possible to neither be a complete outsider nor identify myself with the group. According to Ohnuki-Tiemey (1984), being from the same ethnic background, speaking the same language, and being knowledgeable of the interlocutors' culture have put me in a position of power. Indeed, it allowed me to grasp diverse aspects and group behaviors which would have been more challenging for a "non-native" to understand. On the other hand, the emotional component of my interlocutors was not unfamiliar to me. I am also an Algerian living abroad and could identify with some feelings shared among the community, such as nostalgia and yearning for my country. Thus, distinguishing my interlocutors' emotional aspects without combining them with my own bias has been a challenging phase of the research. Nevertheless, following Johnson and Duberley (2003), saying: "So while we cannot eradicate our subjective metatheoretical commitments, we must open them to our inspection through our capacity for reflexivity." (Johnson and Duberley 2003, 1280). In that sense, being an insider has, at some points, made me romanticize some aspects of my interlocutors' emotionality. Still, throughout the

[3]Volponi states that "The researcher is not himself immune to stereotypes. Social psychologists remind us that stereotypes - a term inherited from the 18th century - are made up of "images in the head with an affective dimension", nourished by "exaggerated beliefs based on shared values" and constitutive of "social judge ability." Some of these "stereotyping processes" are embedded in scientific habitus." (Volponi, 2007, 8) (Translated by the author).

research process and the analysis of the data collected, I stayed aware of this issue. In sum, being from an Algerian background has put me in a position of power during the fieldwork because I was not perceived as an outsider among the community.

As elaborated by Kirin Narayan (1993), the discussion of the “regular” and “native” anthropologist has been at the center of anthropoidal discussions. In her article “How Native Is a "Native" Anthropologist” she states her opposition against this dichotomy existing between native and non-native researcher an propose to explore this issue as “Instead of the paradigm emphasizing a dichotomy between outsider/insider or observer/observed, I propose that at this historical moment we might more profitably view each anthropologist in terms of shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities and power relations.” (Narayan 1993, 671). In fact, interlocutors mentioned at several times that the fact that I was Algerian had enabled them to communicate openly and appeared comfortable in my presence. Although, this has not been the case with all interlocutors. For instance, my interview with Murat never happened because he considered that he could not share his family memory or photographs with a researcher he did not know, in that sense, I can say that the power relation existing between the interviewee and the researcher may sometimes cause issues. I later learned that he has in his possession interesting documents about migration history. This shows that I could also be considered an "outsider" that could not be trusted enough, which I totally respected. Consequently, I can say that my understanding of this community is affected by two factors: how my interlocutors perceived me and how they wanted me to perceive them.

Even though gender issues were not among the main points in this study, I want to state that during fieldwork, I understood that gender issues appeared mostly during interviews with men interlocutors. Methodologically speaking, my position as a female researcher became more challenging while addressing emotional issues related to the topics. Indeed, I argue that men were more restraining themselves from getting emotional compared to my women interlocutors. In fact, during the fieldwork, emotions such as nostalgia, sadness, and longing were more challenging to talk about with men because of the heavy emotionality and nostalgia that were at the center of the identity discussion. During interviews, some of the men's interlocutors refrained themselves several times from crying and wanted to change the topic quickly, not to

become vulnerable, nor wanted to show their weaknesses in front of me. Thus, I argue that my position as a woman researcher brought some limitations in some of the interviews. This statement was more valid for younger men (2nd and 3rd generation). Men of the 1st generation in their 80's - 90's were more open and at ease talking to me, and I argue that they did not perceive me as a researcher but as a family member or a grandchild with whom they could openly speak. On the other hand, I didn't encounter any issues with my women interlocutors; the interviews openly discussed emotional topics and expressed their emotions and weaknesses openly. In that sense, I argue that my position as a women researcher helped me dig into sensitive issues more easily with women than with men.

CHAPTER III

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ALGERIAN MIGRATION TO THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The ethnic composition of Turkey is very diverse, but the presence of Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan has often gone unheard and is not present in Turkish historiography. In this chapter, I aim to focus on the Algerian migrations experience to Ottoman territories in a historical sense; this will allow me to put into context the rest of this study that deals with the identity construction of the descendants of these Algerians.

Formerly under the Islamic Ottoman rules since the 16th century, Algeria's invasion by the French colonial power in 1830 set the beginning of radical changes in the Algerian society and history. The French occupation has settled in Algeria, imposed regulations, interfered in the Algerian's affairs, and committed atrocities from 1830 until 1962, the date of Algerian independence. The alienation of the Algerian people has contributed to the development of a new 'Algerian' identity attached to Islamic identity (Bennison 1998). The colonial conquering of Algeria in 1830 drastically changed the country's social structures, and the exile of Algerians to the Ottoman Empire was often regarded as an act of opposition to this invasion and the new regulations imposed on the indigenous population (Sissani, 2003). The aim of this thesis is not historical; rather, I want to understand the general historical context which led to the departure of thousands of Algerians, leaving their homeland not ever to return.

To apprehend the migration of Algerians of the late 19th century, my first aim is to understand the different factors leading to the French colonization in Algeria that set drastic changes in the society and the Algerian identity. As says Amira K. Bennison (1998): "The colonial encounter in Algeria was both intimate and prolonged: one hundred and thirty two years during which the indigenous population resisted, submitted." (Bennison 1998, 99).In fact, with its "sense of cultural superiority," the French encountered an indigenous society who spoke Arabic and Berber and which

identity was deeply rooted in Islamic values and tribalism (Bennison 1998). In that sense, I will explain how the dominant-dominated colonial system created important gaps between the locals and the French colonizers and imposed on Algerians harsh living conditions. In these circumstances, the local population was left with three choices, resist the colonial power, submit or leave their homeland.

This chapter will detail the existent historical literature that explains the internal and external causes leading the Algerians to leave. For this, I will discuss political and religious matters at the center of the migration issue and further address the international context in which Algerian migration occurred to the Ottoman regions. The literature says that the late 19th-century emergence of the Pan-Islamism[4] movement has greatly influenced Algerians living under colonialism. Algerians were attracted by the idea of Arabo-Muslim unity and fraternity against the colonial administration this movement promoted. I will explain in detail how this movement echoed on the Algerians and how they were encouraged and influenced by this reformist movement to migrate to the Arab territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The last part of the chapter will focus on my interlocutor's historical narratives of the migration of their forefathers. It is crucial to understand the socio-historical circumstances in which Algerians left the homeland to apprehend the identity question of the first, second, and third generation of Algerian descendants in Adana. In historical literature, it is mentioned that the Algerian migrants settled first in Ottoman Syria before reaching Anatolia for a part of them. For this reason, most of the existing historical literature focuses on the migrants who settled in Syria. Based on my interlocutor's narratives, I also contribute to the historical narrative of the Algerian migration by exploring the Algerian migrant's journey inside Anatolia, which is not mentioned in the literature. In this chapter, I will also argue that my interlocutor's narration of the past is romanticized and based on nostalgia, inherited from the past

[4]"A term of European origin, *pan-Islamism* denotes the intellectual and institutional trends toward Islamic unity that emerged among Muslim peoples, starting in the mid–nineteenth century and continuing throughout the twentieth century. The need for a unified Islamic identity was a product of the challenges posed by Western intervention in and domination of Muslim societies during the colonialist period. Leaders throughout the Muslim world appealed to the Islamic tradition to solidify public opposition to foreign occupation and thereby gain political independence." (source : https://www.encyclopedia.com/)

generation's yearning for the homeland. I explain that the construction of the narratives justifies the legitimacy of my interlocutors to belong to Turkey.

3.1 Algerian Migration in a Historical Perspective

3.1.1 Algerians in the Colonial Era

Algeria has been an Ottoman province since the 16th century and was considered an autonomous region of the Empire (Bennison, 1998). In the historical literature, the fall of Algiers in 1830 is commonly considered to be the end of the Ottoman period in Algeria and the beginning of French colonization. To contextualize the French invasion of Algeria, I will explain the main reasons existing in the literature that justifies this colonization. According to the Algerian historian Abou El-Qacem Saâdallah (1983), France's occupation of Algeria can be explained in several ways. The mainstream narration relates to a diplomatic incident between Dey Hussein, the last Ottoman ruler of Algiers, and the French consul Pierre Laval. During a diplomatic meeting, Dey Hussein would have insulted the French consul by hitting him with a hand fan as France had not paid the debt to Algeria[5] (Saâdallah 1983, 17). Later on, this diplomatic incident was used as an excuse by France to invade Algeria.

Furthermore, the literature mentions other colonization motives, mainly the rivalry between the French and the British Empire in terms of power and influence in the region (Saâdallah 1983, 17). 19th century France was in research of prestige in the region to regain the popularity of king Charles X who was not considered a loved king, as stated by the French Historian Charles-Robert Ageron (1991):

> The expedition of Algiers was not connected with the colonial policy of the Restoration Bourbon monarchy, but was a make-shift expedient for internal political consumption, carried out by a government in difficulty seeking the prestige of a military victory (Ageron 1991, 5).

In that sense, the colonization of Algeria, which began from the city of Algiers, was mainly for the prestige and grandeur of the French colonial Empire.

[5] On the 30th of April 1827, and in a context of tension between France and Algeria, the Dey held an official meeting where the French consul Pierre Deval was invited. As France has been indebted to Algeria and found excuses to bypass the debt, the Dey decided to face the French consul about this issue and couldn't keep his temper and slightly hit the face of the consul with a hand fan (Saâdallah 1983).

In her article “Opposition and accommodation to French colonialism in early 19th century Algeria”, Bennison (1998) analyzes the transformation of the Algerian society and the initial reactions that occurred with the landing of French troops. She states that the alienation of the local population has contributed to the emergence of a new ‘Algerian’ identity with strong nationalism and attachment to Islamic identity (Bennison 1998). She further asserts that prior to colonization, Algerians dealt with their affairs internally based on tribal customs and religious traditions. In line with this, the population identified neither as Algerians nor Ottomans instead as members of a tribe, and their "cultural identity was rooted in Islam" (Bennison 1998, 114). Foremost, this shows that Algerians' identity was not established on nationalism but tribalism and religion. The national character of Algerians is thus an outcome of the French occupation, as she states: "As a result of the war the inhabitants of the central Maghreb became 'Algerians,' an identity born of shared experience under French rule, but bereft of specific, as opposed to wider Islamic or Arab, roots in pre-colonial society" (Bennison 1998, 114). Her analysis of the Algerian identity pre-colonial era is meaningful for this study as I aim to understand the identity of Algerian descendants whose forefathers left their homeland. This leads me to the argument that the first migrants who left Algerian at the down of the colonization identified primarily through their religious identity and tribe belonging.

It is necessary to concentrate on the colonialism philosophy before analyzing the migration issues of late 19th century Algeria. The colonialism ideology is established based on the differentiation between the colonizer and the colonized, as put forward by the French historian Bernard Augustin (1907):

> Today if there is still a lot of obscurity in the destinies of Algeria, in particular with regard to the future role of the natives and the degree of civilization to which they are likely to reach, at least the main lines of the Algerian edifice can be clearly seen. It is a question of wresting this country from barbarism, of developing in all their forms the richness of the soil and the subsoil: this is the economic problem. It is also a question of introducing into the colony men of our blood, of making there prevail our language, our ideas and our manners, of *Frenchify* the country at the same time that we civilize it: it is the ethnic problem[6] (Bernard 1907, 320).

[6]« Aujourd'hui s'il y a encore beaucoup d'obscurité dans les destinées de la Berbérie, notamment en ce qui concerne le rôle futur des indigènes et le degré de civilisation auquel ils sont susceptibles d'atteindre, du moins dans les grandes lignes de l'édifice algérien se laissent clairement entrevoir. Il s'agit d'arracher ce pays à la barbarie, de mettre en valeur sous toutes leurs formes les richesses du sol et du sous-sol : c'est le problème économique. Il s'agit aussi d'introduire dans la colonie des hommes de notre sang, d'y faire prédominer notre langue, nos idées et nos mœurs, de Franciser la contrée en même temps qu'on la civilise : c'est le problème ethnique. » (Bernard 1907, 320). (Translated by the author)

The above statement is seemingly a demonstration of social Darwinism in this context; as said by Marvin Perry (2010) “Social Darwinists insisted that nations and races were engaged in a struggle for survival in which only the fittest survive and deserve to survive. In their view, war was nature’s way of eliminating the unfit.” (Perry 2010, 354). Social Darwinism entitled the “superior races” to invade and civilize the “Barbarians.” In the Algerian context, the colonial power indeed perceived the local population as uncivilized and barbaric that needed to be enlightened by Europeans.

In that event, a dominant-dominated relation inflicted Algerians with harsh living conditions; their lands were confiscated, they were treated with brutality and deprived of fundamental human rights (Bennison 1998). The Code of the Indigenous Status "*code de l'indigénat*" is an example that justifies the extremity with which Algerians were treated. This penal code adopted in 1870 was applied solely to local populations of French colonies and was a way to separate between the locals and the French settlers: "The Code of Indigenous Status legally enshrined the separation between the Muslim populations and the French citizens" (Dupret and Ben Hounet 2018, 5). According to Ageron (1991), The Code of the Indigenous Status gave full power to the administrative officers to condemn the local population, and "the purpose was to provide the administrative officers of the civil regime with the exceptional powers of the military to deal with tribes which were still not entirely submissive" (Ageron 1991, 69). In this colonial context, the local population was left with three options: fight the enemy, submit to colonial power or migrate. In this study, I am interested in the journey of the Algerian migrants who migrated to the Ottoman Empire; I will thus analyze the internal and external factors influencing these departures in more detail.

3.1.2 Factors Supporting Migration to the Ottoman Empire

As stated earlier, the French colonization officially began in 1830. It expanded throughout the national territory through expeditions such as the war of conquest that lasted from 1839 until 1847 when Emir Abd al-Qadir surrendered his arms (Bennison 1998). This expedition restructured the region into *l'Algerie française* or Colonial Algeria. By the mid 19th century, most of the Algerian territory was under French rules, although opposition movements emerged in different regions. One of the most famous leaders who opposed the French expansion in Algeria was Emir Abd al-Qadir, a young

religious and military leader elected in 1832 at the head of the Algerian revolution that lasted until 1847 (Saâdallah 1983). The Emir has attempted to establish an Algerian state in the Western province and became the symbol of Islamic resistance to French colonialism (Bennison 1998). In line with this, the Emir was willing to unite Algerians despite tribal differences and declared the holy war against the colonizers and aimed to establish "an Islamic state in the West"(Bennison 1998, 108). In that sense, the Emir was perceived as a danger for the French colonial administration. According to Bennison (1998), the resistance movement was initiated in 1839 and lasted until December 1847, when he was defeated. His exile to Paris marked the beginning of a long displacement journey for the Emir; after being released in 1852, he traveled to Bursa in Anatolia and settled for three years, then to Damascus in 1855, where he lived until his death (Saâdallah 1983).

It is primordial to understand that the surrender of the Emir and his exile was considered a starting point for waves of Algerian migration to the Middle East. The French historian Pierre Bardin (1980), in his study on Algerians in the Ottoman Empire, states that the first important migration movement occurred between 1847 and 1852, which correspond with the defeat and surrender of Abd al-Qadir, in his words:

> The first major migratory movements appear to be between 1847 and 1852, that coincide with the defeat of Abdelkader and his lieutenants and their submission to the French military authorities; among those who fought against the French army, some will remain in Algeria, others will demand to go to Syria, with the agreement of the French command they left with their families[7] (Bardin 1980, 6).

The migration starting with the departure of the Emir shows, in my sense, the loss of hope among the Algerian population who had great belief in the Emir's powers to resist the French colonizer. However, the historical conjectures show us that different waves of migration occurred, which I will detail in the next section.

[7] "Les premiers mouvements migratoires importants paraissent se situer entre 1847 et 1852 , ils coincident avec la défaite d'Abdelkader et de ses lieutenants et de leur soumission aux autorités militaires françaises ; parmi ceux qui ont lutté contre l'armée française, les uns resteront en Algérie, d'autres demandent à gagner la Syrie, ils partent, emmenant leurs familles, avec l'accord du commandement français." (Bardin 1980, 6). (Translated by the author)

3.2 The Departure from Algeria

3.2.1 The Different Waves of Migration

According to the Algerian historians Bachir Bellah (2006) and Abou El-Qacem Saâdallah (1983), the Algerian migration movements towards the Ottoman territories can be divided into four distinct waves that began in the early stage of the colonization in 1830. According to the two historians, the first migration movement occurred between 1830 and 1847, during which France's oppression towards Algerians was virulent. Brutal executions, excessive punishments, and land confiscations led some Algerians to migrate to neighboring countries Tunisia and Morocco (Bellah 2006). The second significant migration movement developed between 1848 and 1870, particularly between 1854 and 1860, following the surrender and exile of Emir Abd al-Qadir. This migration wave was in constant departures and from different cities in Algeria (Saâdallah 1983). The third migration wave is set to happen between 1871 and 1900, a period characterized by significant events, among which the defeat of other leaders such as Al-Mokrani and Al-Haddad in 1871[8] (Saâdallah 1983). Finally, the French officers encouraged the last migration wave that happened between 1900 and 1914 to confiscate and seize lands and properties of leaving migrants. This migration wave was also the outcome following a law voted by the French in which Military service was made compulsory for Algerians in anticipation of World War I (Khaldi 1997).

I want to note here that during France's colonialization in Algeria, some Algerians were forced to join the French army. After World War I, in the conflict opposing French and Turks in the Çukorova region[9], some Algerians were among the French army. However, according to my interlocutors' narratives, the Algerian soldiers were not explicitly explained in which war they were involved. For instance, one of my interlocutors is the son of an Algerian soldier brought to Adana by the French army; he narrated in this way: "They were told that they are going to fight against Jews who were killing Muslims, and they were brought here (in the Çukurova region)[10]." He

[8] Cheikh Al Haddad and Mohammed el-Hadj el-Mokrani are some of the leaders of the revolts that occurred in Algeria during the French conquest, after the defeat of Emir Abd al-Qadir (Saâdallah 1983).
[9]The region was constituted of the province Adana and the sanjak of Maraş (Güçlü 2001).
[10]Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Yahudiler müslümanları öldürüyo demişler getirmişler" (Translated by the author).

continues by saying it was only once these soldiers heard the call to prayer *ezan* that they realized they were fighting against Muslims, in his words "They heard the call to prayer and realized the population was Muslim, initially they were brought to kill Jews attacking Muslims, but France brought them to kill Muslims instead...then these (Algerian) soldiers captured French (soldiers) and killed them…this is how my father stayed here (in Turkey)[11]." Furthermore, the narration of my interlocutor Cezmi Yurtsever, who is a Turkish historian, led me to believe that many Algerian soldiers left the French army to stay in Anatolia as he says :

> During the French occupation of Adana, there were also people from Algeria, from Senegal and Mauritania, who were legion soldiers in Osmaniye Center in Kozan and Adana. At that time, Algerian Muslims did not obey French military orders, such as throwing bullets and bombs during the war. When they heard the *ezan*, they changed sides during fights and fought with the Kuvayi Milliye Turkish force against France[12].

In the previous paragraphs, I analyzed the internal circumstances leading to migration in Algeria; now, I aim to consider the international context during which these departures happened. According to the Turkish historian Kemal Karpat (2001), in the 19th century prevailed an Islamic unity idea in the Muslim leaders' sphere that was before that, failing to achieve: "Prior to the nineteenth century, in spite of a few vague and isolated calls for unity, the Islamic states failed to develop a concept of unity or to achieve a military alliance against the West or Christendom" (Karpat 2001, 48). Nonetheless, the progressive invasion of European colonial power in Muslim lands led Muslim leaders to call for unity under the leadership of the Ottoman Sultan to resist the colonizers: "The universality of the Ottoman caliphate became a *fait accompli*[13] in the nineteenth century, thanks to the widespread need of the Muslim leaders to unite around one central institution in order to oppose the Europeans"(Karpat 2001, 49). As says Roderic Davison (1963), the pan-Islamism movement "helped to produce a sort

[11] Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Ezan sesi bunlar müslüman demiş hani biz yahudi müslümanları öldürüyo yahudiyi öldürecek bizi müslüman öldürmeye getirmişler meğer Fransayı esir alıyor öldürüyorlar...babam öyle kalıyor" (Translated by the author).

[12]Personal interview with Cezmi Yurtsever on 01.11.2019, Adana: "Fransa'nın Adanayı işgali esnasında Senegal'den gelen Moritanya'dan gelen Cezayir'den gelen insanlar da vardır lejyon askeri olarak Osmaniye Merkez'de Kozan'da Adana'da hemen her yerde Cezayirli müslümanlar işgal ortamında Fransa'nın hani bu savaş ortamında kurşun ve bomba atmak savaşmak gibi emirlerine çoğu kez uymuyorlar yani hatta ezan okunurken kulak kabartıp savaş ortamında birden bire saf değiştirip Türklerin tarafına geçen Kuvayi Milliye askeri olaraktan Fransa'ya karşı gelen Cezayirliler" (Translated by the author).

[13]"Something that has already happened or been done and cannot be changed."
(Source:https://dictionary.cambridge.org/)

of Islamic patriotism, an anti-western rigidity" (Davison 1963, 275-76). The movement called for a return to Islam as a way of salvation and for the obligation of unity between Muslims to face European colonialism (Davison 1963).

Bachir Ballah (2006) relates to the influence of the Pan-Islamism movement on the Algerian migration movements. According to him, the Algerians were inspired by this reformist movement that motivated them to have better living conditions in the Arab territory of the Ottoman Empire (Bellah 2006). He also asserts that Algerians were appealed by calls for migration, intensified through epistolary correspondence migrants send their families back home, describing lands of freedom and brotherhood in the Middle East (Bellah 2006). In that circumstance, pan-Islamic views were instilled in the Algerian society in various ways. For instance, the press was a means to implant the movement's idea among the population, and journals such as *Basiret* were widely distributed in the Muslim world (Davison 1963; Landau 2015).

> One of the most widely read Turkish newspapers in Istanbul, printed articles asserting the unity of Islam in the world and declaring that the Ottomans ought to band together all the Muslims of the Empire. It also called on the world of Islam for a Muslim campaign to assist both the Algerians and India's Muslims against Europe (Landau 2015, 57)

In sum, with its different communication channels in the Ottoman provinces, the pan-Islamism movement spread in the Muslim lands, raised the religiosity of Muslims of the colonies, and inspired the migration of thousands of Algerians (Benrabih 2008, 17).

3.3 The Experience of the Departure and Settlement

As stated before, the French colonization altered the social structures of the society, and migration movements occurred as an act of opposition to the colonial system. Malika Sissani (2003) stated that the French colonial administration tolerated the Algerian departures as long as they were isolated cases and prevented them once it was massive and could be interpreted as a political manifestation. Especially after 1847, following the loss of Emir Abd al-Qadir, a massive migration happened, raising the issue of migration in the colonial administration (Sissani 2003, 114). The literature mentions that the French have been cautious with those migration movements of the

late 19t century. Muhamad Ghalim (2000) notes that on the one hand, the migration was tolerated as it gave the possibility to expand lands seizing, and it was also a way to replace the local population with European settlers, as stated in the collection of French decrees in Algeria:

> In the future, any tribe or fraction of tribe which emigrated will be dispossessed of its common or particular properties with a delay of one month if it has not obtained the permission of the superior commander of the province or of the subdivision, these lands will be declared state property.[14]

On the other hand, the departures of Algerians also meant an economic loss for the French as the workforce departed. Consequently, the colonial administration took measures to prevent departures, such as refusal of passports delivery and borders controls (Ghalim 2000). As a matter of fact, in the following extract, the French General Governor Edouard Laférière in 1899 published in the journal *Le Mobacher* a message in which he warns Algerians of the extreme life conditions that endured Algerians in Syria as a way to stop the departures:

PARTIE NON OFFICIELLE

AVIS

Je suis informé que plus de huit cents indigènes d'Algérie qui, après avoir vendu leurs terres, s'étaient rendus à Damas avec leurs familles, dans l'espoir d'y trouver une situation plus prospère, sont actuellement plongés dans la plus affreuse misère et demandent, avec instance, à être rapatriés en Algérie.

J'ai été affligé de cette situation et je considère qu'elle doit être connue de tous les musulmans.

Le gouvernement de la France entend que tous ses sujets restent dans le devoir, mais il ne perd pas de vue leurs intérêts ; c'est pourquoi je fais un pressant appel à tous les hommes sensés, parmi les indigènes algériens, aux hommes de travail et de probité, afin qu'ils se rendent à l'évidence et comprennent l'erreur dans laquelle cherchent à les entraîner quelques professionnels de l'agitation ou certaines informations tendancieuses venues de Contantinople.

Il importe que les indigènes se ressaisissent, qu'illusionnés par de brillantes promesses, ils ne vendent pas, à vil prix, les terres et le bétail qu'ils possèdent, pour n'aller récolter, en Syrie, que d amères déceptions et la plus profonde misère.

Mon appel sera entendu de tous les musulmans algériens. L'exemple de leurs coreligionnaires les instruira des dangers auxquels ils s'exposent et aujourd'hui, mieux informés, ils seront reconnaissants au gouvernement de la République, de leur avoir évité de cruels déboires.

Le gouverneur général,

E.l. Laferrière.

Figure 3.1. *Le Mobacher* Journal Article, 11 November 1899.

source: https://gallica.bnf.fr

> More than 800 natives of Algeria who, after having sold their lands, went to Damascus with their family, they are currently plunged in the most awful misery and urges to be repatriated to Algeria…this is why I make an urgent appeal to all the reasonable men, among the Algerian

[14] "Toutes les propriétés appartenant à des tribus émigrées, seront déclarées propriété de l'État, et que cette dépossession frappera à l'avenir toute tribu qui migrera, si, dans un délais d'un mois, elle n'a pas obtenu l'aman du commandant de la division ou de la subdivision » Algeria. (1856). Recueil des actes du gouvernement de l'Algérie : 1830-1854, p.116 (Translated by the author).

> natives so that they come to the evidence and understand the error they are making by believing tendentious promises coming from Constantinople.[15]

According to Ageron (1967), the underlying reason behind these departures was a campaign in the Turkish newspaper *El Maloumat* published on 8 March 1899, which supposedly promised lands to migrants in Syria (Ageron 1967).

The Algerian migration literature also mentions issues between the French and Ottoman administrations regarding the migrants' settlement in Ottoman lands. For example, Pierre Bardin (1980), in his study on the Algerian migrant's situation in the Ottoman Empire, focused on the relationship between the Ottoman and French officials in terms of managing the Algerian community that settled in the Empire. According to him, there was a willingness to integrate the Algerian migrants into the Empire as he states:

> From the beginning of 1882 the Ottoman administration addressed instructions to the provincial governors on the Algerians. Those who are established in the Empire definitively and without a spirit of return, are and should be treated as Ottoman subjects, those whose stay is only temporary will be considered as "French protected[16] (Bardin 1980, 40).

In that sense, Bardin (1980) stipulates that Abdulhamid's pan-Islamic policy led to a "policy of Ottomanization of Algerians[17]"(Bardin 1980, 41) in the Empire. Sebahattin Samur (1992), in his article "Algerian immigrants in the Ottoman state and Abd Al-Qadir Eljazairi," raises the issues that faced the newly arrived Algerian migrants in the Ottoman region based on Ottoman archives. He mentions that the arrival of migrants raised interrogations from the Ottoman authorities, who questioned the reasons behind the migration: "Why did they come? Why did they leave their country? Did they come here willingly or under pressure? did the French government send them here?[18]" (Samur 1992, 142). He explains that the status of these migrants was a delicate diplomatic issue, because as he explains: "if these newcomers refuse to be Ottoman

[15] *Le Mobacher* no. 4152, November 11, 1899 (Translated by the author)
(source: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k67560642/f1.item)
[16] "Dès le début de 1882 la Porte adresse des instructions aux gouverneurs de province sur les Algériens. Ceux qui sont établis dans l'Empire sans esprit de retour sont et doivent être traités comme des sujets ottomans, ceux dont le séjour n'est que temporaire seront considérés « protégés français »" (Translated by the author)
[17] "La politique d'ottomanisation des Algeriens." (Translated by the author)
[18] "Bunlar niçin geldiler? Ülkelerini neden terkettiler?Buraya isteyerek veya şartların zorlaması ile mi geldiler? Yoksa Fransa hükümeti tarafından mı gönderildiler? gibi istifhamlar izliyordu." (Translated by the author)

«citizens», and decide to become French citizens, Syria would automatically become a French colony.[19]" (Samur 1992, 142). So, fearing the establishment of a French colony on Ottoman lands, I understand that the Ottoman administration was cautious of the new Algerian migrants at first. Samur (1992) proceeds by giving interesting information about the settlement and integration of one of the first migrant groups that migrated in 1848 under the leadership of the Algerian leader Ahmed Ben Salem. I understand that the Algerian migrants had to justify their migration that was, as explained earlier, suspicious in the eyes of the Ottoman officers at first. In that sense, Samur (1992) states that Algerians justified their presence to the Ottomans from a cultural and religious perspective. Migrants emphasized the Ottoman nature of their lifestyle and their willingness to live as Ottoman citizens, in his words:

> They had lived as Ottoman citizens for a long time and the conditions forced them to leave their homeland because they wanted to live as Ottoman citizens again. They also specifically stated they did not want to live under the rule of a Christian state[20] (Samur 1992, 143).

I understand from Samur's work that Algerian migrants were, in fact, keen and attached to their religious and cultural identity as stated by Bennison (1998) and that they were used to live the 'Ottoman way of life' back in Algeria. I will detail in chapter five my interlocutors' understanding of migration as a *hijra* and will show how the constructed narrative of the past is a tool of legitimization of the present. In terms of integration and settlement of the migrants in the host societies, Samur (1992) also explains that Ottoman authorities provided housing, lands for agriculture, animals, and necessary equipment for the Algerians to settle in the Ottoman lands.

I want to emphasize here the religious nature of the Algerian migration to the Ottoman lands. On several occasions, my interlocutors explained that the migration of Algerians to the Ottoman lands was profoundly for religious reasons, as one of them stated: "They understood that it was no more possible to live the Islamic way (in Algeria) and decided to make the *hijra*.[21]", thus, they performed *hijra* to lands under Islamic rule.

[19]"Eğer bu yeni gelenler Osmanlı «tebaası» olmayı reddeder, Fransız vatandaşı olur ya da olmaya kalkışırlarsa Suriye'de kendiliğinden bir Fransız kolonisi oluşacaktır."(Translated by the author)
[20] "Eskiden beri Osmanlı vatandaşı olarak yaşadıklarını, şartların onları vatanlarını terke zorladığını ve yine Osmanlı va tandaşı olarak yaşamak istediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca Hıristiyan bir devletin yönetimi altında yaşamak istemediklerini bilhassa belirtmişlerdir." (Translated by the author)
[21] Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: "Artık burada biz İslamiyeti yaşayamayız diye hicret etmişler." (Translated by the author)

Islamically speaking, several Qur'anic verses stipulate that *hijra* may be a necessity when individuals' faith and life are threatened[22]. The Prophet of Islam migrated from Makkah to Medina in times of oppression, thus historically and religiously speaking, the *hijra* of Muslims living under oppression has existed at all times (Tepekaya 2006). As I mentioned in previous sections, Bennison (1998) confirms that the pre-colonial Algerian identity was very much embodied in Islamic traditions (Bennison, 1998). In that sense, refusing to live under French colonization led them to leave *Dâr el H'arb*[23] to find refuge in *Dâr el Islam*[24] (Ageron, 1967). Through the narration of my interlocutors on the migration of their forefathers as a *hijra,* I will analyze in chapter five the use of memory in their identity building. I argue that my interlocutors structure their memory narration in a "usable" way (Wertsch 2002), which is a strategy of legitimization of their belonging to Turkey.

The analysis of the internal and external reasons behind the Algerian migration provided me with a historical context of the departure of my interlocutors' forefathers, and the study of Bardin (1980) and Samur (1992) gave me a glance at the integration and settlement of Algerian migrants in the Ottoman Empire. In the next section, I will focus on my interlocutors' forefathers' historical migration through their narrative of the past to put into context the study of identity that is the main aim of this thesis.

3.4 Settlement in Kozan: "We lost Algeria There and Found it Here."

In this study, the identity building of my interlocutors of three different generations will be based on their narrative of the past, memories, emotions, and sense of

[22] Qur'an, Chapter 4, verse 100: "Whoever migrates in the way of Allah shall find on the earth many a place to settle, and a wide dimension (of resources). Whoever leaves his home migrating for the sake of Allah and His Messenger, and death overtakes him, then, his reward is established with Allah. Allah is Most-Forgiving, Very-Merciful." (source: quran.com)

[23] "The term *dar al-harb,* which literally means "the house or abode of war," came to signify in classical jurisprudence a geopolitical reality; hence, it may also be rendered the "territory" of war. In the most basic sense the term indicates territory not governed by Islam, in contrast to territory under Islamic rule, *dar al-islam."* (source: www.encyclopedia.com*)*

[24] "Territory of Islam. Region of Muslim sovereignty where Islamic law prevails. The Hanafi school of law holds that territory conquered by nonbelievers can remain dar al-Islam as long as a qadi administers Islamic laws and Muslims and dhimmis are protected. Muslim scholars held that colonized Algeria was dar al-harb, and discussion arose about the obligation to emigrate to dar al-Islam."
(source: http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/)

belonging. I argue in this thesis that they inherited from the older generation a constructed narrative of the past that justifies their present today in Turkey in terms of belonging. In that sense, I will present the historical narrative of the settlement condition in Kozan and Adana narrated by my interlocutors in this section. This will allow me to analyze the role of memory and the narratives of the past on the identity building of my interlocutors in the following chapters.

First of all, I want to specify that my interlocutors in this study are Turkish citizens and are the first, second, and third-generation descendants of Algerian migrants. Their presence in Adana and the surrounding villages is a historical and cultural reality in Turkey for more than a century, and the historical understanding of their forefathers' migration is entirely based on their narratives of the past.

According to my interlocutors' narration, their forefathers' migration occurred during the last years of the 19th century. As mentioned in the previous sections, the historical literature on the Algerian migration mentions that Algerians were in a significant majority heading to Ottoman Syria, which became the primary destinations of the migrants, seemingly due to language similarities (Saâdallah 1983; Bardin 1980; Bellah 2006; Ghalim 2000). During my research and based on my interlocutors' narrations, I understood that my interlocutors' forefathers first settled in Syria for a while before reaching Anatolia.

Figure 3.2. A Passport Copy of an Algerian Born in Damascus.

The above document is an Ottoman passport whose holder was born in Syria (*Şam*) in 1876 (1292 Hijri years); I understand that Algerian migrants stayed in Syria for

approximately 10 to 20 years before settling in Kozan starting from 1912 (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi 2010, 352-3)[25]. My interlocutor Ahmet narrate the historical migration of his parents in this way :

> They left Algeria as a large community and came to Syria via Tunisia and Libya. Some of them went to Madinah, and some went back to Syria. They chose to come to Turkey from Syria. They came to Anatolia under Ottoman bastion, after visiting several provinces in Anatolia, they settled in Kozan Adana, then our family grew, and we had brothers and sisters […] then from Kozan, we settled in Adana (city) and started to make our living here since then[26].

Furthermore, during my research in the field, I came across some documents that prove that families were at some points split between Ottoman Syria and Kozan. The figure 3.3 is a correspondence between members of a family split between Turkey and Syria.

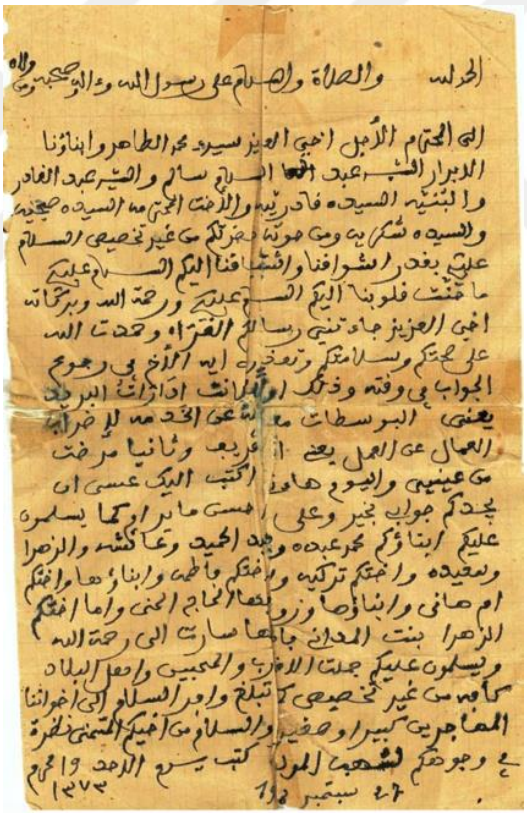

Figure 3.3. A Correspondence Letter between Family Members in Kozan and Syria.

[25] Refer to Appendix A.

[26] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Bir kısmı Medine'ye gitti bir kısmı tekrardan Şam'a geri geldi. Şam'dan Türkiye'ye gelip Şam'da Osmanlı Tabyasını seçtiler. Osmanlı Tabyası altında Anadolu'ya geldiler, burda birkaç Anadolu'da Türkiye'nin içinde birkaç il gezdikten sonra Adana Kozan'a yerleşip Kozan'da ailemiz büyüdü, kardeşlerimiz oldu. Biz de dünyaya geldik sonra Kozan'dan Adana'ya gelip Adana'ya yerleştik. Burda geçimimizi sağlamaya başladık."(Translated by the author).

This document clearly shows that the Algerian families whose descendants currently live in Adana and Kozan have settled for some time in Syria. Besides, it also shows that only a part of the Algerian community in Syria extended the migration until Anatolia. The letter (figure 3.3) dated from 1956 (1373 Hijri) shows a conversation between family members seeking news from each other. The person writing the letter gives news about all the family members and announces births and deaths in the family. The person also refers to Turkey as "*Dar-al Gurbet*[27]*,"* which shows the nostalgia that Algerian migrants experience, both to their homeland and their family members separated from them. Furthermore, the fact that this letter is written in Arabic makes me assume that in the 50's, most of the Algerian population settled in Anatolia could speak Arabic. One of my interlocutor narration of his grandfather's migration confirmed to me that families were split between Syria and Turkey, in his words:

> My grandfather came from Algeria, and he had two sisters with him. They came to Syria. One of my aunts stayed there and got married, and the other one came here (Kozan). My grandfather got married there, and my great uncle was born in Syria. Later, they settled here (Kozan) after sightseeing many places in Turkey[28].

Following what my interlocutor Süleyman says, once interlocutors' forefathers reached Anatolia, they have not settled directly in Kozan. In fact, on several occasions, my interlocutors stated that their forefathers have settled in different cities, looking for the best place that suits their needs. I draw the following map (Figure 3.4) showing the migration routes of North African tribes based on my interlocutors' narrations:

[27] From the Arabic (غربة): the state or feeling of being a foreigner and/or missing one's home country.
[28]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan."Dedem gelmiş Cezayir'den ve gelirken yanında iki kız kardeşi varmış. Şam'a gelmişler Suriye'ye orada halamın biri orada kalmış evlenmiş diğeri buraya gelmiş dedem de orada evlenmiş büyük amcam Şam doğumlu Şam'da doğmuş. Daha sonra Türkiye'ye gelmişler tabii Türkiye'de de birçok yeri gezip sonra buraya yerleşmişler." (Translated by the author).

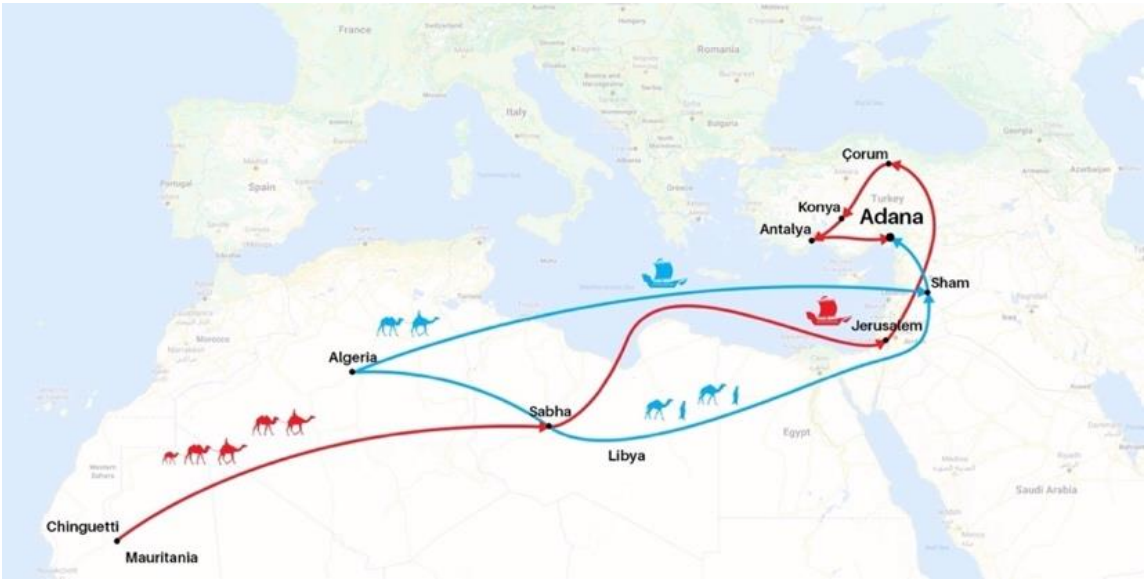

Figure 3.4. The Map of Migration Routes of North African Tribes.

Source: drawn by the author

The migration in Anatolia is interestingly narrated according to weather conditions, saying that Algerians were used to hot and dry climates. For this reason, migrants moved from a city to another, passing from Konya, Amasya, Antalya to finally settle in Kozan; my interlocutor Ahmet T. explains this in his words :

> They went to Konya, and from there, they went to Amasya. I even went to Amasya; I saw it myself; it used to be a village where they used to stay, now it has become a city, it has become a town. They were at the center of attraction, I mean, they were respected, but our people are not used to the cold; they do not like the cold at all[29].

As stated earlier, interlocutors' narrative of the migration in Anatolia is based upon weather conditions. For example, my interlocutor Medine who is 70 years old female interlocutor, stated that hundreds of migrants who stayed in the city of Konya lost their lives due to the cold weather; as she says: "During their stay in Konya, around 500 persons died from the cold because they were not used to it, they could not stand it.[30]" Similarly, Antalya was the next stop of the tribes, and the weather was humid and not suitable for them. As the last refuge, they settled in Kozan (Figure 3.5) and spent all their lives there. In the following map are mentioned the four main villages where my interlocutors' forefathers first settled: Kozan, Ufacıkören, Damyeri, and Yüksekören.

[29] Personal interview with Ahmet T. on 30.10.2019, Adana "Konya'ya gittiler oradan Amasya'ya gittiler. Hatta bu Amasya'ya gittim beni gördün bizzat onların kaldığı eskiden köymüş, şimdi şehir oldu, kasaba oldu. Orayı da gördüm yani cazibe merkeziydiler adamlar yani çok saygı, yani saygı görürlerdi fakat bizimkiler soğuğa alışkın değil soğuğu hiç sevmezler."(Translated by the author)

[30] Personal interview with Medina on 231.10.2019, Kozan. (Translated by the author from Arabic)

Figure 3.5. Settlements of Algerian Migrants in Kozan and Surrounding Villages.

Source: drawn by the author

One interesting fact during the fieldwork is how the weather of Adana and Kozan reminded me of the Algerian weather. Moreover, one of my interlocutors stated that "When our people saw this place, they said that we lost Algeria there and found it here[31]". My interlocutor's statement led me to emphasize the emotional aspect of the migration. In this study, I argue that one of the main factors that participated in the identity building of my interlocutors is the emotions and, more specifically, the nostalgia and yearning they have towards the homeland. My interlocutors have never visited Algeria, yet 'feeling in Algeria' and living in a similar environment make their attachment and sense of belonging towards the homeland visible. I will detail further the role of emotions in my interlocutors' identity construction in chapter five.

To get a broader picture of the North African migration and further understand the complexity of my interlocutor's identity construction, I must consider the wider image of North African migration to the Ottoman territories. In fact, in the late 19th century, not only Algerians but also Mauritanian and Libyan tribes migrated to Ottoman lands. Based on my interlocutors' narratives, Mauritanian tribes were the *Shingeti*, the

[31] Personal interview with Abdulhafiz on 30.10.2019, Kozan :"Bizimkiler burayı görünce Cezayir'i orda kaybettik burada bulduk demiş" (Translated by the author)

Algerians were the *Dirraji, Sedrati, Nuweyli, Zemmuri, Shirgu, Gibeyli*, and *Rigi* tribes and the Libyan tribes were the *Sepha, Tobruk*, and *Derne* people.

As in Algeria, Mauritania was officially colonized by France in 1902[32], leading to massive migration movements. It is necessary for this study to have some information related to the Mauritanian migration story that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century because I argue in this study that the leader of the Mauritanian tribe, Muhammed Emin Efendi, also called Sheikh Efendi, will play an important role in the settlement of North Africans in Kozan and in the identity construction of my interlocutors. According to Abdullah Tanrıkulu (2011), the migration from Mauritania to Anatolia started around 1904. The tribe that I want to focus on more specifically is the *Shingeti* tribe, who, according to Tanrıkulu (2011), departed from Mauritania then stopped in Libya, where they settled in the city of Sabha until the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911.

Interestingly, according to my interlocutors, during the Libyan war of independence, Sheikh Efendi developed a friendship with the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. It was not possible to find any source in the literature proving the relationship between the Sheikh and Atatürk, thus I will rely only on my interlocutors' statements. Indeed, interlocutors state that the Sheikh and his tribe provided military assistant to the Ottomans under the leadership of the young military leaders Atatürk and Enver Pasha, against the invasion of Italians in Libya in 1911 (Gawrych 2013).

Based on my interlocutors' narration, Atatürk and Sheikh Efendi's friendship later facilitated the settlement of the North African tribes in Kozan. Following the Libyan war of independence, Atatürk would have helped the North African tribes to settle in Kozan in gratitude to the support provided by the tribes in Libya, as states my interlocutor Ahmet T.: "Probably because Atatürk knew our tribe from the war in Libya, he made it very easy for us to settle in Turkey[33]." In that sense, I argue that my

[32] https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/la-colonisation-francaise-en-mauritanie-et-ses conséquences -/2042527

[33] Personal interview with Ahmet T. on 28.10.2019, Adana "Atatürk herhalde o zaman bu Trablusgarp Savaşı organize etmek için orada bulunduğu için bizi orada tanırdı oradan tanıdığı için bayağı kolaylık gösterdiler yani Türkiye'de herhangi bir zorluk çıkarmadılar." (Translated by the author)

interlocutors idealize and romanticize the figure of the Sheikh, as he represents the symbol of integration and the mediator of North Africans in Turkey. Through my interlocutors narrative about the Sheikh, I also understand that the North African community in Adana and Kozan attributes him a spiritual character. In fact, during the fieldwork, I understood that the community of North African descendants was part of a Sufi order called *Shadhiliyah*[34] that emerged in North Africa in the 12th century. According to my interlocutors' narrations, Sheikh Efendi was considered a *Şerif*[35] and the leader of the Sufi order in Kozan.

As I aim to investigate the identity formation of my interlocutors, I argue that the religious aspect of this community is a crucial component to be considered in relation to the collective identity of this community in Turkey, and more specifically through the symbolization of the Sheikh. For this, I will detail in chapter six how the symbolic figure of the Sheikh reflects the hybrid identity of my interlocutors in the host country.

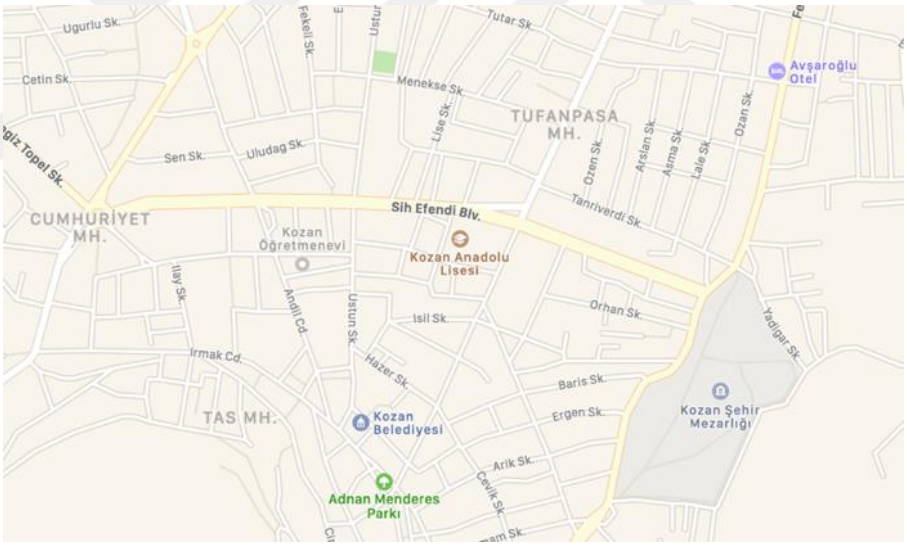

Figure 3.6. Boulevard Named after Sheikh Efendi (Şıh Efendi Blv.) in Kozan.

Source: Google Maps

[34] Shādhilīyah, also spelled Shāzilīyah, widespread brotherhood of Muslim mystics (Ṣūfīs), founded on the teachings of Abū al-Ḥasan ash-Shādhilī (d. 1258) in Alexandria. Shādhilī teachings stress five points: fear of God, living the sunna (practices) of the Prophet, disdain of mankind, fatalism, and turning to God in times of happiness and distress. The order, which spread throughout North Africa and the Sudan and into Arabia, was created by disciples, as ash-Shādhilī himself discouraged monasticism and urged his followers to maintain their ordinary lives, a tradition still followed. The order has given rise to an unusually large number of suborders, notably the Jazūlīyah and the Darqāwā in Morocco and the ʿĪsāwīyah in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.
(Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Shadhiliyah)

[35] The daughter of the Prophet, Hz. Fatima and Hz. Ali's children and grandchildren were given the title of Şerif. (source : https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/seyyid) (Translated by the author)

This study explores interlocutors' identity construction in the host country; for this, I have to briefly explain the Turkish political context in which the first and second generation interlocutors have grown up from a historical perspective. Indeed, the migration of my interlocutors' forefathers seems to have happened at the beginning of the 20th century, and several years later mark the emergence of the Kemalist political era in Turkey. I want to emphasize that with the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish nationalism appeared in similar circumstances due to some historical circumstances of the Empire's decline. In that context, a progressive awakening to the idea of nation and Turkish identity marked this period as stated by Ahmad Feroz (1993) :

> As though in a rush to make amends for the years lost by the Hamidian generation, the Young Turks experimented with virtually every sphere of life, hardly anything was left untouched. They not only changed the political system but they also attempted to refashion society by borrowing more freely from the West than ever before (Ahmad 1993, 31).

In their strive to construct a national identity, new reforms were adopted to shape the new understanding of the nation, in particular dressing code and language reforms (Yılmaz 2013). In that sense, the new Turkish identity was shaped by modifying the *Habitus* or being of people in the Empire. Since the Turkish nationalism and nation-building project was deeply rooted in a secular understanding, the Muslim identity of the population of the Empire was strived to be eliminated (Rahman et al. 2015). Furthermore, as stated by Hale Yılmaz (2013), during this period, "While some citizens were simply given or assigned a surname by an official, other citizens chose a surname for themselves and negotiated with the government official to register the name of their own choice." (Yılmaz 2013) I note here that Algerian descendants have Turkish family names, which a priori were imposed on them during the nation state-building.

The Turkish nationalist project has also aimed to assimilate the numerous minorities of the Empire; as stated by Soner Cagaptay (2004) "Inasmuch as race became a primary marker of Turkishness in the 1930s, this did not prevent Ankara from attempting to assimilate various minorities." (Cagaptay 2004, 87). In relation to this study, I will take into consideration the influence of the political context in which interlocutors build their identity as an ethnic minority in Turkey. I will show in further

chapters that interlocutors of first and second-generation understanding of Turkishness are very much embedded in a nationalist understanding of identity.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

This study focuses on the experience of identity building and the sense of belonging of the Algerian diaspora in Adana. The aim is to understand how the different generations of Algerian descendants negotiate the in-betweenness of their identities through their culture, memory, emotion, and space. Studying identity building is often in relation to migration studies. Nevertheless, no study has been conducted on the Algerian descendant's identity building in Adana, making this research a contribution to the field.

For the matter of this study, I will take into consideration both individual and collective identity theories. Social scientists differ in the definition of identity. Identity is constructed through environmental factors (Gallant 2010; Guler and Berman 2019) and is often interpreted in relation to others (Kroger 2004, Mead 1972) which implies that identity is not stable but instead constructed (Castells 2010). Identity is also interpreted by Jean S. Phinney and Oscar A. Baldelomar (2011) as being filled by cultural context "No identity is culture-free" (2011, 163), which leads me to concentrate on the cultural perspective of my interlocutors regarding their identity building. Other theories suggest that identity is not a fixed notion; Stuart Hall (1992) claims that identity in the diaspora is constantly in the process of formation "It always remains incomplete, is always 'in process,' always 'being formed'" (Hall 1992, 287). Individuals may define themselves differently according to the context; thus, identity is multiple, unstable, incomplete, and constantly developing (Brah 1996; Castells 2010; Hall 1994; Lawrance 1996). Identities are also collective when they are shared by a group (Eder 2009), collective identities are socially and culturally constructed and are a way to develop a sense of belonging to the group to understand "'who do I belong to?' or 'who do we belong to?'" (Eder 2009, 432). Mainly, I will approach identity through the poststructuralist theories that understand identity as established through "regimes of representations" where identity is multiple, constructed, and articulated through diverse forms (Hall 1994). This study shows that the Algerian diaspora's

identity is hybrid and shaped by memory and emotions and unfolds in a diasporic space.

Three main elements in relation to my interlocutors' identity construction emerged from my fieldwork findings: (1) the existence of collective consciousness in the community and a memory transmitted through generations. (2) An emotional bond and an idealization of the homeland created by this collective consciousness and finally (3) the awareness of the homeland and the belonging to the host society creates the need for a third-space (Bhabha 1994) where my interlocutors' hybrid identities fully manifest.

The following chapter will review the supporting literature and theoretical background that I will discuss in relation to my findings in the fieldwork. It is divided into different sections where each tackles a critical theoretical aspect for this study. I will start with a critical review of the various studies done on the Algerian diaspora in France. I will explain how most of the related literature discusses the economic and political aspects of the integration and assimilation of the French Algerians. My fieldwork showed me that identity construction is related to memory, emotion, and space repertoires; thus, I position my study differently from the French diaspora literature. I will not focus on the economic element in the integration and identity building of the community in Adana. Furthermore, the Turkish political and cultural backgrounds are different from the French case; this is why the Algerian descendants in Adana faced a different experience in Turkey from a religious and cultural perspective.

My fieldwork findings showed me that this community developed tools of cultural preservation against total assimilation and culture loss in the host country. Assimilation theories imply the cultural loss of the immigrants and their descendants (Berry and Sabatier 2010); thus, using this approach could have minimized the complex identity structure of the diaspora in Adana. In that sense, I approached this issue from the acculturation theory point of view, where immigrant descendants create a new culture from the combination of both cultures (Berry et al. 2002).

Since I am focusing on identity building in the diaspora, I will detail in this chapter the different approaches to study identity in social sciences. I will explore how the identity

of Algerian descendants was culturally constructed while positioning themselves in Turkish society. Hall (1992) argued that identity construction is an "ongoing process"; thus, there is no final unique identity, and from my analysis of my interlocutors' narratives, I also concluded that their identity formation is a journey of multilayered identities. My interlocutors formed their identity in-between a Turkish and an Algerian identity, and by constantly shifting between identities, it generated hybrid identities. In that sense, they continuously create and recreate themselves from the differences that characterize them in the host society (Hall 1992).

I understand that my interlocutors shift between their identities of being Arab and being Turkish as a strategy in the host country. My interlocutors' identity is connected to Turkey because they settled in the region more than a century ago; they negotiated their legitimate right to be in Turkey and considered Turks by switching their identities following the context. In fact, through historical narrations of the past and the use of symbolic figures, they justify and legitimize their Turkishness and consider themselves to belong to this land. Concurrently, they proudly express and are emotionally attached to their Algerian roots; this attachment was transmitted through their forefathers' nostalgia and narration of the past, which allowed them to create a sense of belonging towards an imagined homeland. Thus, the attachment both to the country of their ancestor and host country makes the identity of my interlocutors hybrid (Hall 1994).

My findings in the fieldwork showed that memory, emotion, and space are the three main components that shape my interlocutors' hybrid identities. Further, I highlight the combined work of memory and emotions in transmitting culture and historical events. As stated, the diaspora use memory as a culture preservation tool that allowed three different generations to be attached to their roots. I will show that my interlocutors' use of memory is strategic and legitimizes their belonging to Turkey. Emotionally connected to Turkey and Algeria, my interlocutors' identity narratives imply developing a hybrid identity rooted in an intergenerationally transmitted nostalgia and memory that legitimizes their belonging to both countries. Finally, I plan to explore how the concept of 'home' is built in the diaspora imagination. Their attachment to the homeland and the host society make my interlocutors feel "here" and "there" as Steven Vertovec (1997) says, "being simultaneously' home away from home'" (Vertovec 1997, 282). Due to the versatile positioning of the diaspora within the cultural contexts

of home and host countries, I argue that they create a diasporic space (Brah 1996; Bhabha 1994, 1996) in which they negotiate their cultural differences and create and recreate their hybrid identities.

4.1 Different Algerian Migration in the Literature

Studies worldwide have focused on important anthropological and sociological concepts such as acculturation or assimilation or the marginality of the second and third-generation immigrants in the host society (Berry and Sabatier 2010; Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993). The literature on the second and third generations of migrants is relatively recent in research and focuses mainly on integrating and assimilating these generations. In this study, my use of second and third-generation terminology refers to descendants of immigrant parents (Wolf 2002). For instance, some studies have investigated the psychological effects of disturbance due to cross-cultural adaptation in a host country (Anderson 1994). Some other conventional studies focused on the lack of assimilation and exclusion of the second generation. For example, some studies focused on the integration of Algerian descendants in France compared to other migrant populations that show a faster integration in the French society (Alba 2005; Silberman, Alba and Fournier 2007; Alba and Silberman 2002).

For instance, Richard Alba and Roxane Silberman (2002) focused on two categories of migrants who left after Algeria's independence in 1962. The first group of migrants was the *pieds noirs*[36] (black feet), descendants of European colonial immigrants who lived in Algeria during the colonization. The second group was constituted of the indigenous Algerians that migrated to France for economic reasons or the "labor migration[37]". The analysis of Alba and Silberman (2002) suggests that the second generation of the *pieds noirs* did not form "a visible and sizable group" (Alba and Silberman 2002, 1192) and integrated quickly into the society. However, the situation was different for the second-generation Algerians who are "distinguishable also to

[36]"French of European origin living in North Africa, and more specifically in Algeria, until independence. As almost a million Français d'Algérie arrived in France, primarily between 1961 and 1963, the term "Pieds- Noirs" was used as an insult to express disgust with the political and social climate of the time" (Hubbell 2015, 10)

[37] I note here that the Algerian economic migration to France was at first temporary and turned out to be a permanent one (Ajala 2021, 115).

members of the host society" (Alba and Silberman 2002, 1192). In their study, the integration into the host society was mainly looked at from an economic perspective; Algerian descendants' marginalization in France is indicated by a high level of social issues measured with a low education level and unqualified employment (Alba and Silberman 2002). It is far more frequent to see sociological studies on migration that focus on the economic aspect and discrimination of Algerian migrants and migrants' descendants in France (Adida, Laitin, and Valfort 2010; Wihtol de Wenden 2003) and the role that plays religion in the host country than any other issues these generations might face in the host country (Bouregba-Dichy 1990).

In fact, *Maghrebis*[38] communities in France face a hard time fully integrating into the society, considering that *francité*[39] is intimately associated with Judeo-Christian cultural practices, which are considered conflicting with Islamic values (Safran 1991). Furthermore, even though the second and third generations of Algerian descendants are born and raised in France, they are still referred to as the second and third generation or as "Algerians," which increasingly strengthens the spirit of the diaspora (Safran 1991). This can be explained by the colonial background existing between the two countries, as stated by Hargreaves (2006):

> It is clearly no accident that the prime targets of racial discrimination and racist violence in contemporary France are Maghrebis and to a lesser extent other postcolonial minorities. They are the victims both of popular attitudes that owe much to racist stereotyping inherited from the colonial period and of factions of French society—most obviously those associated with the extreme Right—who see in the exclusion of France's Algerian minority a form of revenge for the loss of empire and the exodus of the pieds-noirs from Algeria (Hargreaves 2006, 222).

A priori, the descendants of the Algerians in Adana encountered a different context in the Turkish society compared to the French diaspora case. The main reason being that the Turkish context was different from the French one from a religious and cultural understanding. Indeed, the colonial past between France and Algeria resulted in the isolation and systematic marginalization of Algerian immigrant populations in France (Alba and Silberman 2002), leading to a class and politics-based context of integration.

[38] "The maghrebi diaspora in France includes primo-migrants from Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, and their descendants" (Ajala 2021, 115).
[39] "Quality of what is French; set of characteristics of what is recognized as French." (Translated by the author) (source: https://www.larousse.fr/)

In the case of the Algerian descendants in Adana, findings of the fieldwork suggests that interlocutors were emotionally attached to their ancestors roots and nostalgic of the past. In that sense, my interlocutors' identity narrative suggests the emergence of a hybrid identity rooted in an intergenerationally transmitted nostalgia and memory of the past and an attachment to the hosting country that legitimizes their belonging to Turkey. The purpose here is to focus on the factors that support forming that hybrid identity that brings together the inherited Algerian and the Turkish identities.

Generally speaking, very little work has been done on the notion of identity construction among Algerians diaspora outside of France or Algeria, and the reason is as stated by Julie Clancy-Smith (2006) "This neglect is largely because […] the problem of identity has generally been conceptualized along a vertical axis of inquiry, Algeria/France." (Clancy-Smith 2006, 4). For instance, the identity construction of Algerian migrants and their descendants in Turkey is not present in the literature. Instead, the main academic works in the literature on Algerians in Turkey are historical books that focused on the historical process of the migration itself and the social situation of the first generation that migrated to the Ottoman Empire region (Bardin 1980; Samur 1992; Sissani 2003; Khaldi 1997; Saâdallah 1983).

To this date, there was no study dealing with the identity formation of Algerian descendants in Adana, except one thesis that focuses on the evolution of the Arabic language dialect among the descendants of North Africans in Adana[40] (Yılmaz 2014). Yılmaz's thesis shows that the descendants continue to speak Arabic for a part of them, especially in their daily conversations within the private sphere. His study suggests that due to their migration routes, the Algerian descendants living in Adana developed their own Arabic dialect, influenced by their stay in Syria and their presence in Turkey. Thus, the Algerian descendants' dialect is essentially based on Algerian and Syrian dialects. Furthermore, due to their isolation from Arabic-speaking countries, the author suggests that their spoken language is getting closer to the Arabic *Fusha* (the classic Arabic). I also want to mention that during my fieldwork, I notice that the Algerian dialect spoken by my interlocutors included some ancient Algerian words that are no longer being used in today's dialect. This suggests that the Algerian migrants

[40] Council of Higher Education National Thesis Centre: https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/

transmitted the old Algerian dialect that does not include any French words contrary to nowadays dialect spoken in Algeria. Moreover, this dialect hasn't evolved with time due to the separation and distance from the homeland.

4.2 Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation, and Marginalization

Assimilation theories suggest that individuals reject their culture of origin and fully embrace the dominant group culture to the detriment of their original culture (Berry and Sabatier 2010). The aim of this study is not to adhere to a model of assimilation of immigrant generations as elaborated by Richard Alba and Victor Nee (1997) that considers that assimilation theory "offers the best way to understand and describe the integration into the mainstream experienced across generations by many individuals and ethnic group" (Alba and Nee 1997, 827). The mainstream idea that assimilation is a State-program that aims to target minorities to standardize them to the majority by eradicating all symbols of ethnic origins has been legitimately denounced and opposed in academia through the years (Alba and Nee 1997). I argue that this approach could cause underestimating the more complex dynamic of identity forms that emerge among the Algerian diaspora in Adana.

Furthermore, I do not assume that the ultimate purpose of a migrant or a descendant of a migrant is to be completely assimilated into the host society. From my observation in the fieldwork, the Algerian diaspora uses preservation tools from total assimilation as the collective memory, as to say, the Algerian culture, traditions, food, and narratives of the past are at the center of the identity formation of this diaspora. Therefore, I argue that this diaspora uses these tools as preservation strategies against total assimilation and vanishing of the Algerian culture. In that matter, I state that the use of the notion of acculturation is more appropriate when studying the adaptation of a diaspora group in the host country. Acculturation theory focuses on the changes in cultural habits or behavior that occur resulting "from contact between two distinct cultures" (Phinney 1990, 501).

Some early studies believed that for a person to acculturate in the host society meant to choose to identify with one group and reject the other. However, this view only evaluated acculturation through one side by which people oriented themselves.

Alternatively to this opinion, John W. Berry (1974) claimed that there are two specific factors through which people undergo acculturation: cultural maintenance and intercultural contact. In a more recent study, Berry et al. (2002) describe the different consequences of different acculturation situations. For them, acculturation can either be destructive, reactive, or creative. In the first scenario, it leads to loss of culture; in the second case, there is a revival of the primary culture of the group, and finally, in the last situation, an original culture develops resulting from the mixture of different cultures. In their words :

> It should be clear by now that acculturation does not inevitably lead to cultural loss or to international or domestic cultural homogeneity. While the process can be destructive (i.e. through elimination or absorption), it can also be reactive, in which individuals and groups re-establish their original cultures (by revitalization or reaffirmation of their cultures), and it can be creative, in which new cultures emerge from the interactions over time (Berry et al. 2002, 351).

In this study, I follow Berry et al. (2002) concepts of acculturation; I argue that the Algerian descendant community in Adana has followed the acculturation model of integration by creating an authentic culture in the host society.

Culture is a problematic concept in social sciences, especially anthropology and sociology, as it is not a stable concept. What is culture? For Avtar Brah (1996), culture has no single definition, and cultures are not static, in his words:

> If we stop and think about our own 'culture', what type of images come to mind? We will probably find ourselves thinking about the whole spectrum of experiences, modes of thinking, feeling and behaving; about the values, norms, customs and traditions of the social group(s) to which we feel we belong." (Brah 1996, 18)

Thus the understanding of culture varies according to the meanings we give to it. It was apparent to me in the fieldwork that my interlocutors' understanding of culture was related to their memory and nostalgia. In that sense, culture is about food, which triggers souvenirs and memory and gives my interlocutors an understanding of their culture. But also, my interlocutors' understanding of culture is about emotions, behaviors, language, tradition, and narratives.

To study the identity building of these generations in the host country, we need to consider the lives and experiences of the first generation as a relevant component (Jodeyr 2003). In that sense, the first comers' connection with the motherland is strong,

showing a tendency to "idealize their home country" (Jodeyr 2003, 206). In that sense, I aim to grasp the different factors involved in constructing the identity of the descendants of these Algerians by developing the concept of identity in the next section.

4.3 Identity Construction: a Conceptual Framework

Identity issues are hardly separated from studies on migration and ethnicity and have also been at the center of research related to class, race, nationality, and gender (Drzewiecka and Nakayama 1998). However, there is no existing literature on the identity construction of the Algerian descendants' community living in Adana, and this study is a first attempt to study the identity-building orientations of this group.

The concept of identity is a broad term and is used differently in daily use. The social sciences perceive the identity of persons or groups as the result of social relations. Social science researchers initiated the popularity of the identity terminology in the 50s' (Gleason 1983; Mackenzie 1978), and numerous streams of thought emerged. For instance, anthropologists of the first generation considered identity a set of features that a community has in common such as religion, ethnicity, culture (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Also, identity construction is often represented in relation to others (Kroger 2004, Mead 1972). In his book *Mind Self & Society*, George H.Mead (1972) states that "We are more or less unconsciously seeing ourselves as others see us. We are unconsciously addressing ourselves as others address us" (Mead 1972, 68). He argues that identity develops through social interaction with others, and his emblematic work has been the foundation of symbolic interactionism (Mead 1972).

On the same note, Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper (2000) argue that "how one identifies oneself and how one is identified by others - may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual." (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 14). Brubaker and Cooper (2000) distinguish between two fundamental aspects of identification, the "relational and categorical modes of identification." (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 15). They assert that one can identify oneself according to the relation involved with others (friendship, kinship). On the

other hand, individuals can identify themselves through sharing common qualities such as ethnicity, nationality, language.

In this study, I am interested in how the identity of Algerian descendants was constructed through others, namely the link between identity construction and surroundings, such as the relationships among the Algerian diaspora itself and within the host country. During interviews, it was visible that this community wanted to be distinguished from the host society by clearly affirming their Algerian roots and their pride in being Arab by perpetuating their culture and traditions and by emphasizing "being Arab". This leads me to argue that, occasionally, a dichotomy of us and them was visible in interlocutors narratives. Concurrently, they also wanted to look like others and consider themselves rooted and belonging to the host society by legitimizing their rights of being Turks. So, by looking at this aspect of self-identification, I aim to understand in what way their identity aims to be distinguished from others and at the same time linked to others (Eder 2009).

Authors that follow the social psychology stream of thought will consider identity as an "individual construct" influenced by individual, interpersonal, and environmental factors (Gallant 2010; Guler and Berman 2019). It is then reasonable to claim that identity is the result of thought that permits individuals to define themselves while being aware of their characteristics, sense of belonging to a social group, and interactions with their environment. Consequently, identity integrates the group's components with which they identify through the sense of belonging, shared values, beliefs, rituals, and language shared among the community (Blackburn 2018). The individual then becomes connected to the group as they attach emotional importance to it (Tajfel 1981). In the Algerian community in Adana, identity building is profoundly molded by the community that shares values, rituals, culture, and nostalgia of the homeland, which I will develop in further sections in relation to collective identity.

As claimed by Phinney and Baldelomar (2011), identity has been studied in different social science analyses by dividing it into parts "the personal identity, social identity, and cultural identity" (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011, 163). They claim that identity formation is not "culturally neutral" or "value-free." They argue that the process of

identity formation is deeply conditioned by the community and is culturally oriented. In this study, the community has distinct cultural characteristics: systems of values, beliefs, rituals, traditions, and a language shared among its members. Thus I will focus on studying the identity building of my interlocutors from a cultural perspective as I argue that their identity is culturally oriented (Phinney and Baldelomar 2011).

According to Brubaker and Cooper (2000), the concept of identity is equivocal and may be used differently. They first define identity as "self-understanding" in opposition to "self-interest" (p. 6) and propose to use "self-understanding" terminology as an alternative to "identity":

> It is a dispositional term that designates what might be called "situated subjectivity": one's sense of who one is, of one's social location, and of how one is prepared to act. As a dispositional term, it belongs to the realm of what Pierre Bourdieu has called sense pratique, the practical sense-at once cognitive and emotional-that persons have of themselves and their social world" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 17).

Accordingly, I understand that individuals can understand themselves differently according to the circumstances and context, which makes me think that identity is not a fixed notion. In Hall's (1992) definition of identity, I understand that identity is always in process and not a stable notion, in his words:

> Identity is actually something formed through unconscious processes over time, rather than being innate in consciousness at birth. There is always something 'imaginary' or fantasized about its unity. It always remains incomplete, is always 'in process', always 'being formed'. [...] Thus, rather than speaking of identity as a finished thing, we should speak of identification, and see it as an ongoing process (Hall 1992, 287).

Static and intrinsic views of the notion of identity have in recent years been challenged by the growth of different approaches, especially those of postmodernism and poststructuralist stream, in which identity is multiple, changeable, incomplete, and constantly evolving (Brah 1996; Castells 2010; Hall 1994; Lawrance 1996). Zygmunt Baumann (1996) resumes the situation in this terms "Indeed, if the modern 'problem of identity' was how to construct an identity and keep it -solid and stable, the postmodern 'problem of identity' is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open" (Bauman 1996, 18). From my understanding of the community in Adana and Kozan, I can say that interlocutors' identity construction is a journey of multilayered identities. Their identity was constructed as an oscillation between

Turkish-ness and *Arab-ness* , and there is no final unique identity. Instead, one identity nourishes the other, creating new forms of identities that I will detail in the hybridity section.

4.4 Collective Identity and Narratives

As identity aims to position the person compared to others, the same applies to a group. A group develops an identity if it succeeds in standing out *vis-à-vis* others and maintaining this throughout time (Eder 2009). Collective identities are for Klaus Eder (2009) "a narrative constructions which permit the control of the boundaries of a network of actor" (Eder 2009, 427). Eder perceives collective identities as a social construct that helps find an answer to the question 'who do I belong to?' or 'who do we belong to?' (Eder 2009, 431). For him, identity building is a set of social relations that surpass common interests or unity within the group. More than that, he thinks that the collective identity is "shared meanings" that are constructed through narratives. In that sense, narrative sharing consolidates the existence of the "we" and leads to a "narrative bond" (Eder 2009, 431). Therefore, collective identity is deeply rooted in a narrative sharing network, and the stories are constructed and reconstructed in this social dynamic (Eder 2009).

I focus on the collective identity of the Algerian diaspora in Adana because it appeared to me during the fieldwork that members of this community developed strong ties and distinguishes themselves from the rest of the society. I argue that this group developed a collectivity regarding their relation to their forefather's homeland. Their imagination and idealization of it allow them to feel a sense of belonging by developing a "we" that is different from others (Eder 2009). At the same time, they also consider themselves Turks and affirm their attachment to their Turkish identity, and firmly affirm their legitimacy to be in Turkey and be like others (Eder 2009).

In his article "Cultural identity and diaspora" Hall (1994) argues that identity is beyond the shared origin or characteristics within a group ensuing solidarity built upon this assumption; instead, identity construction is an "ongoing process." He continues by affirming that "identities are the names we give the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past" (Hall 1994, 225). In that

sense, Algerian descendants' identity is indeed focused upon past narratives, and consequently, identities are shaped and reshaped given positioning.

Ethnicity is also often put on the table when it comes to understanding collective identities. There is extensive literature on the term ethnicity, and it is essentially a contested notion. The dominant view in the literature sees ethnicity as a type of collective identity built from a shared culture (Smith 1987). Floya Anthias (2002) highlighted that it "sometimes denoting a sense of belonging to an ethnic group; sometimes meaning shared cultural ingredients; sometimes being depicted as a social place structured by the existence of ethnic hierarchies, and so on" (Anthias 2002, 497). Individuals need a social identity, which leads to forming collective identities and developing a sense of belonging to a community. Hall (1992) argues about this issue in this term "Identity arises, not so much from the fullness of identity which is already inside us as individuals, but from a lack of wholeness which is 'filled' from outside us" (Hall 1992, 287). In that sense, I argue that the community in Adana that is ethnically different from the host society's ethnicity needs this collective identity to fill the gap in their sense of belonging.

As part of the collective identity of this diaspora, I understood during my fieldwork that the religious aspect of this community played a great role in their identity formation in Turkey. In studies relating religion to migration, authors underline the great importance of religion for migrants and explore the interplay between religion and community development among migrant groups (Orsi 2010; Smith 1978). In his book *The Madonna of 115th Street: faith and community in Italian Harlem 1880-1950*, Robert Orsi (2010) focuses on the role of religion in the lives of Italian immigrants in New York; he proposes two definitions of religion that I find valuable for this work. On the one hand, religion is faith and englobe all the customs, traditions, and symbols attached to it. But, on the other hand, he sees religion as a set of values and beliefs that manage people's reality and gives them their "ground of being" (Orsi 2010, xi). In this research, the community's religious background is Islam, and they follow the Maliki[41]

[41] "Mālikī, also called Madhhab Mālik, in Islam, one of the four Sunni schools of law, formerly the ancient school of Medina. Founded in the 8th century and based on the teachings of the imam Mālik ibn Anas...The Mālikī school currently prevails throughout northern and western Africa, in Sudan, and in some of the Persian Gulf states." (Source : https://www.britannica.com/topic/Maliki-school)

religious school of thought that is widely spread among North African countries. During the fieldwork, I understood that the North African descendants living in Adana are part of a Sufi order called *Shadhiliyah*. To understand the "ground of being" (Orsi 2010, xi) of the Algerian descendants, their affiliation to a Sufi order has in this sense been part and influenced their identity building as immigrant descendants, as states Richard J. A. Mcgregor "The role of the tariqa is to provide a structure and a catalyst development of its members" (Mcgregor 1997, 271). For this matter, understanding the relationship between the *murid* and the *murshid*[42] in the Sufi orders is a crucial component to consider in relation to this community's collective identity in Adana.

Muhammed Emin Efendi, also called Sheikh Efendi that I mentioned in chapter three, was the leader of this Sufi order in Kozan. His influence and teachings are still evident nowadays, even though he passed away. In Sufi orders, "The sanctity of the rule of the tariqa and the baraka of the shaykh are the two primary supports upon which the Shadhiliyya stands." (Mcgregor 1997, 261). Therefore, I understand that the Sheikh has a significant influence on the religious community. According to my interlocutors' narration, the Sheikh who migrated from Mauritania in 1904 has gathered all the North African tribes that migrated to the Ottoman lands, whether it be Algerians, Libyans, or Mauritanians, and established in Kozan a community life where everything was shared among them (wealth, food, agriculture). Minority religious organizations have to be practiced to be able to transmit them to the following generations, and as claims Peggy Levitt (2003), "Like economic and political transnational practices, religion plays a role in transnational community creation and perpetuation" (Levitt 2003, 869).

Consequently, religious affiliation helped the first migrants maintain their beliefs and relation to their homeland and transmitted this religious culture and practice to the following generation. Thus, I argue that through his role of *murshid* and his teaching of religion to the community, the Sheikh had become a point of contact between their origins and the hosting country (Levitt 2003). Indeed, by perpetuating and preserving their forefathers' religious customs and practices of the Sheikh, these generations find refuge and relate themselves to the first generation who came to Kozan and followed the teaching of the Sheikh.

[42] "Murid, meaning aspirant, disciple, or novice; and murshid, spiritual guide." (Mcgregor 1997, 274)

As a part of my fieldwork in Adana, participant observation was one of the essential experiences that led me to understand how the identity of the studied group was constructed under the influence of multiple factors. It is indeed easy to say that "all identities are constructed. The real issue is how, from what, by whom, and for what" (Castells 2010, 7). The aim here is to explore the primary factors that influenced the identity building of the Algerian descendants that appeared to me during the fieldwork. But before doing so, I will present some of the theories linked to identity in diaspora.

4.5 Identity in the Diaspora

It is primordial to focus on the diaspora characteristics for this study because all my interlocutors are part of the Algerian diaspora in Adana. In that sense, the process of identity construction has to be put in the context of diaspora because I believe it will provide a better understanding of the studied community. The existing literature on diasporic communities focused on identity, sense of belonging, and cultural hybridity issues and focused on the existing relation between "homeland" and "diaspora" (Anthias 1998; Clifford J 1994; Falzon 2003). However, no current study has focused on the diasporic identity and sense of belonging of the Algerian community in Adana.

The concept of diaspora has frequently been utilized to characterize nationals living abroad; it has also for a long time been used in particular to designate exiled Jews around the world (Wihtol De Wenden 2005). Hence, it is necessary to elucidate what the diaspora is. Nowadays, the notion of diaspora is used to a great degree to refer to Chinese, Indians, Armenians, Palestinians, or the black community migrants (Nafa 2017). The Algerian community established abroad is often referred to as "Algerian community established abroad.[43]"The terminology of diaspora comes from the Greek dia, 'through', and speirein, 'to scatter' which "embodies a notion of a centre, a locus, a 'home' from where the dispersion occurs" (Brah 1996, 178).

Gabriel Sheffer's (1986) definition of the diaspora is one of the first who succeeded to elaborate the concept currently being used, in his words: "Modern Diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but

[43] Terminology adopted by the Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands" (Scheffer 1986, 3). William Safran (1991) defined diaspora as "diaspora community seem increasingly to be used as metaphoric designations for several categories of people-expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants, and ethnic and racial minorities tout court" (Safran 1991, 83). He follows by conceptualizing members of a diaspora according to six different criteria that are; (1) if their forefathers have been obliged to leave a specific place to foreign lands, (2) if they have a shared memory about the motherland, (3) if the community experience a sort of discrimination by members of the host country, thus feel some exclusion from the society. Furthermore, (4) they perceive that their ancestor's homeland is the ultimate and ideal place for which an eventual return is possible, (5) they feel a sense of responsibility toward their forefathers' country to ensure its security and stability. Finally, (6) they occasionally refer to the original country, whether it be "personally or vicariously," and the existing solidarity among the group is mainly due to this shared attachment (Safran 1991, 83-84).

Following the classification made by Safran in 1991, Robin Cohen (1997) has proposed a more elaborate list of characteristics to define a diaspora community. Here are the peculiarities he suggests:

> Normally, diasporas exhibit several of the following features:
>
> (1) dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically;
> (2) alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
> (3) a collective memory and myth about the homeland;
> (4) an idealization of the supposed ancestral home;
> (5) a return movement;
> (6) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time;
> (7) a troubled relationship with host societies;
> (8) a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries; and
> (9) the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host countries (Cohen 1997, 180).

Both Safran (1991) and Cohen (1997) recognize that all diaspora worldwide may not meet all the features they propose. Indeed, while saying that the classification he makes fits the Jewish community perfectly, Safran (1991) also acknowledges that some other ethnic groups that do not have all of the six characteristics he mentions can be

identified as diaspora, in his words: "We may legitimately speak of the Armenian, Maghrebi, Turkish, Palestinian, Cuban, Greek, and perhaps Chinese diasporas at present and of the Polish diaspora of the past, although none of them fully conforms to the 'ideal type' of the Jewish diaspora" (Safran 1991, 84). Cohen (1997) also stressed that "the Jews provide the source for most characterizations of the diasporic condition" (Cohen 1997, xi) but also says "call this list quite consciously one of 'common features', to indicate that no on diaspora will manifest all features." (Cohen 1996, 515).

According to Safran and Cohen's categorization, the Algerian descendants in Adana seem to fit in the diaspora category. This is because their forefathers have left their homeland due to colonization; they developed a collective memory, an idealization of homeland, strong community ties, and a sense of duty towards their homeland. Nevertheless, I argue that the diaspora discussion is not only related to ethnicity or homeland but also religion. In this study, I show that the Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan are very much attached to the host country, differentiating them from other diasporas. I explain this sense of belonging to Turkey in relation to the cultural and religious closeness between Algerian and Turkish cultures and foremost because of the shared Islamic background.

As said earlier, I aim to explore how interlocutors understand their identity in this study. To do so, I will develop the definition of cultural identity I will rely upon in this study. While developing his reflection based on the Caribbean identity, Hall (1994) explains "cultural identity" from two angles. Firstly, he interprets cultural identity as a shared history amid people with the same ethnicity and a shared past and is considered to be stable, in his words :

> 'Cultural identity' in terms of one, shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. [...] our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes, which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging, and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual History (Hall 1994, 223).

His second interpretation of cultural identity proposes adding to the similarities shared among the group the differences that represent" 'what we really are'; or, rather, since History has intervened- 'what we have become"' (Hall 1994, 225). These unstable

identities form the uniqueness of the ethnic groups. Hall (1994) draws our attention to the fact that cultural identities are rooted in History, and as what is related to History is under constant change, the same applies to cultural identities: "Cultural identity in the second sense is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being.' It belongs to the future as much as to the past" (1994, 225). I will take Hall's (1994) definition of cultural identity as a frame of reference to apply to the Algerian diaspora in this study to explain why there is the need to always refer to the past to define oneself. These identities are "not an essence but a positioning" (1994, 226), which leads me to look at identities positioned differently according to the situation.

The Algerian diaspora in Adana grew up with a historical background filled with stories of uprootedness, displacement, colonization, home loss, culture loss, and nostalgia. Therefore, I argue that the Algerian diaspora identity in Adana is still strongly connected to the past and in search of recognition and possible return. This led me to focus on the emotion repertoire to understand how it influenced the identity building of my interlocutors.

4.6 Identity, Collective Memory, and Emotions in the Diaspora

After achieving the fieldwork in Adana, it took me time to analyze and interpret all the events I had experienced in the fieldwork on my way home. Nevertheless, one thing that struck me a lot during my stay with this community is the influential role that plays memory and emotions in identity building in the diaspora. In this section, I intend to focus on the role of memory in the transmission and maintaining of Algerian tradition and culture and the role that plays emotions in identity construction. I want to understand to what extent emotions influence their sense of belonging to the host country regarding their romanticization of their forefather's homeland.

Emotions such as happiness, sadness, grief are undoubtedly part of our daily lives. They are "shaped by our interactions with the people, places and politics that make up our unique, personal geographies" (Davidson and Bondi 2004, 373). Researchers have recently started to concentrate on the dynamics of emotions in research (Hochschild 1979; Shott 1979; Kemper 1978), as stated Turner and Stets (2005) "Not all sociologists did, of course, but with only a few exceptions, sociologists had studied

just about every aspect of human behavior and somehow given comparatively little attention to the dynamics of emotions" (Turner and Stets 2005, 1). The main reason being that the emotional element in the academic discussion would weaken its scientificity (Svasek 2005).

Jonarhan H. Turner and Jan E. Stets (2005) argue that emotions are the motive to commitments to culture, claiming that "they give cultural symbols the very meanings and power to regulate, direct and channel human behaviour and to integrate patterns of social organization." (2005, 292). Emotions affect the way we see things, and also the way we perceive our past, present, and future, and "all can seem bright, dull or darkened by our emotional outlook" (Davidson and Bondi 2004, 373).The role of emotions in identity construction has been at the center of migration studies and focuses specifically on the migrant's experiences, especially emotions such as hope, nostalgia, attachment, to name but a few (Boccagni & Baldassar 2015). However, to our knowledge, the emotional perception of the second and third generation is relatively new in the literature (Kelly 2015; Maghbouleh 2010; Levitt and Waters 2002; Skrbis 2008). While studies have concentrated on the emotional factors of global migration (Gray 2008, Conradson and McKay 2007), we must also interpret the role of the ancestral country in descendant generations in relation to emotion and identity (Kelly 2015) to understand "how dynamics of feeling impinge upon where we belong and with whom." (Conradson and McKay 2007, 172)

In my opinion, studying the emotional effect of migrant descendants can uncover new ways of looking at the experience of identity building in the diaspora. The interviews I have conducted in Adana were usually very emotionally loaded experiences that unveiled personal narratives revealing the numerous emotions involved in the migration narration and the adaptation in the host society. To give one but an example in two of my interviews, when I asked the question, "What does Algeria mean to you?" two of my interlocutors started crying, one responded, "Algeria is the mother[44], "and the other emotionally remembered his passing father, who dreamt of returning to Algeria before passing away saying:

[44] Personal interview with Ahmet T. on 29.10.2019, Adana “Cezayir ana” (Translated by the author).

> My father was dying to go; he was crying, if anything happened, he was crying, I was saying to him, don't cry, daddy, when I grow up, I will get a job, I will earn money, and I will send you to Algeria, but there was no chance I was only 12 years old[45].

Emotions are usually related to the physical movement of migration that occurs in the first place, which increases feelings of attachment to the homeland (Gray 2008). In her article "Collective Feelings Or, The Impressions Left by Others," Sara Ahmed (2004) argues that it is primordial to examine how emotions work in different circumstances "to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and collective"(Ahmed 2004, 27). More specifically, she focuses on how emotions create 'the collective'. Regarding the connection between the migration and bond in regards to emotions, Sara Ahmed claims :

> I think we can consider the relationship between movement and attachment implicit in emotion. The word 'emotion' comes from Latin, emovere, referring to 'to move, to move out'. So emotions are what move us. But emotions are also about attachments, about what connects us to this or that. The relationship between movement and attachment is instructive. What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place (Ahmed 2004, 27).

Throughout this research, I argue that the act of remembrance of the past is transmitted through collective memory and narrations of the past. It was visible to me in the fieldwork that nostalgia and, more accurately, transgenerational transmitted nostalgia plays a significant role in forming the Algerian diasporic identity, both individual and collective. Moreover, as says De Leersnyder, Mesquita, and Kim (2011), "people who engage in the same cultural contexts share patterns of emotions" (2011, 451) leading me to think that nostalgia has become central in the identity formation of Algerian descendants in Adana. Moreover, this statement is mainly for the first and second generations that were born in Turkey. The desire for memory and recognition has been a factor evolving through time but never disappeared, and I note that "memories of times past are always remembered from the perspective of the present" (Gray 2008, 939).

The collective memory plays an essential role in preserving the diaspora's identity. As a tool of preservation from assimilation, groups need to develop a sort of protection

[45] Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana “Babam can atıyordu gitmek, bir şey oldumu ağlıyordu baba ağlama diyordum ben büyüdüğümde dedim işe girerim para kazanırım seni ben Cezayir'e göndereceğim dedim ama kısmet olmadı daha ben 12 yaşındaydım” (Translated by the author).

strategy. For this, language, religion, culture, food, songs, tales, rituals, but also through public spaces (monuments, ethnic neighborhoods, cemeteries) are preserved and transmitted through generations (Bruneau, 2006). For instance, Michel Bruneau (2006) states that the space visibility in the public sphere is "the signs of a re-rooting in the host countries and a protest against the uprooting imposed in the territory of origin[46]" (Bruneau, 2006, 332), a space which only exists as a support for a collective memory. This is explained as Zana Vathi (2015) says, "These are processes of an emotional nature, through which people connect to different locations bound together by a common destiny and history, through memory, nostalgia and imagination" (Vathi 2015, 120).

In the fieldwork, I understood that nostalgia was embedded in interlocutors' narratives of the past. Nostalgia is an ambiguous concept that has been understood differently across time. It was first considered a physical disorder, then a mental one and it became a generalized term in the 20th century (Hutcheon 1998). Decoding the role of nostalgia will contribute to understanding some characteristics of identity building of my interlocutors. In the study Nostalgia and the Narrativization of Identity, nostalgia is understood by Brown and Humphreys (2002) as follow :

> Nostalgia, it is argued, is key to the understanding of the dynamics of individual and organizational identity-construction in several ways: it can be a means of maintaining a collective sense of socio-historic continuity, a source of resistance to hegemonic influence and a defence against anxiety (Brown and Humphreys 2002, 141).

Some researchers position nostalgia within the past, others within the present, and others within neither of them as claims Adam Muller (2006) "it belongs neither to the present, the past nor the future, and yet it remains in some way attached to all three of these temporal zones." (Muller 2006, 739). On the other hand, Linda Hutcheon (1998) defines nostalgia in relation to the present:

> Nostalgia, in fact, may depend precisely on the irrecoverable nature of the past for its emotional impact and appeal. It is the very pastness of the past, its inaccessibility, that likely accounts for a large part of nostalgia's power for both conservatives and radicals alike. This is rarely the past as actually experienced, of course; it is the past as imagined, as idealized through memory

[46]"Ces lieux sont les signes d'un ré-enracinement dans les pays d'accueil et de protestation contre le déracinement imposé dans le territoire d'origine" (Translated by the author)

> and desire. In this sense, however, nostalgia is less about the past than about the present (Hutcheon 1998, 3).

In that sense, Hutcheon (1998) claims that nostalgia works within what Mikhail Bakhtin described as a "historical inversion," in his words, "from the point of view of a present reality, historical inversion (in the strict sense of the word) prefers the past—which is more weighty, more fleshed out—to such a future" (Bakhtine 1981). In other words, the ideal that is not being experienced in the present is always related to the past. In that sense, I argue that the Algerian descendants living in Adana are very strongly immersed in the historical past they continue to maintain, restore and mostly refer to.

In his book *Distance, Absence and Nostalgia,* James Phillips (1985) related nostalgia to homesickness, and for him, both concepts "represents a longing to bring the distant near" (Phillips 1985, 65); Philips (1985) continues :

> Related to this sense of nostalgic time as memorialized is its tendency to crystallize into precious moments. Indeed, any moment may seem precious just because past, because inscribed "once only". But in fact, I select certain moments, assign them more nostalgic memory, distortion, forgetting, and reorganization all play a role (Phillips 1985, 66).

For instance, my interlocutors of the first generation continually expressed emotion of yearning (*özlem*) for their forefathers and the past; their narration of specific memories where the "good old days" are remembered strengthen the nostalgia in the present. To go through the sense of nostalgia, I explain that the Algerian descendants try to create a comparable environment as their forefathers', for example, by preserving traditional food, singing old songs, and narrating old stories. I note here that all the interlocutors that took part in this research were born and raised in Turkey, and all except one have never visited Algeria. Nevertheless, during interviews, my interlocutors revealed their nostalgic feelings towards their roots by constantly romanticizing and idealizing Algeria.

The work of remembering and referring to the old generation is done through memory that I will focus on now. In his book *How societies remember*, Paul Connerton (1989) deals with the role of memory in the reproduction of cultural traditions and in the perpetuation of social structures, in his words:

> Concerning memory as such, we may note that our experience of the present very largely depends upon our knowledge of the past. We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with the past events and objects, and hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present. And we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect that present. Hence the difficulty of extracting our past from our present: not simply because present factors tend to influence- some might want to say distort- our recollections of the past, but also because past factors tend to influence, or distort, our experience of the present (Connerton 1989, 2).

In that sense, Connerton (1989) argues that our present is very much related to our past experiences, which can be connected to objects, souvenirs, events that bring nostalgia to our present. He also explains that factors happening in our present distort or change our ideas of the past. In that sense, I will argue further that Algerian descendants tends to mold the memory of the past according to the present factors as a strategy of adaptation and belonging. On the same note, Hutcheon (1998) claims that the past is perceived as the "ideal" through the work of memory. Memory is built on the transmission of souvenirs within the family according to life trajectories and events. Family souvenirs and historical memories are thus interconnected in creating a shared collective memory. Individuals share their memories by reappropriating them to integrate them into the construction of collective memory. Maurice Halbwachs (1968) define collective memory as follow:

> A continuous current of thought, (of) a continuity that is in no way artificial, since it retains from the past only what is still alive or capable of living in the consciousness of the group that maintains it. By definition, it does not exceed the limits of this group. When a period ceases to be of interest to the following period, it is not a group that forgets part of its past: two groups follow one another[47] (Halbwachs 1968, 70).

In this sense, the action of remembering continues as long as the group does not forget. In that sense Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka (1995) argue that cultural memory of a group maintain the memory of the past through cultural rituals, as they state:

> Cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, observance). We call these "figures of memory"(Assmann and Czaplicka 1995).

[47] "Un courant de pensée continu, (d')une continuité qui n'a rien d'artificiel, puisqu'elle ne retient du passé que ce qui est encore vivant ou capable de vivre dans la conscience du groupe qui l'entretient. Par définition, elle ne dépasse pas les limites de ce groupe. Lorsqu'une période cesse d'intéresser la période qui suit, ce n'est pas un groupe qui oublie une partie de son passé : il y a deux groupes qui se succèdent." (Halbwachs 1968, 70) (Translated by the author).

As for Marianne Hirsch (1997), the passage from memory to post-memory is affected by a generation's shift or between 'lived memory' and 'borrowed memory.' In her words:

> Post-memory is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection. Post-memory is a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation […] Post-memory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor recreated (Hirsch 1997, 22).

Even though Hirsch's work has been initiated in relation to children of Holocaust survivors, she stated that this notion of "post-memory" could also be applied to other second-generation groups in different circumstances. Thus, the generations could be split as memory and post-memory generations depending on the circumstances they experienced. I argue in this study that different generations of Algerian descendants have not inherited the same memory and nostalgia from their forefathers. The migrants who came from Algeria are naturally the "memory generation," the first and second generations born in Turkey are the post-memory generation, and the third generation is briefly maintaining a memory transmitted to two generations before them. And by the statement of Halbwachs (1968), "So there is no collective memory that does not unfold in a spatial framework." (Halbwachs 1968, 146). I intend to detail in the following section the creation of space by this community that enables them to maintain and negotiate their identity through time.

4.7 Cultural Hybridity and Third-Space

Living in a culturally varied environment suggests that individuals meet several cultures (Berry, 1997). Identity strategies can be to adjust the sense of belonging to a socio-cultural group. People can acquire a feeling of belonging to one or two socio-cultural groups simultaneously, called hybridity in social sciences. At the same time, individuals might also experience a rejection of any socio-cultural group, as states Berry (1997), "even where pluralism is accepted, there are well-known variations in the relative acceptance of specific cultural, racial, and religious groups" (Berry 1997, 17). In the case of the Algerian diaspora in Adana, I argue that identity is reproduced and replicated, negotiated in the host country, and concurrently maintained through

ties with the past, leading me to stress the hybrid dimension of identity. This statement can be examined in the everyday setting of the community that constantly mediate between the host country and the country of origin: "Dual identity is present when ethnic minority group members have both a strong ethnic and a strong national identity." (Spiegler, Wölfer, and Hewstone 2019, 1925).

Furthermore, according to the identity acculturation models of Berry (1997), later elaborated by Phinney and al. (2001), both identities can be weak, which means either a "marginalization or an individualization strategy." (Spiegler, Wölfer, and Hewstone 2019), in detail :

> An individual who retains a strong ethnic identity while also identifying with the new society is considered to have an integrated (or bicultural) identity. One who has a strong ethnic identity but does not identify with the new culture has a separated identity, whereas one who gives up an ethnic identity and identifies only with the new culture has an assimilated identity. The individual who identifies with neither has a marginalized identity (Phinney et al. 2001)

I argue that members of the Algerian diaspora are not homogenous in that sense. Most interlocutors alternatively emphasize a strong ethnic identity (Algerian) combined with a strong national identity (Turkish). However, I noticed during some interviews that there are some cases among the youngest generation in which individuals develop a stronger ethnic identity compared to the national one. According to Spiegler, Wölfe, and Hewstone (2019), "prioritizing their ethnic or national identity, which indicates identity separation or assimilation, respectively" (Spiegler, Wölfer, and Hewstone 2019, 1925). This leads me to think that some individuals from the third generation have encountered discrimination, leading them to separate themselves from the society they were raised in and take refuge in their ethnic identities. I understand this shift of identity in relation to the anti-Arab discourse embedded In the Turkish nationalistic vision.

Following the poststructuralist authors on this issue as Homi K. Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1994), who raise a new way of looking to identity as "hybrid." The hybridity suggests that identity is embodied in a multiplicity and sometimes conflicting positions. In postcolonial theories, the diasporic identity formation is heterogeny, hybrid and diverse (Bhabha 1994; Hall 1994). Hall (1992) claims that identity in the diaspora is constantly in the process of formation; he states, "It always remains incomplete, is always 'in process,' always 'being formed'" (Hall 1992, 287). In

"Cultural identity and diaspora" Hall (1994) describes the diasporic experience in this way:

> The diaspora experience as I intend it here, is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (Hall, 1994, 235).

I understand that the concept of hybridity has been developed to adapt to the changing theoretical approach on identity from a fixed entity to one that is fluid and evolving. The diasporic identities, more specifically, are more concerned with this fact because they are what Vertovec (1997) describes as "being simultaneously 'home away from home' or 'here and there'" (Vertovec 1997, 282).

The multi-dimensionality of the concept of "home" in diaspora does not mean that diasporas are "rootless". For instance, Brah (1996) invites us to make a distinction between "feeling at home' and declaring a place as home" and affirm that diasporic identities specifically shows perfectly the plural dimension of the identity and states: "the concept of diaspora refers to multi-locationality within and across territorial, cultural and psychic boundaries" (Brah 1996, 194). The relation between the concept of home and identity building is often made in academic discussions (Benmayor and Skotnes 1994; Ahmed et al. 2003). However, when talking to my interlocutors, I noticed that their understanding of belonging was not limited to one place; interestingly, they could see themselves connected to many places, which shows the ambiguous relationship between home and identity. This makes me think that these individuals create a third-space to include all forms of their singular identity. Indeed, I claim that the Algerian diaspora in Adana creates a diasporic space. Brah (1996) says, "Diaspora space is the point at which boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of 'us' and 'them,' are contested." (Brah 1996, 205) which intend that diasporic spaces are places of negotiation and contesting identities and argues that both migrants and their offspring occupy these spaces.

As mentioned in the book *Diaspora & Hybridity*, Kalra, Kaur, and Hutnyk (2005) mention that the second and third generation of immigrants "who have never migrated but are the offspring of migrants" are bound to balance two inherited identities as

immigrants (Kalra, Kaur, and Hutnyk 2005, 14). Thus, I examine how members of the Algerian diaspora living in Adana endeavor to create a diasporic space, in which they negotiate realities of the homeland and the host country: "we are looking at how members of a specific culture attempt to make themselves a(t) home in a transforming communicative environment, how they can find themselves in this environment and at the same time try to mould it in their own image" (Miller and Slater 2000, 1).

The concept of third-space will be among the critical theoretical concepts I intend to develop this study on. Bhabha (1994, 1996), one of the most influential theorists of postcolonial studies, developed this notion in a colonial context to explain the cultural interplay between colonized and colonizer as explained in these terms "A contingent, borderline experience opens up in-between colonizer and colonized. This is a space of cultural and interpretive undecidability produced in the 'present' of the colonial moment" (Bhabha 1994, 206). Later, the notion of third-space was implemented in migration studies to explore how new migrants live and adapt to new cultural spaces.

In his book *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) explains the third-space as "in-between the designations of identity" (Bhabha 1994, 4), according to him:

> The Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, historicized and read anew (Bhabha 1994, 37).

For Bhabha (1996), the concept of third-space is created when two cultures interact with each other and create a hybrid space, an 'in-between' culture (Bhabha 1996, 54). For example, when the descendants of Algerians express themselves about their cultural identity, they are fully aware that their forefathers came from Algeria; some of them introduce themselves as Algerians[48], and some even speak fluently Arabic. Yet, at the same time, they present themselves citizens of Turkey and speak Turkish. Thus their identity adopts all these positions, and I argue they have a hybrid identity; as states Bhabha (1994), "this interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed

[48] Even though they haven not been granted the Algerian citizenship.

or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha 1994, 4). Specifically, the 'in between' aspects of identity initiates new possibilities of identity. In his words:

> What is the theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivity and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These in between spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood -singular or communal- that initiate new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself (Bhabha 1994, 1).

In the context of this study, the space discussion was one of the findings of my fieldwork but is not part of my main research question. Here, I only aim to explore the diasporic space and third-space understanding of the diaspora in Adana and Kozan. Indeed, I argue that the community creates a new terrain of belonging in-between two cultures (the host country and the home country) and develops a diasporic space where they are negotiating their identity. My interlocutors negotiate their in-betweenness in various forms, firstly, based on a generational understanding because interlocutors from different generations have a different understanding of belonging based on their cultural awareness and the Turkish political context they experienced in their lives. Their in-betweenness is also related to maintaining their religious and cultural identities based on the societal norms as stated by Bhabha in an interview: "A transparent norm is constituted, a norm is given by the host society or dominant culture, which says that 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'" (Rutherford 1990, 208). In that sense, my interlocutors strive to fit in society but also strive to maintain and preserve their cultural and religious identities in the host society. In this study, I argue that the Algerian community in Adana and Kozan creates not only one but three different spaces, and I will look into these spaces through the use of memory and emotions repertoires in chapter six.

CHAPTER V

COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND EMOTIONS IN THE IDENTITY BUILDING OF THE DIASPORA

> One event that has marked me the most today is when I visited Messaouda, who is from the first generation and is 90 years old. From what I heard from her family, she has never been to Algeria and has some memory issues. When she heard me speak the Algerian dialect, she thought that I was a member of her family (that stayed in Algeria) that came specifically to visit her. I could see her eyes sparkling with joy, and then she started to kiss me and hug me as she has been waiting for me for so long (Figure 5.1). I was confused and emotive at the same time. This old lady was glad to see me and started singing old Algerian songs. She was continuously saying, "I will come to Algeria, I will come one day, and I will travel everywhere; I need to collect some money before going so that I can buy some presents (dolu gidiyim) when I go, I cannot go empty hands, it would be shameful (*ayıp*)."

These short lines are selected from my fieldwork notes; this episode I had experienced with this old lady had deeply marked me because contradictory emotions submerged me at this moment. This old lady from the first generation born in Turkey has never had the opportunity to visit her parent's homeland, yet it was all she talked about. She became profoundly emotive, and seeing her still wanting to go to Algeria (even though her situation doesn't permit that) reflected this sense of longing and nostalgia towards the homeland.

Figure 5.1. The Meeting with Messaouda in Kozan

These records are one example among many that show the emotions involved during my fieldwork. I realized that my presence in the field as an Algerian with my cultural

background triggered numerous emotions and memories about Algeria that my interlocutors grew up listening to. This old lady has never been to Algeria yet feels belonging to it and welcomed me as a hoped-for guest. During the fieldwork, I questioned these feelings, which drove me to shape and adjust my research objective for this study. Acknowledging that the Algerian migration occurred more than 100 years ago, I wondered how my interlocutors could still identify as Algerians and remain connected to a country they have yet to visit.

Through my observations and analysis of interview transcripts, I learned that the work of memory and emotions had led the Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan to preserve an attachment to the homeland and build their identity in the diaspora. In trying to understand and give meaning to the identity construction of my interlocutors, I attempt to construct through analyzing interview transcripts a coherent way to apprehend the identity-building processes and strategies of the positioning of my interlocutors. To reach these goals, I will base my analysis on my interlocutor's life story narratives and experiences, with the help of theories that I developed in chapter four. In this chapter, I will focus on the records of my interlocutor's personal experiences about positioning and defining their identity through the role of memory and emotions. While analyzing interview transcripts, I recognized several important topics where memory plays a role and repeats itself with different interlocutors. To unwrap the patterns defining their identity, I will concentrate on the traits that compose their memory structure. Then, concurrently, I aim to focus on the emotionality involved in the whole experience.

The life stories of my 20 interlocutors provide me with valuable narrations on the local community's identity in Adana. When I reviewed the interviews, it was apparent to me that there were crucial points around which my interlocutors built their narrative (1) the migration story of their forefathers, (2) the childhood stories, (3) their Turkish identity, and finally (4) the romanticization and idealization of *Arab-ness* and Algeria. This chapter will reveal how my interlocutors' narratives unfold the underlying dynamics of collective memory. As says Hutcheon (1998) the past is looked as the "ideal" through the work of memory and the different experience of Algerian descendants generation in terms of memory is explained by the shift from memory to

post-memory generation or between 'lived memory' ad 'borrowed memory' as says Hirsh (1997):

> Post-memory is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection. Post-memory is a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation (Hirsch 1997, 22).

The second purpose is to explore the impact of collective consciousness and transmitted memory on the interlocutor's identity building in relation to the emotional repertoire. As memory is related to emotions, positioning, and context, my interlocutors' identity understanding is not homogenous because the generations inherited memories and experienced different political contexts in Turkey. At the same time, my interlocutors from the three generations experienced different political contexts in Turkey that regulated their understanding of identity accordingly. Therefore, the positioning of my interlocutors towards their identity is associated with the memory mechanism and the contextual political experience in Turkey. In other words, the identities of my interlocutors are shaped and reshaped according to their strategies and positioning following what argue Hall (1994) that identities are "not an essence but a positioning" (Hall 1994, 226).

As said earlier, different generations of Algerian descendants have not experienced in the same way the transmission of memory. During interviews, I noted that the first generation of descendants had inherited a deeper nostalgic view of the homeland their parents were forced to leave. They also inherited the language, the culture, the culinary culture in a more significant way. Algeria carries symbolic meanings for the second generation, such as the need to reconnect with the language or the willingness to preserve parts of the Algerian traditions they inherited. This generation is deeply affected by their forefather's nostalgia transmitted to them through narrations and childhood experiences. In that sense, I wanted to understand how emotions affected their sense of belonging to Turkey while considering their romanticization of Algeria. My interlocutors from the 2nd generation are the post-memory generation, to quote Marianne Hirsh (2012) on this issue :

> Certainly, we do not have literal "memories" of others' experiences, and certainly, one person's lived memories cannot be transformed into another's. Post memory is not identical to memory: it is "post"; but, at the same time, I argue, it approximates memory in its affective force and its psychic effects." (Hirsch 2012, 31)

I note here that my interlocutors from the first and second generations were raised during the Kemalist era, where “race shaped nationalism” (Cagaptay 2004, 86). Therefore, I argue that the Turkification process of the nation has aimed to assimilate Muslim minorities in Turkey. However, my findings in the fieldwork suggest that interlocutors resisted enforced assimilation by preserving their cultural identity and attachment to the homeland through memory mechanisms. On the other hand, their official discourse on Turkishness and their visible attachment to Turkey let me argue that they were compelled at some point in history to dissimulate their cultural identity, as it is discussed in a report on minorities in Turkey “Given the low level of tolerance towards difference and the prevalence of the cultural trait of perceiving difference as a threat, people with different identities tend to conceal their true selves or tend to appear as if they are complying with the majority norms and values” (Yılmaz and Çağdan 2016, 19). In other words, Algerian descendants experienced otherizing in Turkish society, but they do not speak openly about this issue and hide behind an official discourse on Turkishness. In that sense, I assume that the politics of fear used in constructing the Turkish nationalist state is still heavily present, and interlocutors prefer to stay silent about their experiences. In his article "Veiled memories: an ethnography of the single-party regime in Turkey," Ramazan Aras (2019) emphasizes the strategy of fear used during the formation of authoritarian regimes in his words:

> During the formation of such authoritarian regimes, the emotions of fear, death and security have always been used by state actors as very effective instruments of disciplining and control of the masses. In a similar vein, our recently conducted oral history project documented how the emotions of fear, death and suffering were dominant in everyday life and how they were attached to the state, the single party regime, and its local agents and apparatuses by the ordinary Turkish citizens (Aras 2019, 227).

As for the third generation, it appeared that they are increasingly turning back to their Algerian roots in a quest for their ethnic identity. I argue that this shift of identity is explained by otherizing experiences this young generation might experience in Turkish society. Furthermore, this otherizing is also intensified by the current political context in Turkey. Indeed, Turkey became the host for millions of Syrian refugees this last decade; and this flux of migrants created an "anti-immigrant, anti-Arab discourses" (Özden 2013, 1) in the Turkish society. In that sense, I argue that the third generation of Algerian descendants is yet to be distinguished as Turks, leading some youngsters to look back to their ancestors' identity as a quest for identity and a sense of belonging.

As mentioned in chapter four, the interviews were emotionally loaded experiences. At several times, my interlocutors were in tears while narrating their experiences and attachment to Algeria, which led me to focus on nostalgia and memory in the identity building of this community. In this chapter, I explain how the nostalgia created by a constructed memory brings up several emotions. As argue by Ahmed (2004), emotions create "the collective" (Ahmed 2004, 27); thus, the work of memory and emotions also creates solidarity and a sense of belonging among the Algerian community in Adana. Furthermore, this collective sense among this community leads to a "narrative bond" (Eder 2009) where stories of the past are socially constructed narrations that strengthen the community cohesion and legitimize their belonging to Turkey, as I will detail further.

As says Joyce Davidson and Liz Bondi (2004), emotions affect how we perceive things; in that sense, the role of emotions is at the center of the identity construction of the diaspora as it helps us understand where we belong (Conradson and McKay 2007). In this research, I show that the constructed memories of the past create nostalgia transmitted through generations. This imitated nostalgia plays an essential role in the identity construction of my interlocutors as it can be "a means of maintaining a collective sense of socio-historic continuity, a source of resistance to hegemonic influence" (Brown and Humphreys 2002, 141). In literature, nostalgia is related to homesickness (Phillips 1985), nostalgia is also a way to bring back the past to the present to facilitate the continuity of identity and give a sense of what we become (Wilson 1999). As for Svetlana Boym (2001), she understands nostalgia as a way to bring back home through memory and symbols.

I argue that my interlocutors' nostalgia is visible through the role that the homeland plays in their daily lives and through narratives of the past that give sense to their identity. I emphasize here that all my interlocutors constructed their Algerian identity through their imagination of the homeland. Consequently, the idea of an "ideal homeland" or a "lost home" they imagined throughout their life provides them a powerful sense of belonging to Algeria. Thus, I argue that as long as their image of Algeria holds on to this utopian image they create (Safran 1991), my interlocutors will continue sustaining their Algerian identity in Turkey.

In his book Voices of Collective Remembering, James Wertsch (2002) explores collective memory by focusing on the role of narrative texts as "cultural tools." He writes, "The functional dualism of these tools means that memory can be used to provide accurate accounts of the past as well as accounts that are “usable” in the present for various political and cultural purposes" (Wertsch 2002, 66). Through interlocutors narration of the migration of their forefathers as a *hijra*, I will show how they select memories of the past that are “usable” to justify their present (Wertsch 2002). In that sense, I argue that the collective memory of the Algerian diaspora in Adana is based on memories of the past that are “usable” narrations to justify the present, which helps them legitimize their belonging to Turkey and claim their Turkish-ness.

5.1 Diasporic Narrative of the Migration

In this part, I will consider the underlying dynamics of memory of the Algerian community in Adana. As say Breda Gray (2008), "memories of times past are always remembered from the perspective of the present" (Gray 2008, 939). I attempt to examine how the memory of the past shapes and articulates in the present to grasp how memories participate in shaping this community's identity. For this, I will start by analyzing the migration narration from the words of my interlocutors. As they haven’t experienced the migration process, their narrative is transmitted from one generation to another, shaping their sense of belonging to the host country.

5.1.1 To Fight or Flight: the Islamic Concept of Hijra

Interestingly, when I asked my interlocutors to narrate their forefathers' migration from Algeria, most of them described it as a *hijra* or an Islamic migration which led me to focus on its ethical and religious significance briefly. *Hijra* is the Arabic word for ‘migration’; in the strict meaning, it means “‘to abandon’, ‘to leave’, ‘to emigrate’, ‘to give up’ or ‘to separate’”(Reda 2017, 162). Even though the concept of *hijra* is filled with religious connotations, it is the only word in Arabic referring to migration. In the context of the Ottoman Empire, the term *Muhacir*[49] was applied to a range of

[49] The *Muhacir* refer to the refugee in Muslim land.

populations entering the Ottoman Empire: returnees from the Balkans, Muslim refugees from the Balkans of various origins (Albanians, Macedonians, Pomaks, Serbo-Bosnians, Islamized Greeks), Crimean Tatars, Muslim Caucasians, some Turkic speakers (Nogay, Karaçay, Balkars, Terekeme, Azeris), others not (Chechens, Circassians). These populations had been given the right both by the Empire and the Republic to integrate the territory (Tapia 1998). The historical literature also refers to the different waves of Algerian migrations to the Ottoman lands as a *hijra* (Hargal 2020; Sissani 2003; Samur 1992).

As I have detailed in Chapter three from a historical perspective, several reasons pressed Algerians to the *hijra* to seek refuge in Ottoman lands, the main reason being the oppression of the French colonial power. The *hijra* is, as says Salma Hargal (2020), "The ideas of oppression and persecution, and the general principle that one should escape a harsh, unfair environment give a strong socio-political dimension to hijra" (Hargal 2020, 166). In that sense, the concept of *hijra* is intimately connected with forms of oppression that have experiences Algerians. Another critical aspect of the *hijra* is explained by July Blalack (2020) in relation to great anti-colonial leaders from the North African region. For instance, she explains that the migration of the Emir Abd al-Qadir that I have mentioned in the third chapter gave the concept of *hijra* a meaning of resistance and solidarity (Blalack 2020). The Algerians had decided to leave their homeland, either individually or by following the directions of religious figures that directed them to follow the prescription of the holy book (Sissani 2003). One of my interlocutors from the first generation, who is born of an Algerian mother and a Libyan father, explains how his forefathers left their homeland:

> The reason my family migrated is because of a Sheikh called Sheikh Muhammed Emin. When the French invaded Mauritania, he said, "Fellows, if a country gets invaded, there are two things a Muslim can do, one is jihad, and the other is hijra," that is, to migrate to another Islamic country. And from that, they came with this Sheikh, starting from Mauritania and passing from Libya.[50]

[50] Personal interview with Ahmet T. On 29.10.2019, Adana: "Ailemin geliş sebebi şu Şeyh Muhammed Emin diye bir Şeyh var, dedi şeyler Fransızlar Moritanya'yı işgal etti. Moritanya'yı işgal edince o da dedi ki "arkadaşlar bir ülke bir yere işgale uğrarsa Müslümanın yapacağı iki iş var birisi cihat, ikincisi de hicrettir" yani başka bir İslam ülkesine hicret etmektir. Ve bunun üzerine bu Şeyhlen beraber geliyorlar şeyden Moritanya'dan hicret ediyorlar işte Libya'ya uğruyorlar." (Translated by the author)

Most of my interlocutors narrate their ancestors' migration as a *hijra*, in the Islamic sense. When analyzing the discourse of this community, I could clearly see the influence that has the migration narrative on their identity construction and their relationship with both Turkey and Algeria. Interlocutors interpret this departure decision due to the difficult living conditions imposed upon the Algerian population in terms of faith and traditions, but also due to the significant changes that occurred in the Algerian society, as says my interlocutor Süleyman :

> When the French occupation started, there was considerable pressure on them (on Algerians). Actually, they were people very attached to their religion and fully lived their faith. However, with that said, they concluded that they would emigrate because they could no longer live the Islamic way.[51]

The colonial power perceived Islam as a threat to their dominance in Algeria as Islam created cohesion among locals to fight back the enemy. Amira Bennison (1998) says about this matter, "Islam was perceived as the main obstacle to the full political integration of Algeria and its acculturation into the metropolitan French community" (Bennison 1998, 99). I also understand from my interlocutor Ahmet K. that his forefathers were attached to their religion and cultural practices; he narrated some episodes that brought discomfort to them when living under French colonization:

> While our grandparents were shopping there in the grocery store, French women were bothering Algerian men (with their dressing way). Since there is no room for such things in Islam, they (Algerians) tried to stay away from those people because they did not like them. So they (French) harassed our women, and when our women were harassed, it increased the problems. At that time, my grandfathers started consulting each other about an eventual departure, and under the supervision of our grandfather Hacı Ahmet they decided to emigrate. They left Algeria as a large group and came to Damascus via Tunisia and Libya. Some of them went to Medina, some of them came back to Damascus. Finally, they came to Turkey from Damascus and chose to live under Ottoman protection.[52]

[51]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: "Fransızların işgali, savaşlar başlayınca orada kendilerine büyük bir baskı olmuş daha doğrusu bunlar inançlarını yaşayan dinlerine çok bağlı olan bir grup. O grupla birlikte artık burada biz İslamiyeti yaşayamayız diye hicret etmişler." (Translated by the author)

[52]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Dedelerimiz ninelerimiz orada bakkalda alışveriş yaparken, Fransız kadınları özellikle Cezayirli erkekleri rahatsız ediyordu. İslamiyet dininde bu tip şeylere mahal olmadığı için sevmedikleri için o insanlardan uzaklaşmaya çalıştılar. Kadınlarımızı taciz ettiler taciz edilince onlarda bu rahatsızlıklar çoğaldı. Orada dedelerim kendi aralarında istişare edip Hacı Ahmet dedemizin önderliğinde hicret etmeye karar veriyorlar. Cezayir'den büyük bir topluluk olarak Cezayir'den çıkıp Tunus, Libya üzerinden Şam'a geldiler. Bir kısmı Medine'ye gitti bir kısmı tekrardan Şam'a geri geldi. Şam'dan Türkiye'ye gelip Şam'da Osmanlı Tabyasını seçtiler. Osmanlı Tabyası altında Anadolu'ya geldiler, burda birkaç Anadolu'da Türkiye'nin içinde birkaç il gezdikten sonra Adana Kozan'a yerleşip Kozan'da ailemiz büyüdü, kardeşlerimiz oldu. Biz de dünyaya geldik sonra Kozan'dan Adana'ya gelip Adana'ya yerleştik. Burda geçimimizi sağlamaya başladık." (Translated by the author)

Interestingly, my interlocutors differed on the narration of the migration of their forefathers. For instance, Yahya claims that his forefathers fled (*kaçmak*) the colonization, which gives a pejorative connotation to the migration movements. I asked him what would be his decision if he was in the position of his forefathers and lived under difficult circumstances, he replied he would never leave his country and fight the enemy until death by saying :

> So... they escaped during the war with France. I swear I wouldn't run away; even if I have to die, I will die, I wouldn't run away. I wouldn't leave my country. So let them (French) kill me; if we have to die, we will; if not, why should I leave my homeland; indeed, who knows what atrocities they did to them that they decided to leave everything and go because it is not an easy thing to leave your homeland, leave your home and run away[53].

While Yahya was narrating his vision of the migration, the other persons present in the room during the interview corrected his judgment by re-affirming that their ancestors made the *hijra* and did not "escape" from Algeria. Esther Wiesenfeld (1996) understand the notion of "we" in a community as "This notion is understood as a compact and homogenous group, assuming that their members feel, think, and behave in similar and predictable ways, as corresponds to their belonging to the community" (Wiesenfeld 1996, 337). This leads me to argue that the migration narrative as a *hijra* is the "accepted" narration that strengthens the "we" of the community. Indeed, to state that their ancestors "escaped" from colonization and did not defend their lands insinuates their ancestors chose the simplest way out, which is, in my opinion, not the way they want to be remembered. On the same note, Ömer, who is 19 years old, keeps hope in his heart that his ancestors had good reasons leaving Algeria by associating their decision to the departure of Emir Abd al-Qadir, a leader figure that he strongly appreciates, in his words:

> Sometimes I think to myself and ask myself why they left their country? Suppose someone is really attached to his land. In that case, I don't know how they can leave their family, belongings and everything…and on the other hand, I convince myself they had good reasons, even Emir Abd al-Qadir left the country, he went to France, then Syria and Turkey and had his reasons to migrate...so I want to believe deep inside of me (inşAllah) that my grandfathers had good reasons to leave their country as Emir Abd al-Qadir did.[54]

[53]Personal interview with Yahya on 31.10.2019, Kozan "Vallahi ben kaçmazdım yalan mı söyleyeyim ölürdüm gene kaçmazdım. Gitmem. Öldürsünler öleceksek öleceğiz ölmeyeceksek niye ben vatanımı bırakayım aslında belki o 4 kardeşin kaçması bu tarafa belkide kim bilir ne zulümler yapmışlardır ki ne kaçmışlardır bu tarafa yani kolay kolay sen tutupta burayı vatanını bırakıp evini barkını bırakıp da kaçar mıydın kaçman." (Translated by the author)

[54] Personal interview with Ömer on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

Mieke Bal (1999) states that memory is “an activity occurring in the present, in which the past is continuously modified and redescribed even as it continues to shape the future.” (Ball 1999, vii). I understand this different narration construction as part of the collective identity and part of the identity-building process of this diaspora in Adana. As Eder (2009) states, collective identities are "a narrative constructions which permit the control of the boundaries of a network of actor" (Eder 2009, 427). In this case, I argue that the narration of the migration as a *hijra* is socially constructed. It somehow legitimizes the departure of their ancestors from Algeria, yet, it also legitimizes their presence in Turkey, or as Eder says, it helps determine an answer to the question 'who do I belong to?' or 'who do we belong to?' (Eder 2009, 431). Consequently, this shared narrative or "narrative bond" (Eder 2009, 431) strengthens the existence of the "we" among the community (Wiesenfeld 1996).

A story can be shaped and reshaped following experiences and viewpoints. In other words, the importance of narratives relies on the positioning from which they are narrated. As states Hall (1994), "identities are the names we give the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within the narratives of the past." (Hall 1994, 225). Following what Hall (1994) states, I can say that the migration narration focuses on narratives of the past, and therefore, identities are shaped and reshaped, given their positioning towards it. I argue that the migration narrative as a *hijra* is a romanticized version of the memory that justifies the migration more acceptably. The justification of this migration to Anatolia is also a way of legitimizing and justifying their present and future in Turkey; in that sense, these memory shifts justify their position and their identity based on emotions. Thus, this collective memory simultaneously fulfills my interlocutors' Turkish identity by legitimizing their belonging to the host country.

5.2 *Gurbet* in the Host Country: The Generational Identification

The narratives of this study are based on my interlocutors’ positioning their identities in the host country. During interviews, I noticed that most of my interlocutors expressed their identities by relating them to childhood memories. Indeed, when I asked them how they define themselves, most of my interlocutors went back to childhood memories and remembered the times spent with their elders. Thus, I suggest

that they build their identity through the narration of the past, and more specifically, their childhood memories. The reference to the childhood could be referred to what Stuart Hall (1997) calls "organic community," a community existing in childhood and left behind, in his words:

> The organic community was just always in the childhood you have left behind[...] you can measure the present in relation to the past, and you know the past because back then it was much more organic and integrated [...]And so, eventually, some of these great collectivities are rather like those people who have an activity of historical nostalgia going on in their retrospective reconstructions (Hall 1997, 46).

Ahmet K. considers himself an Algerian and explains that this feeling was transmitted to him from his early childhood in the village. He mentions that he misses this particular period, while he narrates with nostalgia how he spends his childhood with his Algerian grandparents:

> When I was young, I remember going with my parents and relatives on weekends to the village, to visit each other. We visited our relatives one by one on weekends and got together on certain special days of the month. On these occasions, we spent time together, share meals together, had conversations, and consulted each other; elders discussed issues and took decisions among themselves and implemented them. Of course, this (closeness of the group) allowed us, as the Algerian community, to settle down (in Kozan) and increase in number without having any issues and discomfort until nowadays, and this was only possible because they (the community) consulted each other (in many aspects of life). When it comes to hijra, we use to learn what happened in the past (to our forefathers), and through our elders' stories about Algeria, we realized that we were Algerians[55].

Nostalgia towards the past was visible during all interviews and in my field observations in the sense that interlocutors tend to identify with their Algerian forefathers and idealize the past. When I asked my interlocutors how they identified themselves, the answers varied according to generation. The interlocutors from the first generation, who have spent all their lives in Turkey, unanimously defined themselves firstly as Algerians. This generation's parents were the migrants who carried the cultural and linguistic background they naturally transmitted to them. The

[55]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Ben akıl bulüğ ettiğim dönemlerde yani köylerde, annemiz babamız haftasonları olduğu zaman genelde akrabalarla köye giderdik, orada hepsine sila-i rahim yapılırdı. Akrabalarımız tek tek gezilirdi haftasonları da. Ayın malum günlerinde bir araya gelmeyi tercih ederlerdi. Orda sohbetler edilirdi, yemekler yenilirdi, konuşulurdu, istişareler yapılırdı, kendi aralarında kararlar alırlardı onu da uygularlardı. Bu da tabi biz burdaki Cezayir toplumu olarak bu zamana kadar sağlık, sıhhat ve herhangi bir rahatsızlık olmadan rahat bir şekilde yerleşmemizi ve çoğalmamızı sağladı. Bu kendi aralarındaki istişareler sonucunda. Hicretle alakalı deyince de geçmişte anlatılanları biz öğrenmeye başladık yani Cezayirli olduğumuzu anladığımızdan itibaren oranın, büyüklerimiz orayla alakalı destanlar anlatırlardı, hikayeler anlatırlardı." (Translated by the author)

second generation born in Turkey felt close to both the Algerian and Turkish cultures, and finally, the third generation's identification is more complex; some felt more Turkish than Algerian, and others the contrary. I will discuss this in detail in the following paragraphs.

In my fieldwork, it was apparent that the Algerian diaspora in Adana distinguished itself from others (the Turkish society), whether physically or by perpetuating Algerian traditions and asserting their *Algerianity*. Concurrently, they also look like others and consider themselves rooted and belonging to Turkey. In that sense, by analyzing their self-identification (Brubaker and Cooper 2000), I aim to explain how their identity is differentiated from others and, at the same time, related to others (Eder 2009).

As says Semin Jodeyr (2003), to inquire about the identity of migrant descendants, it is essential to acknowledge the lives and experiences of the first generation as a relevant factor to examine the identity of their descendants. The connection of the first migrant with the motherland is different because it is loaded with souvenirs and experiences of separation and deracination (Brah 1996). According to my interlocutors, when their ancestors arrived in Kozan, minimal mixing occurred with the local population, primarily due to the language barrier as states by my interlocutor Ahmet "language was a problem, they had some difficulties in mutual agreements.[56]" I understand that the first migrants weren't integrated easily, mainly due to the language barrier. When I asked Fatima Zohra, who is 90 years old, how her forefathers experienced their first steps in society, she answered with an anecdote of an incident that happened to one Algerian migrant due to language obstacle :

> One day, a guy was caught by the police and taken to the police station; the policeman said to him "*haci burda dur*" (meaning wait here), but in Arabic, dur means to turn around yourself, so he started to turn around himself. Someone who knows Turkish came and asked the man, "what are you doing," then he responded, "he asked me to turn around, so I am turning around."[57]

She also stated that some migrants struggled and had difficulties coping with the language and culture barriers and wanted to return to Algeria. The narrative of the first-

[56] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "tabi dil problem olunca karşılıklı anlaşmalarda biraz bir takım sıkıntılar yaşadılar." (Translated by the author)
[57] Personal interview with Fatima Zohra. on 30.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

generation descendants shows the isolation that experienced the first Algerians when they first arrived. My interlocutors also shared with me the nostalgia their forefathers experienced for their homeland "My mother was always crying for Algeria[58]." According to my interlocutors, the Algerian migrants came for a short period and had the idea of returning to the homeland, this myth of return(Anwar 1979) was thus a desire in the diaspora (Safran 1991; Cohen 1997). My interlocutor explains:

> My father was dying to go; he was crying, if anything happened, he was crying, I was saying to him, don't cry, daddy, when I grow up, I will get a job, I will earn some money, and I will send you to back Algeria, but there was no luck I was only 12 years old[59].

I understood through narratives of interlocutors that the first migrants experienced great suffering due to the separation from the homeland leading to yearning and nostalgia. For example, Friha, from the first generation, narrates how her mother constantly talked about Algeria "I used to tell her: Mum! what a deep affection you have towards Algeria…but we haven't seen it with our eyes (Algeria) we don't know it…poor her, she used to say that maybe a guest or an uncle will come and visit you from Algeria.[60]" I argue that this yearning and nostalgia for the homeland have then been transmitted to the next generations leading the Algerian descendants to imitate this nostalgia and build their identity around it.

On another note, Abdulhafiz narrated that the first migrants had difficulties adapting to the host society, mainly due to misunderstandings and stereotypes existing on Arab populations, in his words:

> When they settled here (in Damyeri), they were Turks and Arabs; the local population was afraid of Arabs; that is to say, Arabs didn't know Turkish, and Turks didn't speak Arabic, so they lived apart from each other. The state has reached out to us (Algerians) and gave us lands and housing. The land measurer was also an Arab from Adana; he spoke Arabic. He said, since you came from that far away (from Algeria), he will give each person thirty acres of fields, but he gave fifty acres for each of us; he has given us plenty of lands. So after that, we had proprieties, built houses; this is how we evolved; after that, we started farming. Many things have happened; the poor people (first migrants) suffered a lot; there was a time when brigand robbed them because they thought Arabs were wealthy.[61]

[58] Personal interview with Ibrahim. on 28.10.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from arabic)

[59] Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Babam can atıyordu gitmek, bir şey oldumu ağlıyordu baba ağlama diyordum ben büyüdüğümde dedim işe girerim para kazanırım seni ben Cezayir'e göndereceğim dedim ama kısmet olmadı daha ben 12 yaşındaydım" (Translated by the author)

[60] Personal interview with Friha on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)

[61] Personal interview with Abdulhafiz on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Türkler var Araplarla yani belli korkuyorlar Araplardan da korkarlarmış yani dinlediğini anla.. bir şekil Türkçe bilmediği için onlar

According to my interlocutors' information, the Algerian tribes were given dwelling spaces by the Government at that time. Indeed, North African tribes were settled in villages emptied from Armenians after the relocation law was voted in 1915 (Tanrıkulu 2011). However, according to my interlocutors, migrants were not planning to stay for long in Turkey and wanted to return to their homeland: "Our grandfathers didn't want these lands; they wanted to sell everything and return to Algeria for its liberation war.[62]" Thus, from their descendants' narrative, I can understand that the first migrants struggled to settle and integrate into the host country, and the return to the homeland was always yearned for.

I note here that the first generation of migrant descendants was raised in the villages surrounding Adana (Kozan, Nalören, Yüksekören, Damyeri). As I said earlier, this generation grew up in direct contact with the Algerian migrants in an environment where the Algerian culture was still actively practiced (marriages tradition, food, songs). As a result, their narratives are rich in historical facts regarding specific events, like the celebrations of religious celebrations and weddings Algerians performed. For instance, Medina narrates how weddings used to occur in villages where Algerians lived:

> In the past, weddings used to last for four days, there used to be a festive ambiance...when there was a wedding, it would be like a festival; it was marvelous...all Algerians from all the villages used to gather during four days, they never missed any weddings... it was very crowded...there was love and respect in this community; now everything changed, the wedding lasts an afternoon, and everything is done in a wedding venue.[63]

The first generation of Algerian descendants is the only one able to communicate in Arabic (Algerian dialect); thus, this generation can be distinguished compared to others. Although old ladies I have interviewed are very nostalgic of the past where the Arabic language was commonly spoken, and Algerian meals were regularly cooked,

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Türkçe bilmez ötekiler de Arapça bilmediği için bir kısmı burada kalmış bizim Araplar şurda şura bizim Araplar şurda yerleştik derken diyor bize devlet el uzattı bizi çağırdı hepimize toprak ve iskan toprak verdi ölçücü memur da Arap uşağıymış Adananın Arap uşağıymış o da Arapça biliyormuş demiş ki madem siz ta ordan geldiniz her kişi adam başına otuzar dönüm tarla vermiş yani iskan hakkı amma her birimize ellişer dönüm bir metre iki metreyi bir metre olarak çekmiş ölçmüş hudutları bellemiş bol toprak vermiş iskan bol iskan vermiş malımız oldu biz oraya yerleştik ev yaptık malı mülkümüzü her birimiz çadırda yaşıyorduk ondan sonra diyor böyle böyle geliştik ondan sonra çiftçiliğe çevirdik velhasıl çok şeyler geçmiş zavallılar çok ezilmişler Eşkiya zamanı varmış bunlar Araplar paralı diye." (Translated by the author)

[62] Personal interview with Salih A. on 31.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

[63] Personal interview with Medina on 23.10.2019, Kozan. (Translated by the author from Arabic)

Friha said to me sadly, "When the elders passed away…now the youngsters are marrying with the Turks…we didn't want that, but they liked each other's and married… we now became half Turks half Arabs.[64]" I understand that the older generation of migrant descendants was keen to perpetuate the Algerian culture and traditions through marriage between Algerian descendants.

This generation also refers to the gradual loss of the Algerian migrants and the emotion of yearning (*özlem*) it creates among the community: "all our elders passed away…now it's no more the same.[65]" The narration of special moments or occasions of the past is related to the nostalgia that is present nowadays, as says Phillips (1985): "Related to this sense of nostalgic time as memorialized is its tendency to crystallize into precious moments." (Phillips 1985, 66). When I asked the first generation about their forefathers, usually, their narratives were shaped in the "before" and "after" scheme. "Before" would refer to the past where their elders were present, and life was better, and the "after" refers to current times when the generation of migrants passed away; they emphasize how much times have changed since the elders left as narrates Abdulhafiz:

> We miss our elders; we miss them so much. When I go to the village, I don't find the elders, get bored, and return immediately; I live more comfortably here because my old peers are coming from all sides, very familiar to me. Only young people remained, but they are not very enjoyable. Still, after all, we have Arabs here in Kozan, in Adana and Nalbant, because there are Algerians in various places, so we are comfortable and happy here. I can sacrifice myself for that culture (*O kültüre ben kurbanım*); if you know their culture, it was something else! they were different, there was respect and love, we grew up with that love, but with the next generation it deteriorated year by year.[66]

This yearning for the "good old days" can be understood as 'a search for belonging' as well as an effort to reduce the impact of 'many bereavements' (Giles 2002, 29). As I have mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the memory transmission is

[64] Personal interview with Friha on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[65] Personal interview with Friha on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[66] Personal interview with Abdulhafiz on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Eskileri özlüyok, eskileri çok özlüyok. Ben şimdi köye gidiyom, gençleri büyükleri yaşlıları bulmadığım zaman sıkılıyom hemen geliyom buraya burda daha rahat yaşıyorum çünkü heryerde benim yaşlı yaşıtlarım oluyor her taraftan geliyor tanıdık çok o bakımdan köyde büyüklerimde ölünce emmilerimden de kalmadı gençler kaldı zevk almıyok daha doğrusu zevk vermiyo ama burda her bakımdan sonra bizim burda çevremizde Kozan'da Araplar var, Cezayirlisi var, Adana'da var, Nalbant'ta var, yani çeşitli yerlerde çok bol Araplarımız var yani onun için burda rahatık mutluyuk o bakımdan… O kültüre ben kurbanım ama yok işte kültürü bilsen onlar daha başkaydı orda saygı sevgi vardı hala biz o sevgi saygılara yetiştik amma ondan sonra nesil seneden seneye nesil bozuldu şimdi daha kötü oldu şimdi oğluna birisi söz geçiremezsin." (Translated by the author)

heterogeneous among my interlocutors from different generations. The first generation has been in direct contact with the first comers from Algeria; thus, it appeared to me that they are more nostalgic of the past. However, even though this generation is missing and continuously recalls the homeland and their ancestors, they are also attached to Turkey and wish to be considered integrated. In the next section, I will explain more in detail the shifting between my interlocutors' identities in relation to their positioning.

5.3 Official Discourses on Turkishness: "We now Consider Ourselves Turks."

'Living together in harmony' and 'feeling Turkish' are at the center of the identity question of the Algerian diaspora in Adana. My interlocutors want to be part of a Turkish identity as they consider to have always been. For the second generation, Algerian roots hold symbolic meanings, such as the need to reconnect with the language as stated Ibrahim, "all the elders are gone now, now they all became Turks; if you speak with them, they understand (Arabic) but are incapable of answering.[67]" or the willingness to preserve parts of the Algerian traditions they inherited. Still, their daily life remains established in Turkey, but the transmission of an individual and collective history is still present.

Despite the strong emotional bond they have for Algeria, most of my interlocutors identify themselves as Turks. Indeed, in several interviews, they have been employing an official discourse when talking about their Turkishness:

> Since we are citizens of the Republic of Turkey, we now consider ourselves Turkish, and as I said, they did not discriminate against us. They taught us, sent us to their schools. When we graduated from school, we were appointed just like other friends, and we lived like this for a long time, so we didn't see any discrimination.[68]

The Turkish identity for my interlocutor has an essential role in their identity building in the diaspora because Turkey is described as the country that opened arms to their parents and protected them in times of difficulties; it is as they are indebted to Turkey.

[67] Personal interview with Ibrahim. on 28.10.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from arabic)
[68] Personal interview with Ahmet T. On 29.10.2019, Adana "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olduğumuz için artık Türk, kendimizi Türk kabul ediyoruz herhangi dediğim gibi bir ayrım yapmadılar bizden tuttular bizi okuttular okullarına gönderdiler okuldan mezun olduğumuz zaman tayinimiz çıktı aynı diğer arkadaşlar gibi ve şey uzun müddet böyle yaşadık herhangi bir ayrım görmedik yani." (Translated by the author)

I argue that this feeling of gratitude shows their recognition of the host country as a home. They explain their attachment to Turkey by stating they have accomplished their military service here and would be ready to scarify their life for it. Ibrahim, who is now 76 years old, says, "if tomorrow they call me for military duties here, I will go without hesitation, for the sake of this land." Similarly, they consider themselves Turks because their grandparents also participated in the Turkish liberation war, which gives them a certain legitimacy to their presence in Turkey:

> My grandfather's brother fought in Çanakkale, so we have martyrs in the Turkish war of independence too. My grandfather did his military service here, and then he worked in the courthouse as a translator; he had a good accent in Turkish, so we got used to living here; I can say we are like Turks (*Türk gibiyiz*)… we sacrificed for these lands (*bu topraklarda kanları var*), so these lands are also ours.[69]

During some interviews, I realized that there were also some feelings of pain involved among my interlocutors who consider that the history of their ancestors was not recognized and was not given the attention that they hoped for, especially since they are isolated and far from any direct contact with Algeria.

Even though my interlocutors are very emotionally attached to Algeria without visiting it, I argue they also feel rejection or a certain indifference from the Algerian counterpart. Charles Taylor (1994) states that "Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence." (Taylor 1994, 25) from this, I argue that this absence of recognition leads some of my interlocutors to become more attached to their Turkish identity as says Ibrahim: "I say it clearly I am Arab, from Algeria, but they didn't look after us nor check on us (Algerian authorities).[70]"For instance, during my interview with Ibrahim, I felt that the emotion of pain was very present, especially when I asked him if he would like to visit Algeria someday. While I was expecting him to give me an affirmative answer, he said: "I have my retirement pension here, I have my home here, everything is fine here…if tomorrow I go to Algeria, what will I do, will they accept me? Will they welcome me open arms ... tell me ...?[71]" and he emphasizes his

[69]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: "Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda şehit vermişiz anne tarafından dedemin kardeşi Çanakkale'de savaşmış orada şehidimiz var yani. Dedem burada askerlik yapmış sonra adliyede görevli olmuş tercüman olarak da iyi bir aksanı varmış, Türkçesi de güzelmiş yani biz buraya alıştık yani Türk gibiyiz… bu topraklarda kanları var yani bu topraklar da bizim." (Translated by the author)

[70] Personal interview with Ibrahim. on 28.10.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from arabic)

[71] Personal interview with Ibrahim. on 28.10.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from arabic)

Turkish identity "Turkey gave us everything." Yet, at another time during the interview, Ibrahim talked about *Gurbet* "homesickness is hard" (*Gurbet zor*) while talking about their lives in Turkey. This contradictory discourse led me to think that anger and pain resulting from the indifference the community experience has affected some interlocutors and led them to emphasize their Turkishness.

The question of recognition came up several times during interviews with Algerians of the first and second generation who expressed some negligence and a non-recognition from the Algerian authorities who haven't shown interest nor contacted this community. My interlocutor Ahmet K. emphasize this matter in his words:

> I swear, it's like ripping out your heart. I didn't go to Algeria, but it's like we experienced it without visiting it (*gitmeden yaşadık*). We have always preserved customs and traditions. Of course, as the generation changes, unfortunately, things are changing, and I have to blame here the Algerian Minister of Culture and the Algerian Cultural Attaché because they didn't take care of the people here (*burdaki insanlara sahip çıkmadı*), they ignored us (*burdaki insanlarla ilgilenmediler*). I don't think they care enough about us even though we've made several attempts (to reach out to them).[72]

From this narrative, I understand that this diaspora expects recognition from Algeria as they consider themselves part of Algeria's history and collective memory. What is interesting to note is that even though this diaspora feels "forgotten" or not taken care of by Algerian authorities, they still stayed attached to their roots despite their isolation from Algeria for more than 100 years: "we see ourselves as Algerians, and we do not hesitate to express our *Algerianity* with peace of mind.[73]" In that sense, it shows that my interlocutors do not romanticize the Algerian authorities, but they do romanticize the fact of being Algerian and belonging to there.

Ahmet K. emphasizes the necessity of establishing contact with the Algerian authorities to implement the connection between the homeland and the generations

[72]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Vallahi kalbini söküp almaya benzer bu iş yani. Oranın ben gitmedim. Ama biz burda gitmeden yaşadık. Onun örf ve adetlerimizi hep muhafaza ettik.Tabi nesil değiştikçe maalesef biraz daha burada Cezayir Kültür Bakanını ve Cezayir Kültür ateşesine biraz sitem etmek zorundayım. O insanlar burdaki insanlara sahip çıkmadı burdaki insanlarla ilgilenmediler. Birkaç defa teşebbüsümüz olduğu halde bize ne yeteri derecede ilgilendiklerini sanmıyorum." (Translated by the author)

[73]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Kendimizi Cezayirli olarak yaşıyoruz ve gönül rahatlığıyla da Cezayirli olduğumuzu ifade etmekten çekinmiyoruz çekinmeyiz de yani." (Translated by the author)

who are in Turkey in order not to lose entirely contact, especially that the youngest generation gets further away from their dual culture:

> We need to discuss with each other (with Algerian authorities); we need to share our feelings (with them). We need to embrace each other...I don't know; we don't expect anything material from them, alhamdulillah, we are well established here. We want to experience not worldly but spiritual enthusiasm (*dünyalık değil manevi coşkuyu beraber yaşamak*); we want to share the same feelings with our brothers and sisters...that's what we expect from them.[74]

This willingness of recognition is, in my sense, closely interrelated with issues of memory and emotions. All my interlocutors grew up in the diaspora, far from their fathers' homeland. As show their narratives, the separation from the motherland creates fear of forgetness. As claim Thomas Lacroix and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2013), "These simultaneous processes of remembering and forgetting and memorialising and marginalising are often highly political in nature, at times mobilised by the diaspora to improve their access to rights in their hosting context or in their place of origin." (Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013, 685). In that sense, the Algerian diaspora community politics of forgetting and memorializing is a tool of legitimization of the community related to the host country and the homeland.

When it comes to the third generation, the two youngsters I have interviewed were very concerned about the gradual loss of Algerian identity among the third generation as stays Büşra:

> The new generation has adapted to the Turkish identity... well, they are Turkish citizens, but they are not much differentiated from normal Turkish teenagers, just in their appearance, with curly hair, and slightly dark-skinned, you know, they don't differ much from them… They don't even realize it; we are slowly losing this culture… there is no willingness to perpetuate what our parents taught us…so we need to gain this consciousness first.[75]

[74]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Karşılıklı işte onlarla görüşmemiz lazım. Duygularımızı paylaşmamız lazım. Birbirimize sarılmamız lazım. Bilmiyorum yani bizim madden bir şey beklediğimiz yok. Biz Elhamdülillah burada her türlü şeyimize kavuştuk. Bizim için dünyalık değil manevi coşkuyu beraber yaşamak yani kardeşlerimizle beraber aynı duyguları aynı hissiyatı paylaşmak istiyoruz. Bunu onlardan bekliyoruz yani." (Translated by the author)

[75]Personal interview with Büşra on 01.11.2019, Adana. "Şu an burada yeni nesil bilmiyorum Türk şeylerine çok fazla adapte olmuş hani Türk bi Türk vatandaşı zaten ama normal bir Türk gencinden çok farkları yok sadece dış görünüş olarak işte kıvırcık saç işte biraz esmer ten hani bu şekilde onun dışına çok ayrılmıyorlar hani çok şey dertli, farkında da değiller ya biz bunları yavaş yavaş kaybediyoruz hani bu kültürümüzü işte anne babamızdan öğrendiklerimizi yaşatalım şeyi çok fazla yok onları bu bilinç öncelikle bu bilinç aşılanabilir hani, bu olabilir diye düşünüyorum." (Translated by the author)

Büşra is born of a Turkish mother and Algerian descendant father; there is no doubt she feels some attachment towards her father's side roots, but she says:

> I can't feel exactly what my father feel because he grew up in a house where Arabic was spoken, Arabic was always spoken in the environment where he grew up…Arabic was always spoken near to him (*hep kulağında çalınıyordu*), that Arabic and that culture was always there. But I grew up in a house where Turkish is spoken, and I am always around Turks, so I can't feel exactly what my father feels, but I feel close to the (Algerian) culture. Actually, I found all the Algerian songs we listened to in the car.[76]

On 24-year-old interlocutor indicates the lack of transmission of culture among the 3rd generation. At the same time, this young generation has more access to information through social media and circles of friends. As says Büşra, "I have Algerian friends that I talk to, I try to connect with them, I try to establish that bond with Algeria through them.[77]" Her narratives show that she is constantly in search of her roots. She mentions that her curiosity to learn things and be aware of Algerian culture keeps alive her desire to establish bonds with Algeria.

Among these youngest descendants, the desire to revive the ancestors' culture seems more noticeable because they have easier access to information. Moreover, these youngest descendants show a particular attachment to the language dimension, which could allow them to build a bond with Algeria, as states Büşra "Arabic for example, Arabic can be taught to the new generation... because language is the basis of the culture, if the language is not transmitted to the new generation, perhaps we will experience a loss of this culture.[78]" In that sense, I concluded that the third generation of Algerian descendants' is willing to re-establish a strong connection with their roots. Still, I understood that their experience with identity was not similar to the two previous generations, as they need to develop theirs in a plurality of cultural affiliations.

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[76]Personal interview with Büşra on 01.11.2019, Adana "Babamın hissettiklerin birebir hissedemiyorum çünkü şöyle babamın doğduğu evde Arapça konuşuluyordu işte onun yaşadığı büyüdüğü ortamda hep Arapça konuşuluyordu hep kulağında çalınıyordu o Arapça ve hep o kültür vardı ama benim doğduğum evde Arapça hiç. Türkçe konuşuldu işte Türk yani hep Türklerle bir aradaydım ben o yüzden babamın hissettiklerini birebir hissedemiyorum ama kendimi yakın hissediyorum o kültüre. İşte aslında bizim arabamız dinlediğimiz Cezayir şarkılarının hepsini ben buldum." (Translated by the author)

[77] Personal interview with Büşra on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author)

[78]Personal interview with Büşra on 01.11.2019, Adana "Arapça mesela Arapça yeni nesile Arapça öğretilebilir. Bu yapılabilir bence. Öncelikle bu yapılmalı dil yani kültürün temel taşı yani dil olmazsa zaten belki bu kültürün kaybedilmesinin yavaş yavaş ya da kaybolmasının sebeplerinden birisi de dilin aslında yeni nesile aktarılmamasıdır." (Translated by the author)

The interview with my second interlocutor of the third generation, Ömer, was conducted in Arabic. It appeared as Ömer had a strong attachment and glorified his Algerian identity. He mentioned that this interest in his forefathers' culture and tradition had not been transmitted by his parents, as he says, " my parents don't speak Arabic, I have decided to learn by myself on Youtube, and by talking to some friends, my love for my nation was enough of a reason for me to learn the language.[79]" During the interview, Ömer expressed and revealed a strong attachment and an idealization of his ethnic identity (Algerian identity) in comparison to his national identity (Turkish identity). For example, when I asked him, "what does it mean for you to be Turkish?" he answered in this way:

> If I go to France, England, or Canada, they will give me citizenship after a while, but I will never feel French or English or Canadian; it is the same for Turkey, they have accepted us, but my heart and my soul will always be Algerian.[80]

I understand from Ömer's answer that he doesn't feel Turkish. For Spiegler, Wölfe, and Hewstone (2019), "prioritizing their ethnic or national identity, which indicates identity separation or assimilation, respectively" (Spiegler, Wölfe, and Hewstone 2019, 1925), In this case, Ömer prioritizes his ethnic identity over his national identity which may symbolize a separation from the society he was raised in. From Ömer's narratives, I understood that he could have experience otherizing or exclusion from his close circle of friends as he said, "When I come to school, my friends don't say Oh Ömer came! they say oh the Arab came[81]" which led him to refuge in his ethnic identity. Even though Ömer doesn't explicitly say that he experiences discrimination in his surrounding environment, but I argue that his narrative and the strong attachment to his Algerian roots are the outcomes of otherizing in the host country. In fact, his friends look at him as an "Arab," which is problematic for this young boy who turns back to his roots to find refuge in it. The otherizing experience that Ömer may have experienced in school or in society leads him to revolt and refuge in his ancestors' identity that he glorifies.

Following that, I interpret Ömer's identity shift in relation to the understanding of *Arab-ness* and *otherizing* in the Turkish society, and I believe it motivates other

[79] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[80] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[81] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

youngsters from the third generation of Algerian descendants to connect with their ethnic identity that has been idealized and romanticized through narrations of the past.

5.4 The Transmitted Nostalgia: "I grew up with Stories about Algeria."

As stated in previous parts, the collective identity of the Algerian diaspora in Adana is rooted in a narrative sharing system in which narratives are created and formed (Eder 2009). The fact that they share a common history, memories, and common ancestors, the community of descendants of Algerians have formed a community to which they feel belonging. In that sense, my interlocutors integrate the community shared components to which they identify, such as the sense of belonging, shared values, beliefs, rituals, and language. For Kimberly D. Bess et al. (2002), members of a community have in common a "shared history, common symbols, emotional safety, and personal investment" (Bess et al. 2002, 7). I understand that to be a member of a diaspora gives a powerful emotional sense of belonging and identity as said by Bess et al. (2002), "One draws identity by being a member of the community, has emotional support, and is reinforced for the behaviors that are beneficial to the functioning of the community itself" (Bess et al. 2002, 7).

The concept of community not only holds a consoling essence, but it too involves an imaginative element. In his book *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson (1991) approaches the term "nation" anthropologically as "an imagined political community" (Anderson 1991, 6). He explains how it is imagined "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each, lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 1991, 6). Contrary to the definition of the "nation" Anderson proposes, the Algerian descendants mostly know and are close to each other and have in common an imaginary homeland. For all my interlocutors, Algeria is an essential emotional frame of reference for their sense of belonging. Nevertheless, this community has minimal connections with today's Algeria; they stated that some distant family members are still living there. Still, mainly due to the language barrier, rare contact is possible.

In this study, I explore the "communion" of this community within the manifestation of their *Arab-ness* and the romanticization of Algeria. I show that my interlocutors of

different generations inherited a nostalgia from their forefathers, leading them to create an imaginary image of the lost homeland to which they long. In her book *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym (2001) distinguishes between "reflective nostalgia" and "restorative nostalgia" that she defines as: "Restorative nostalgia stresses nostos and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in algia, the longing itself." (Boym 2001, 19). This differentiation of emotional response to the homeland is explained further by Boym:

> Restorative nostalgia evokes national past and future; reflective nostalgia is more about individual and cultural memory. The two might overlap in their frames of reference, but they do not coincide in their narratives and plots of identity. In other words, they can use the same triggers of memory and symbols, the same Proustian madelaine pastry, but tell different stories about it[…] (Boym 2001, 83)

This community honor and praise their *Arab-ness* as an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991), and the imagined relation to the homeland is constructed through their narrative and memories of the past. In that sense, Boym's explanation of "restorative nostalgia" makes much sense because, as she says: "If restorative nostalgia ends up reconstructing emblems and rituals of home and homeland in an attempt to conquer and spatialize time, reflective nostalgia cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space." (Boym 2001, 83) I argue that the Algerian diaspora in Adana manifests a restorative nostalgia through the role that plays Algeria in their daily lives and as says Anderson, communities have to be explored "by the style in which they are imagined" (Anderson 1991, 6), in the next section I will focus on how my interlocutors define their *Arab-ness* .

5.4.1 Arab-ness : "I am Very Proud to Say I am Algerian."

Components that nurture the diaspora are constituted from discourses of a politic of recognition, politics of return, and a sense of responsibility toward the homeland (Safran 1991). Ahmet, who is 59 years old, has yet to visit Algeria and defines it as "Algeria is the mother" (*Cezayir ana*). The homeland of his ancestors remains imagined for him; however, he commits to preserving the Algerian culture and traditions because he believes it's a responsibility for him to carry out this heritage:

> We grew up with these stories (about Algeria) and those feelings of longing and yearning. We were experiencing that longing (for Algeria) to the extent that when we close our eyes, we see Annaba, Biskra, or Constantine (Algerian cities) always appear before our eyes. I haven't been there, but I learned Algeria very well as if I had been.[82]

Mohammed is questing after his passing father's family in Algeria; when I asked him what did Algeria meant for him, he responded in tears:

> It means my father. If I could see my uncles (that stayed in Algeria), it would be like seeing my father again ... I want it so much ... I want to smell my father's scent from them when I see them. I just want to meet and know them; I don't want anything else. [83]"

On the other hand, Salih A., who is very attached to his Algerian roots since his childhood, had worked in a Turkish company in Algeria for several years; he narrates his experience emotionally when he went to Algeria to research for family members who stayed there, in his words:

> Since I was young, I was like 12 years old, I was in love with Algeria (aşıktım), when we were young, since they were no TV in houses, in the nights, our elders were telling us stories (about Algeria) during 3, 4 hours ... so when I had an off day at work (in Algeria) I immediately went to Mssila (a city in Algeria) because I knew my grandfather's tribe departed from there, it was a life-changing experience for me when I could find some family members, it was an accomplishment for me.[84]

Salih had lived in Algeria and describes his connection to it as a solid link "Algeria is something else…you cannot imagine the link we Algerians have with our homeland", he continues by evoking the difference existing between ethnic communities living in Adana in term of patriotism "We are different from Libyans and Mauritanians who lives here (in Kozan)…we get very excited and enthusiastic when the topic of discussion is about Algeria whether it is about a TV series, a song or a football match…we are very patriotic.[85]" At the time of the interview, Algeria had won the Africa cup of nations; I asked Salih A. his impression about this victory; he manifested

[82]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Biz onlarla o duygularla büyüdük, o özlem içinde büyüdük, o özlemi yaşayarak sanki gözümüzü kapattığımız zaman bir Annaba bir Bisra veya Constantina hep gözümüzün önüne geliyor. Ben gitmedim ama Cezayir'e gitmiş gibi Cezayir'i çok güzel öğrendim yani." (Translated by the author)

[83]Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Babamı ifade ediyor. Amcalarımı görsem onların birini görsem babamı görmüş gibi olurum, o kadar istiyorum babamın kokusunu onlardan almak isterim gördüğüm zaman. Sadece görüşmek, tanışmak istiyorum başka bir şey istemiyorum" (Translated by the author)

[84] Personal interview with Salih A. on 31.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

[85]Personal interview with Salih A. on 31.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

his pride and stated that if Algeria would play against the Turkish team, he would surely support the Algerian one.

What was interesting to notice also is the way the Algerian descendants spoke and describes *Algerianity* in a romanticized manner. So as to say, the fact of being Algerian, the remembrance of the past and Algeria itself are romanticized "I swear, I would sacrifice myself for its desert (*onun çölüne de kurban olayım*), I would sacrifice myself for its soil (*toprağına da kurban olayım*).[86]" and only good souvenirs shapes today's generations remembrance of the past. Ahmet K. talks about what it means for him to be Algerian:

> The Algerian is brave and trustworthy; he would rather die than break a promise. He takes good care of the trust given to him *(emanetlere iyi sahip çıkar*) and will always stand by it (*emanet*). He can bear poverty, misery, and starvation no matter what happens, but he will never break his promise.[87]

Similarly, on many occasions during interviews, it appeared to me that interlocutors felt the need to emphasize their *Algerianity* "I say I am a child of the desert (*çöl çoçuğum*), we come from Algeria…I say I do not get burned because of the heat.[88]" Similarly, another interlocutor said, "Sometimes I am teasing, and I say we are made from desert sand (*çöl kumuyla yoğrulmuşuz*); we say we are made differently (*bizim mayamız farklı*), and the beauty of it is something else (the fact of being Algerian)."[89] I understand that my interlocutors enjoy being different and are proud of their origins. As I demonstrated in early sections, my interlocutors are also attached to their Turkish identity, leading me to emphasize the emergence of hybrid identities of the Algerian descendants that I will focus on in the next chapter.

[86]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Vallahi onun çölüne de kurban olayım toprağına da kurban olayım yani."(Translated by the author)
[87]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Cezayirli yiğittir, merttir, ölür de sözünden dönmez. Emanetlere iyi sahip çıkar, her zaman onun arkasındadır. Ne olursa olsun yokluk çeker, sefalet çeker, açlık çeker ama sözünden asla dönmez.Verilen emanetlere gayet net bir şekilde sahip çıkar, onu yaşar yaşatır." (Translated by the author)
[88]Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Ben çöl çoçuğum diyorum, biz Cezayirden geliyoruz…ben yanmam sıcaktan diyorum." (Translated by the author)
[89]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Bazen ben takılırım burada söylerim yav biz çöl kumuyla yoğrulmuşuz bizim mayamız farklı deriz. Onun güzelliği bir başka. (Translated by the author)

This in-betweenness (Bhabha 1994) permits my interlocutors to negotiate and reshape their identity according to circumstances. Today, their designation as "Arab" and not “Algerians” is still employed by their descendants and in their surroundings in Adana. However, I understand from the discourse of my interlocutors that they also differentiate themselves from other Arab communities; for instance, Salih K says:

> Of course, when you say you are a Syrian nowadays, people are beware[...] when you say you are Libyan; for example, people are on their guard. People have a different view on Algeria; there is a kind of sympathy that arouses about Algeria; this is a fact.[90]

I understand from my interlocutors that “being Algerian” is something different compared to other ethnic communities; it is more “acceptable” to be Algerian in Turkey. They relate this point to the historical relationship that existed between the Ottoman Empire and Algeria but also to the resemblance existing between Algerians and Turks, as says Salih: “The truth is there is something...bravery in the Algerians' genes that resembles the Turks'.[91]” In the memory of my interlocutors, Algeria is very romanticized and idealized, and the nostalgia of the homeland creates a sense of belonging, as I will detail in the next section.

5.4.2 Imagined Communities: the Romanticization of Algeria

During interviews, my interlocutors referred to their nostalgic feelings towards the homeland, and I note the idealized homeland they created in their imagination influence their identity building as Janelle L. Wilson (1999) said, “Nostalgia may be a means of facilitating the continuity of identity - looking back to our past grounds us; we have a sense of who we were, who we are, and who we are becoming” (Wilson 1999, 303). This romanticization and imagination of Algeria are transmitted through generation through the narrative of the past, as I understand from my interlocutor:

> I mean, whether for my children or me, we have a tremendous interest in it (*müthiş bir ilgi*)...even my children are very enthusiastic and keen to visit (Algeria)...we have a great affinity for it. For example, for my big boys and girls, I can even say they are in love with it (*aşık diyebilirim*)...it is because we have always transmitted what we learned from our

[90]Personal interview with Salih K. on 30.10.2019, Kozan “Tabii, yani şimdi bir Suriyeli dediğin zaman yani insanda bir çekimserlik oluşuyor. Bir ne bileyim yani bir Libya dediği zaman yine bir çekimserlik oluşuyor. Ama Cezayir yani Cezayir farklı bir insan bakışı şeyi değişiyo yani böyle bir sempati uyanıyor yani bu bir gerçek.” (Translated by the author)

[91] Personal interview with Salih K. on 30.10.2019, Kozan “Cezayir'in geninde böyle Türkler'e yakın bir yiğitlik bir şeylik var yani bu bir gerçek yani.” (Translated by the author)

> grandfathers and grandmothers...it created something in them, a sort of longing for the homeland (*hasret*).[92]

While exploring the concept of 'home' in the diaspora imagination, or "being simultaneously 'home away from home' or 'here and there' (Vertovec 1997, 282), according to the narratives of my interlocutors, I can say that although none of them visited Algeria, it was apparent that all of them developed an imagined connection with their ancestral home, as describes Hall (1994) :

> The past continues to speak to us. But it no longer addresses us a simple, factual 'past', since our relation to it, like the child's relation to the mother, is always-already 'after the break'. It is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth (Hall 1994, 226).

Even though my interlocutors define themselves as Turkish citizens, the word "*gurbet*" came up in several interviews, especially with the older generation. For instance, when I asked Ibrahim to describe his life in Turkey, he said, "homesickness is hard (*gurbet zor*)." Ibrahim, who is 76 years old, had never been to Algeria, yet defines his life in Turkey as a *gurbet* . This is an example in which the nostalgia of the homeland is apparent and visible in daily life.

Nostalgia is often related to homesickness (Phillips 1985); in that sense, "home" must be defined more elaboratively. The notion of home is a problematic concept that can have multiple meanings in the sense that it can have a real sense (physical) and an imagined one, as statesVijay Agnew (2005), "homes are made of brick and mortar; that is, they are a physical reality. Yet, they can also be part of our imagination and longing to belong and to be 'at home.'"(Agnew 2005, 15). This changing and flexible definition of "home" is "associated with self and with community identities that are deterritorialized or constructed across borders and boundaries of phenomena such as race, ethnicity, nationality, and citizenship." (Agnew 2005, 15). For the Algerian descendants' case, the homeland is remembered and lived through nostalgia. By reconstructing the most enjoyable pieces of memory, my interlocutors developed a yearning for the past:

[92]Personal interview with Salih K. on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Yani ben olsun çocuklarım olsun yani oraya karşı müthiş bir ilgi duyuyorlar. yani oranı gidip, görme hastalığı çok yoğun yani böyle görmek için çocukların bile müthiş böyle oraya karşı bir şeyleri var sempatileri var ille görmek yani. Ben mesela büyük oğlanlar falan var kızlar müthiş derece yani aşık diyebilirim yani, görmek. Şu hep bize anlatırdık böyle dedelerimizden nenelerimizden duyduklarımızı annemizden falan onlar hep aktardık böyle, onlarda bir şey var, hasret var yani öyle söyliyim." (Translated by the author)

> My deceased father used to say that Algeria was very rich, he used to praise it a lot, he used to say, "Son, Algeria is more precious (*kıymetli*) than Turkey," he would say that because when they used to plant one wheat seed, they would get 40 kilos of it. He used to say Algerian lands were humic soil (*humuslu toprak*) very fertile soil; it has natural gas and petrol, it has gardens and plenty of water and beautiful plateaus.[93]

This imagination of the "lost homeland" also creates feelings of regrets among interlocutors, as said here:

> We always want to visit Algeria, we do miss it because my father used to say that if I die before seeing Algeria again, I will die with open eyes (*gözlerim açık gider*) so I would like to go (to Algeria) following my father's words.[94]

On the same note, Salih K. explains how his perception of Algeria has been shaped through the story of his grandparents; although he doesn't know Algeria, he developed a strong attachment and a nostalgia towards it :

> But when it comes to Algeria, there is always that burn in my heart; my heart burns for it. Because there is something special about it (*Cezayir'in ayrı bir şeyi var*)... our grandmothers and grandfathers used to tell all that they have lived there. So, inevitably, we feel something towards it...a kind of affinity. But we haven't been there, so all that we think about Algeria is related to our perception of it (*sadece duyumla ilgili*).[95]

I also note that during interviews, some interlocutors talked about feelings of blame, especially towards France, which they accuse of being responsible for the migration of their ancestors. Muhammed is descendant of an Algerian soldier brought by the French army to fight against the Ottoman forces; I perceived his reference to France as if colonization was still ongoing in Algeria. It somehow shows that the souvenirs of the past are very still living in his present, he says:

> I'd like to destroy France too. Why are they oppressing the people and taking their money? That's why I want to destroy France; I want to attack whoever attacks Algeria. Just as I will

[93]Personal interview with Abdulhafiz on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Cezayir çok bol rahmetli çok överdi babam derdi ki Cezayir oğlum bizim bu Türkiye'den daha kıymetli derdi neden derdi onların derdi bir bulak buğday ekerdin derdi bir bulak buğday ekerdik kırk kilo buğday alırdık derdi bizim topraklarımız Cezayir derdi ki bizim Cezayir toprakları humuslu toprak, verimli toprak petrolü var doğalgazı var bahçesi var suyu bol yayla çok güzel" (Translated by the author)

[94]Personal interview with Abdulhafiz on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Her zaman ziyaret etmek isteriz, özlüyok çünkü babam rahmetli derdi ki ben oğlum Cezayir'i ben görmeden ölürsem gözlerim açık gider derdi onun için ben babamın o lafı üzerine gitmek isterim." (Translated by the author)

[95]Personal interview with Salih K. on 30.10.2019, Kozan "Ama Cezayir her zaman benim şuramda bir yanık bir şey oluyor yani yüreğimi yakıyor. Çünkü Cezayir'in ayrı bir şeyi var. Çünkü nenelerim dedelerim böyle ordaki bütün geçmişlerini böyle hep anlatırlardı ordaki yaşamlarını falan böyle. Yani ister istemez o tarafa böyle karşı bir şeyimiz var yani bi sempatimiz var. Ama görmedik, bilmiyoruz sadece duyumla ilgili." (Translated by the author)

> oppose whoever attacks Turkey, I will oppose whoever attacks Algeria as well. Why? because my father comes from there, it is my origins (*tohumum ordan gelmedir*)[96]

I also want to relate this to the diasporic understanding of Safran (1991) when saying that members of a diaspora develop a sense of responsibility toward their forefathers' country and a will to ensure its security and stability. Here, Mohammed seems to hate France for the suffering and the significant loss created by colonialism. In fact, my interlocutors didn't forget France's atrocities which were transmitted to them through past narrative; they attest they keep this issue up to date, as says Süleyman :

> But of course, one thing we never forget is the genocide committed by France in Algeria; we always keep it up-to-date, we say that nearly 50 thousand people were killed, we transmit this information from generation to generation. We don't really know why did it happen? How did it happen? Why did France invade Algeria? We are told that France committed great atrocities during the occupation and killed Algerians in a way that can be described as genocide...so we never forget that, and our government (Turkish government) declares it is genocide.[97]

Ahmet T. have difficulty forgetting what France did to Algerians and don't understand why Algerians continue to speak French; for instance, he says:

> I don't understand why Algerians speak French nowadays, even one day I was talking to a professor in Algeria, I was speaking in Arabic to her, and she was replying in French, so I got a bit angry at her and said to her, either the history that we learned is wrong, or the history that you learned is wrong. What I know is that 3 million Algerians were martyrs (during the independence war), so I don't understand why Algerians still speak French after all that happened.[98]

Algeria is also idealized in the sense that interlocutors do not understand the current migration phenomenon of young Algerians to Europe while they are very keen to be close to the "imagined homeland." My interlocutor Ömer expresses in this way "You have the chance to be in your homeland; you should know that we people are having a sad life because we live far from Algeria, our homeland.[99]" As states by Safran (1991), the diaspora "have memories of their homeland; their descendants cultivate a

[96]Personal interview with Mohamed on 28.10.2019, Adana "Ben giderim Fransa'yı da yerle bir etmek isterim. Niye o halkı eziyor parasını alıyor. O yüzden yok etmek isterim Fransa'yı kim olursa olsun Cezayir'e saldırana ben de saldırmak isterim. nasıl Türkiye'ye kim saldırsa karşı çıkarsam, Cezayir'e de karşı çıkarım niye benim babam ordan gelme tohumum ordan gelmedir." (Translated by the author)

[97]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan "Ama tabi unutmadığımız bir şey var Fransa'nın Cezayir'de yaptığı soykırımı hiç unutmuyorum hep güncel tutuyoruz biz onu yani 50 bin insanın öldürüldüğünü falan onlar nesilden nesile aktarılıyor söylüyoruz yani. Neden oldu? Nasıl oldu? Fransa neden işgal etti orayı? Ama işgalde çok büyük zulümler yaptığını insanlara ve çok soykırım denebilecek şekilde Cezayirlileri öldürdüğünü bize böyle aktarılıyor ki bugün bizim hükümetimiz de zaten bunu söylüyor unutmuyoruz yani" (Translated by the author)

[98] Personal interview with Ahmet T. on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)

[99] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

collective myth about it; and their ethnic communal consciousness is increasingly defined by the desire to return to that homeland." (Safran 1991, 87). This desire to return was mentioned by Ahmet K., who clearly states his willingness to return to the homeland: "According to me, the meaning of *hijra* is to return... So, hopefully, when the time comes, we are planning to return to Algeria...and I am saying this on my behalf.[100]" Safran (1991) explains the willingness of diaspora to the return in this sense "it is used to make life more tolerable by holding out a utopia—or eutopia—that stands in contrast to the perceived dystopia in which actual life is lived." (Safran 1991, 94). Ömer's description of Algeria shows well the utopic vision and the collective myth about the homeland among the diaspora:

> Brothers, I want to say that as Algerians, we are the upper society of the world; we lived under the Ottoman Empire for nearly 300 years, under France's colonization for almost 200 years. They thought they were ruling us; no Algerian has lived under the pressure of any society or state at any time in history. Algerians have always been free, but our lands were sometimes French and sometimes Ottoman in some periods of history. We Algerians have been a free and independent society in every period of history. We are different from all other societies; the most important thing to do today is to return to the path of our ancestors. Instead of leaving our land and homeland, we should continue Emir Abd al-Qadir's work and bring out the biggest and most determined state that history has ever seen. Today we can say that we are one of the oldest states; what we are looking for is actually in our blood and our glorious history. We are a society made up of a combination of Asian, European, and African cultures. We also know French, Turkish, Amazigh, and the Tuareg culture of the Arabs and Africans. Algeria is the meeting point of the world's greatest civilizations. Instead of leaving and abandoning our homeland or comparing ourselves to others, the most important thing would be to carry our land to the place it deserves, by honoring the noble blood we carry in our veins. This flag, this anthem, this society is at the top of the world societies. No flag in the world carries honor like the flag of Algeria; there is no anthem, *Qassamen* (begin by saying I swear), no society in the world can start a great war against France, the most powerful state of its time, in 5-10 years, without having a State.[101]

I understand that my interlocutors are in constant need of the idealization of Algeria because it allows them to nourish their identities and sense of belonging. As to say, their utopic view about Algeria permits this community to hold on to their roots and keep alive the idealized image they have of it.

In this chapter, I explained how identity building process in the diaspora is influenced by the memory of the past that has been shaped and reshaped to be a "usable" memory. Similarly, the memory of the past also justifies and legitimizes the present and the

[100]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Hicretin manası: Tekrar geri dönmek anlamındadır bize göre. İnşallah zamanı gelince biz de Cezayir'e dönmeyi düşünüyoruz. Ben kendi adıma konuşuyorum bunu." (Translated by the author)
[101] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

future of this community in Turkey. The findings of my fieldwork showed that my interlocutors idealize and romanticize their perception of Algeria and *Arab-ness* , which strengthens their utopian imaginary and attachment to the homeland they have never seen and probably will never see. I showed that this romanticization of homeland is a strategy allowing them to feel a sense of belonging to a country they experienced only in their imagination. They keep alive this idealized image in their memory as a strategy for the continuation of their cultural identity in Adana. Concurrently, interlocutors also shape their memory according to their presence in Turkey. I explained in this chapter that interlocutors don't differentiate between Algeria and Turkey in terms of patriotism and justify their attachment to Turkey through official discourses of nationalism. This sense of belonging to both their Algerian and Turkish identities creates a unique hybrid identity. In the next chapter, I will focus on how these hybrid identities are experienced in relation to the cultural understanding of my interlocutors. Concurrently, I will explore how these hybrid identities unfold in a diasporic space in which identities are shaped and negotiated.

CHAPTER VI

CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND THIRD-SPACE: THE IN-BETWEENNESS OF THE DIASPORA

As I detailed in the previous chapter, my interlocutors of the first, second, and third generations are attached to a different degree to the land of their ancestors. This affection for this ancestral land has been cultivated in their imagination and is a predominant factor in the identity building of these people. In chapter five, I attempted to analyze the identity construction of my interlocutors through nostalgia and memory repertoires. I concluded that identity building is not homogenous and not stable among my interlocutors, but shifting and adapting according to the context and experiences among generations. I am referring to these identity shifts in relation to cultural hybridity as my interlocutors' identity building is a culturally constructed identity.

Emotionally connected to Turkey and Algeria, my interlocutors' identity narratives imply the development of a hybrid identity. Their position in the host society is different and similar simultaneously; I will focus in this chapter on the hybrid dimensions of this diaspora group and develop how it leads to creating diasporic spaces (Brah 1996; Bhabha 1994, 1996). It was apparent during the fieldwork that my interlocutors developed a visible hybrid identity in their cultural practices in the host country. The hybridity in the identity formation in the diaspora is an essential factor that can be relevant for diasporic groups whose relation to their forefathers' homeland is as important in their identity construction as the attachment they have for the host societies. The hybridity in identity is also valid for the Algerian community studied here; although Algeria only lives in the imagination of this community, they nevertheless perceive it as a homeland to which they belong, and concurrently they show their attachment to their Turkish identity as well.

Often, authors studying diaspora issues focus on the notion of hybridity in identity. Paul Gilroy (1993) describes it as "double consciousness" (Gilroy 1993, 1). Bhabha's hybridity understanding refers to an “in-between” of culture, to a “third space”

(Bhabha 1996). As for Clifford (1994), “Diaspora communities, constituted by displacement, are sustained in hybrid historical conjunctures. With varying degrees of urgency, they negotiate and resist the social realities”(Clifford 1994, 315). Thus, hybridity is conceptualized as an ongoing process and as a negotiation in the social reality of the diaspora. The most popular use of the notion of hybridity is related to the cultural mix between the inherited culture and the receiving culture where the "diasporic arrivals adopt aspects of the host culture and rework, reform and reconfigure this in production of a new hybrid culture." (Kalra, Kaur, and Hutnyk 2005, 91). My use of hybridity in this study is to explore the "cultures in-between" (Bhabha 1996) of my interlocutors to understand how they feel 'both' and 'in-between' while formulating their identity or, as says Bhabha: "bafflingly both alike and different" (Bhabha 1996, 54).

In the literature, one of the characteristics of diaspora is discussed through the role of cultural creation. Following Vertovec's (1997) argument, diaspora is distinguished by "the production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena" which focuses on the "fluidity of constructed styles and identities among diasporic people" (Vertovec 1997, 289). He says that these styles and identities are apparent in creating "forms" described as hybrid. So, diasporic communities distinguish themselves through their differences and by creating “forms” that are hybrid.

Contrary to the taken-for-granted definition of identity, which tends to essentialize identity as fixed, Stuart Hall (1994) contributed significantly to diaspora and hybridity understanding. He emphasizes the incompleteness, changeable and multiple nature of identity formation by saying:

> Diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other peoples into the sea. This is the old, the imperializing, the hegemonizing form of "ethnicity."…The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (Hall 1994, 235).

According to Hall (1994), the hybridity of identity is an ongoing process where diasporic members continuously produce and reproduce themselves anew through

those differences that characterize them in the host society. Therefore, I argue that my interlocutors' hybrid identity and cultural innovation is a strategy allowing them to negotiate their belonging to the host society and their roots.

The findings of this research suggest that my interlocutors identify with both their cultures in a heterogeneous way. Furthermore, their understanding of belonging indicates that they identify according to their positioning in Turkish society. I argue that the hybridity of my interlocutors is also constructed following the political context they experienced in Turkey. As I explained in the historical chapter, the establishment process of Turkey was based on narratives on Turkishness, and the 'ideal Turkish citizen' was based on Atatürk's ideology and secular understanding of state-building. I argue that the hybrid identity of my interlocutors is partially showing their engagement with the nationalist identity understanding. As interlocutors wish to be part of the Turkish public sphere and want to be considered Turks, I argue they adjust and negotiate their identities in relation to these nationalist narratives by emphasizing their belonging to Turkishness. Concurrently, they also protect and cherish their ethnic identity, which is combined in culture and religious background. In that sense, I argue that the Turkish context is leading to an "in-between" position of the identity of this diaspora.

All my interlocutors accept the importance of belonging to the host society because of the historical conjunctures. Most of them emphasize a strong ethnic identity (Algerian Arab) and also a strong national identity (Turkish), implying the emergence of a hybrid identity and hybridity in cultural practices. However, I have to mention that during some interactions with the youngest generation, I understood that in some cases, the youngsters develop a stronger ethnic identity. I assume that the attachment to the ethnic identity emerged from the otherizing and fear of alienation from the host society, this clearly shows the interrelation between emotions and identity building in the diaspora. Thus, some interlocutors identify themselves with "both" cultures, and others are "in-between" (Bhabha 1994). In that sense, they are culturally negotiating their identity through their differences in the host society.

During my fieldwork observation, I understood that the Algerian descendant community has symbols that legitimize its history and integration into the host society.

These symbols embodied by the characters of Sheikh Efendi and Atatürk are at the foundation of the hybrid identity of this community. The combination of the religious leader with Atatürk is a way to legitimize the belonging of the community in Turkey. In that sense, the notion of belonging is not stable among this community; they sometimes identify as Algerians, and at other times as Turks. This in-betweenness led me to emphasize the need for a diasporic space where this community expresses its differences.

Following Bhabha's (1994) theory of the third-space, I show how this community creates not one but three different spaces where their hybrid identities emerge, express, and are negotiated. Indeed, through regular gatherings, whether it be for religious ceremonies or in their daily lives interactions, these spaces of hybridity produce a sense of homogeneity among the community and mutual solidarity, as says my interlocutor Ahmet K.: "In this community, an Algerian's problem is considered as everyone's problem; we have always supported each other, took care of each other, and protected each other, which allowed us to preserve our unity[102]." I contend that it is with the creation of these different spaces that this community preserves its collective memory and identity; it secures in some way the clashing politics of memory and the emotions due to the separation from the homeland. In that sense, my understanding of third-space is different from Bhabha's (1994, 1996) in the sense that I will look at the construction of these diasporic spaces through memory and emotion repertoires, whereas Bhabha (1994, 1996) focuses on the creation of a third-space based on a power dynamic between ex-colonized and ex-colonizer.

6.1 Negotiating Home Away From Home: The Quest for Belonging

6.1.1 Living In-Between Cultures.

During interviews, it was visible that most of my interlocutors had developed a dual identity. Interlocutors of the first and the second generations born in Turkey grew up in an environment where the Algerian culture and traditions were widely practiced among the community; in this sense, the attachment to their ancestor's culture is more

[102]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana :"Burda bir Cezayirli'nin sorunu hepimizin sorunu olarak kabul ettiğimiz için birbirimize her zaman omuz vererek birimizi yüceltme gayretinde olduk, birbirimize sahiplendik birbirmizi koruduk ve muhafaza ettik." (Translated by the author)

visible among these two generations. As a result, they narrate their attachment to these cultural practices, which evokes the nostalgic past:

> Our parents used to make *Burbuşe*, a traditional Algerian meal, and they used to make *Şakşuka* also... so, we grew up eating these kinds of Arabic food, and we grew up knowing we were Arab. So, anyway... people in our surroundings in the village used to address us as Arabs...people knew we were originally from Algeria.[103]

My interlocutors stated that they strive to maintain these cultural practices in their daily lives (culinary culture and oral culture). By doing so, I argue that they are trying to perpetuate that past by creating a similar setting their forefathers had, which is connected to the nostalgic emotions that my interlocutors inherited from their forefathers. Indeed, I demonstrated in chapter five that my interlocutors' emotional attachment to Turkey and Algeria is rooted in a transmitted nostalgia and memory of the past. I also emphasized the different political contexts that influenced my interlocutors' identity-building experiences in Turkey. Their strategy of adaptation in the host society leads me now to highlight the hybrid dimension of their identity, and according to Bhabha (1994), "this interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha 1994, 4). Thus, I can say that the Algerian diaspora in Adana celebrates its in-betweenness by constantly negotiating and reshaping their identity to create a certain balance in their identity in the host country.

As I have developed in chapter five, my interlocutors stated their belonging to Turkey as much as their belonging to the motherland. According to Hall (2019), the diasporic communities negotiate their culture “somewhere along the spectrum of différance, in which disjunctures of time, generation, spatialization, and dissemination refuse to be neatly aligned” (Hall 2019, 115). In that sense, Algerian descendants in Adana culturally negotiate their identity through their differences in the host society. Most of my interlocutors identify culturally with both cultures and give much importance to both of them. For example, Ahmet K. describes this Algerian-Turkish identity as the love that someone can have for his mother and father, in his words:

[103]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: “Bir de bizim Cezayir'e özgü olduğunu söyledikleri Burbuşe yaparlardı topak topak olanlardan Şakşuka yaparlardı. Arap yemeği diye onlarla onları yiyerek öyle büyüdük ve Arap olduğumuzu söylediler bize çevrede köyde de bize hep zaten diğer insanlar da Araplar diye hitap ederlerdi. Oyle aslımızın Cezayir'den geldiğini.” (Translated by the author)

> Well, I'm split between the two (slightly laughing). I can say that (Algeria) is my ancestral homeland (*ata yurdum*), and (Turkey) is my motherland (*ana yurdum*). But I did my military duties as a Turk and would sacrifice my life for Turkey as well as for Algeria ... but I can't differentiate between the two; it would be like choosing between a father and a mother; I couldn't make such a choice, I absolutely love both of them very much.[104]

Ahmet K., from the second generation of Algerian descendants, strongly considers that he developed a double identity that belongs to the two countries as a result of his childhood experiences, memories, and time spent with his elders. The identities of my interlocutors in the diaspora are hybrid due to how they negotiate to live with both cultures. For others, the dual identity is intertwined with their presence in Turkey and to their Turkish identity, as says my interlocutor Süleyman :

> I can say that Algerians who live here (in Adana region) carry two flags, one Algerian flag that you may see in people's houses and the Turkish flag. They do not let anyone criticize their *Arabness* nor their *Turkishness*...I can say that Algerians are now people with a double identity (*iki kişilikli olmuş insanlar yani Cezayirliler)*.[105]

This shows that they give importance to both their ethnic and national identities and feel belonging to both of them, which confirms what Spiegler, Wölfer, and Hewstone (2019) argue "Dual identity is present when ethnic minority group members have both a strong ethnic and a strong national identity." (Spiegler, Wölfer, and Hewstone 2019, 1925). As a matter of fact, most of my interlocutors are loyal to both societies, and they clearly state they would be ready to defend both their countries if needed: "I would sacrifice my life for Turkey as well as for Algeria.[106]" With that said, it was apparent that my interlocutors had no issues switching and shifting between their two identities in different settings and interactions, which I argue is a strategy of belonging to both countries.

Contrary to the idea that multiple identities are uncertain, as claimed by Weigert, Teitge, and Teitge (2006), “Every person is faced with the daily task of organizing his

[104] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana :“Valla benim yarım orda yarım burda (hafiften gülerek). Ata yurdum orası ana yurdum burası öyle diyebilirim. Ama bir Türk gibi asker yaptım, burda askerlik yaptım Türkiye için de canımı veririm Cezayir için de canımı veririm. Ama ikisini birbirinden ayırt edemem onu da söyliyim yani. Bir babayla anne arası tercih gibi olur bu, o tercihi yapmam, kesinliklen ikisini de çok seviyorum ben.” (Translated by the author)

[105]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: “Bburadaki Cezayirliler iki bayrak taşır bir Cezayir bayrağı evlerde belki görürsünüz yani bir de Türk bayrağı ne araplıklarına laf söyletirler ne de Türklüklerine iki kişilikli olmuş insanlar yani Cezayirliler." (Translated by the author)

[106] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana :“Türkiye için de canımı veririm Cezayir için de canımı veririm.” (Translated by the author)

or her multiple identities successfully. In addition, the extent of change and contradiction accompanying the multiplicity of identities generates concern for the continuity of identity."(Weigert, Teitge, and Teitge 2006, 54) dual identity was perceived positively by my interlocutors, even among the youngest generation. Indeed, they believe that their double identity as a Turkish and Algerian is unique and is celebrate:

> People ask us anyway, and we clearly say that our grandfathers came from Algeria as immigrants...we openly say that we are originally Algerians... everywhere and all the time, and of course, we are honored and proud to say that...but now Turkey is also our homeland.[107]

When I asked Ahmet K. how he introduces himself in the Turkish society, he replied in this way:

> When people ask us about my origins, I say that I am Algerian because people here got used to it (*kanıksadılar*) and adopted us (*bizi benimsediler*). Moreover, they respect us, and this respect comes from the fact that we do our best to deserve this respect, and we make every effort possible to be worthy of it.[108]

From that, I understand that the community feels integrated into the Turkish society that has "adopted" them due to their good character and conduct in the society. For example, according to one of my interlocutors, the crime rate in this community is very low, which makes them proud. Furthermore, I argue that my interlocutor's discourse is also deeply related to their understanding of Turkishness. As I said earlier, interlocutors' understanding of Turkishness was visible through their official discourse of the "ideal Turkish citizen," especially among first and second generation who experience the nation-building process in Turkey.

Dual identity was perceived positively by interlocutors from the third generation who think that cultural awareness is primordial to keep a link with the homeland. For

[107]Personal interview with Salih K. on 30.10.2019, Kozan:"Zaten soruyorlar mesala biz diyok yani dedelerimiz Cezayir'den göçmen olarak geldi biz yani kökenimiz Cezayirli diyoruz bunu resmen her yerde her zaman. Onunla da şeref duyuyoruz gurur duyuyoruz ama vatan olarak Türkiye'ye öyle yani." (Translated by the author)

[108] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana "Sordukları zaman ben Cezayirliyim derim. Yani bu insanlar bunu kanıksadılar, bizi benimsediler. Bize karşı saygı ve hürmet duyuyorlar. Bu saygı ve hürmete biz de elimizden geldiği kadar layık olmaya o değeri taşımak için bütün bir gayret gösteriyoruz." (Translated by the author)

instance, Büşra is particularly attracted to her Algerian cultural heritage, and I noticed she was willing to verbalize her cultural heritage in her circle of friends, in her words:

> Sometimes I tell my friends, do you know that my father is Algerian, and I enjoy saying that. As I told you, I describe myself as the eldest daughter of an Algerian father and a Turkish mother. Although my father was born and raised in Turkey, he does not know Arabic very well, he is still an Algerian...that's how he defines himself anyway, and even if he didn't, I would still define myself as having roots from Central Asia and from North Africa. When I tell them this, my friends get surprised, and they say to me.. how come… that mean you are Arab? And then I explain to them, "I say no, I am not even Arab…I have Berber blood, how come you don't know the difference between the two?. They get really surprised, and it draws their attention because maybe I don't look like an Arab or perhaps because I don't speak Arabic.[109]

Ömer understands his identity as being closer to the Algerian culture despite growing up in Turkey. He considered being physically living in Adana, but his mind and spirit are connected to Algeria. For instance, when I asked him, "Would you like to live in Algeria someday?" he replied in this way :

> My body is in Turkey, but my mind, my soul, and my heart are in Algeria, so when you asked me if I would like to live in Algeria, for me, it is like asking do you want to combine your mind, your heart and your soul in one place.[110]

Thus, Ömer's identification is linked to his ethnic identity even though his immediate environment is Turkish. This shows us that Ömer is feeling "in-between" the two as he differentiates his identity from his Turkish counterparts. As stated before, Ömer, 19 years old, was raised in Turkey, which involves that he has no experience of his ancestors' homeland only lives in his imagination. In that sense, I argue he compares his reality in Turkey to his imagined, idealized Algeria that he shapes in his mind according to his desires, and as Brah (1996) says: "It is quite possible to feel at home in a place and, yet, the experience of social exclusions may inhibit public proclamations of the place as home" (Brah 1996, 190). In that sense, Ömer may live 3000 km far from Algeria yet defined himself as an Algerian as a means of claiming

[109] Personal interview with Büşra on 01.11.2019, Adana:"Arkadaşlarıma da hani şey yapıyorum ya böyle işte benim babam, siz biliyor musunuz benim babam Cezayirli falan diye böyle bu, bu benim hoşuma gidiyor ben kendime en başta da tanımladığım gibi Cezayirli bir babanın ve işte Türk bir annenin hani kızı olarak büyük kızı olarak tanımlarım yani babam her ne kadar Türkiye'de işte doğmuş büyümüş Arapçayı çok iyi bilmese de oraya çekmemiş olmasa da Cezayirli...hani o kendisi de öyle tanımlıyor zaten öyle tanımlamasa bile yine ben öyle yani köklerinin bir kısmı Orta Asyadan bir kısmı işte kuzey afrikadan gelen olarak tanımlarım....Şaşırıyorlar böyle nasıl yani falan sen Arap mısın falan yapıyolar. Diyorum ki hayır Arap'ta değil Berberi kanımda var onlarfarklı şeyler nasıl bilmezsiniz bunu diye anlatıyorum yani şaşırıyorlar ilgilerini de çekiyor. böyle bi hayretle karşılıyorlar çünkü hani hiç benzemiyorum belki ya da işte Arapça konuşmuyorum falan bu şekilde yani."(Translated by the author)

[110] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

an identity he feels has been denigrated (Brah 1996). Thus, even though he has never known Algeria, his identity formation was profoundly linked to the Algerian culture. Similarly, he stated:

> Even though my parents don't speak Arabic, when I come home, I don't greet my parents as Turkish people do, such as *N'aber baba* (whatsup dad), I rather say in the Algerian dialect *Salam bouya, wesh rak labess* (Salam dad, how are you doing?), for me this is the way it should be done.[111]

For him, Algeria did not only represent a nostalgic homeland as it had been for previous generations. Instead, based on his statements, his strong attachment to the Algerian culture resulted from the fear of otherizing and being alienated and the difficulty he has complying with his Turkish identity (physically different/new understanding of *Arabness* in Turkish society).

> At school, when my friends ask, for example, what did I have for diner last night, I prefer not answering because if it was an Algerian dish, they would not understand and start asking tons of questions, so I'd instead not answer… they can't understand.[112]

Nonetheless, his firm devotion to the Algerian culture supported him through all the difficulties and uncertainties he experiences in the dominant Turkish society and helped him create a cross-cultural identity. Depending on the situation he found himself in, Ömer was picking some cultural aspects and continually modifying his understanding of both his cultures. Also, the fact that I was interviewing Ömer in a specific context (as an Algerian myself), I claim he purposely emphasizes his Algerian identity as a shifting strategy between his identities. My position as an Algerian or as a "native researcher" (Ohnuki-Tiemey 1984) has, in this sense, led Ömer to perceive me as an insider. I believe that his discourse and position might have been different if the researcher was Turkish instead.

In general, I observed this shifting between identities in all the interactions I had with interlocutors. I believe it is their way of creating a certain balance in their identity. They enjoy and celebrate their Turkish heritage because they proudly narrate how they became culturally similar to the Turks in their traditions. At the same time, they

[111] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[112] Personal interview with Ömer. on 01.11.2019, Adana (Translated by the author from Arabic)

celebrate and glorify the Algerian cultural heritage that they strive to preserve in the host country. I concluded that this Algerian community integration into the host society is different from the traditional theory of assimilation that assumes migrants and their descendants fully embrace the dominant group culture to the detriment of their original culture (Berry and Sabatier 2010). As a matter of fact, the community in Adana celebrates and embraces their biculturalism, accepts both their cultures, and has acculturated to society by producing an authentic culture peculiar to them (Berry et al. 2002). However, Ömer was clearly underling much more on his ethnic identity, which revealed to be a separation from the host society. I interpreted his case in relation to otherizing issues he might experience in Turkey, leading him to emphasize and refuge in an identity he idealizes through his understanding of culture and homeland.

6.2 Legitimization of Belonging Through Symbols

During the fieldwork, I realized that they were key symbols through which interlocutors legitimize their belonging to the host country in their narrative construction. As mentioned in chapter three, several North African tribes had settled in Adana and its surrounding villages in the early 20th century, mainly Libyans, Algerians, and Mauritanians. According to my interlocutors' narration, these tribes settled in the village of Kozan and gathered under the leadership of Sheikh Mohammed Emin Efendi, who became their spiritual leader, as narrate Ahmet K.:

> We managed to create a healthy and beautiful community thanks to our Master Sheikh Mohammed Emin Efendi's leadership, who had a crucial role (in uniting the communities). Thanks to him, Algerians, Mauritanians, Libyans are like brothers; they learned to live together and become relatives and friends. They formed a beautiful society...they created a beautiful community.[113]

[113] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Bu da Şıh efendimizin etrafında toplanarak onun himayesinde sağlıklı ve güzel bir toplum oluşturmayı başardık, yani bu da Şıh efendinin, Muhammed Emin Efendi'nin rolü çok büyüktür, onun sayesinde buradaki Cezayirliler Moritanyalılar, Libyalılar kardeşliklerini ilan ettiler, birlikte yaşamayı öğrendiler ve birbirlerine akraba olup birbirlerine sahip çıktılar. Güzel bir cemiyet oluşturdular güzel bir topluluk oluşturdular." (Translated by the author)

It is recorded that Sheikh Mohammed Emin was a descendant of Hz. Hasan[114], thus, for the community, was considered a *Şerif*[115]. As mentioned in chapter four, Sheikh Efendi and his followers are members of the *Shadhiliyah* Sufi order, which emerged in North Africa in the 12th century[116]. According to my interlocutors, followers of the *Shadhiliyah* education under the Sheikh in Kozan were called the *Kuduf.* Most of my interlocutors from the first and second generation claimed that they were students of the Sheikh, as states Friha "When I was a child, my father said to the Sheikh "this girl is an *emanet*," and I spent all my childhood being educated by the Sheikh as all of us were here. Our Sheikh was a great man.[117]" Their affiliation to a Sufi order is an essential component of their collective identity building in Adana. I argue that the leadership and influence of the Sheikh have provided the North African community in Adana to develop a sense of belonging to the host country, and his influence among the community is still very present today as claims Friha "the blessings of our Sheikh are present until today.[118]" I can say that the Sheikh is the main charismatic figure that all my interlocutors referred to during the interviews, and all recognize him as the facilitator of their integration to Turkey. As a matter of fact, I have noticed the Sheikh's picture hanging on the wall of each house I have visited, which shows their attachment and connection to him.

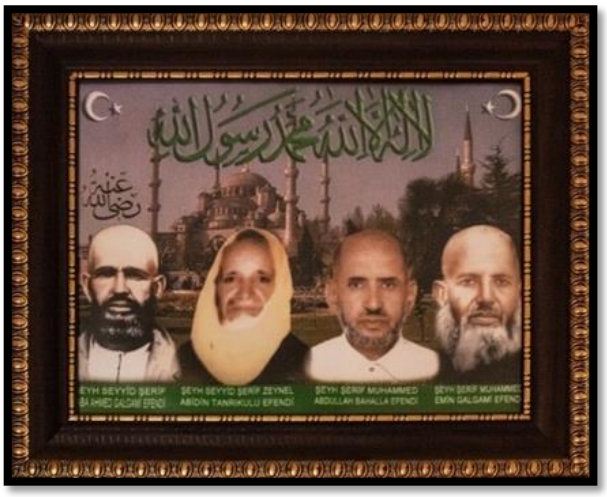

Figure 6.1. The Picture of Sheikh Efendi and his Sons.

[114] "Ḥasan, in full Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, (born 624, Arabia—died 670, Medina), a grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (the founder of Islam), the elder son of Muhammad's daughter Fāṭimah." (source: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hasan)
[115] The daughter of the Prophet, Hz. Fatima and Hz. Ali's children and grandchildren were given the title of Şerif. (source : https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/seyyid) (Translated by the author)
[116] (source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Shadhiliyah)
[117] Personal interview with Friha on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)
[118] Personal interview with Friha on 28.10.2019, Adana. (Translated by the author from Arabic)

The figure of Sheikh is naturally related to the religious identity of this community. During my observation in the fieldwork, it appeared to me that religion was a fundamental part of the collective identity of this community. Hirschman (2004) claims that religion "provided ethnic communities with refuge" (Hirschman 2004, 1206), and he follows by saying that ethnic groups "find comfort, security, and fellowship through participation in religious activities." (Hirschman 2004, 1227). Thus, my point here is to show how my interlocutors consider their religious leader as a source of inspiration and legitimization for their presence in Turkey. As a matter of fact, it is primordial to consider how religion and, more specifically, the relation murid/murshid existing between my interlocutors and the Sheikh helped them create a sense of belonging to the host country.

Through the narration of my interlocutors, I noted similarities in their narration of the Sheikh; they agree that he was the most important and emblematic figure who helped this community of North Africans to settle in Turkey, as states my interlocutor "Kozan had become the home for Algerians. Most Algerians would have returned to their country because of their strong attachment and love for the homeland if it was not for the Sheikh.[119]" By dissuading the first migrants of returning to their native countries, I understand that the Sheikh influenced the decision of return of the migrants and had a vast influence on the North African communities in Kozan.

A fundamental component of this religious group is stories and narratives about their spiritual leader, and as says Vincent Crapanzano (1973), "legends create wonder and awe in the individual and affirm the position of the saint, whose role is of central importance in the lives of his devotees" (Crapanzano 1973, 31). Through their narration of the Sheikh, I understand that the migrant descendants idealize and romanticize the religious leader figure by attributing an image of a saint to him. For instance, Ahmet states that North Africans did not encounter any issues integrating into the Turkish society thanks to the Sheikh, in his words:

> North Africans did not have such a problem integrating. Sheikh Efendi matters a lot for us here. The spiritual aspects of our Sheikh enabled us to be accepted by society. North Africans and Algerians that are spread all over Turkey and used to live with us, whether in Kozan, Adana, or Kadirli, have in a way or another experienced our Sheikh's blessings. One can see

[119] Personal interview with Salih A. on 31.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

> the goodness of the Sheikh all over Turkey...even if he was not involved in person, his word/references would benefit us (*Kendi olmasa bile selamıyla işimiz olmuştur*).[120]

Through Ahmet's narrative about the Sheikh, I can understand that the community attributes a spiritual character to the Sheikh by affirming that all North Africans have his blessings wherever they are. In other words, the spiritual power of the Sheikh is very much existing among the community nowadays. This drives me to believe that the community romanticizes and idealizes the Sheikh's role because he played a significant role in helping the first migrants integrate. The majority of them narrated the Sheikh's broad influence in society and had a primary role in the life of my interlocutors; Ahmet narrates in this way:

> One day I was in Bursa, and a man I had never met before asked me where I was from and when I told him I was from Kozan, he immediately asked me if I knew Sheikh Efendi; I then said yes, and I told him it was him who educated me during my childhood. Hearing that, that same man I have never met before immediately wanted to take care of me. I have experienced this twice, and wherever I go in Turkey, I have never had any issues whatsoever, *Alhamdulillah*, and hopefully, we will not have any problems in the future as well.[121]

The most important point that implies the legitimization of belonging in Turkey is the narratives that underline the friendship between Sheikh and Atatürk. According to interlocutors' historical narrative, during Libya's Italian invasion, the Sheikh met Atatürk and Enver Pasha, who were the Ottoman officers leading the combats against the Italian invasion in Libya in 1911. Moreover, during the Libyan liberation war, the Sheikh had helped Ottomans troops by sending fighters of his tribe to support them, as says my interlocutor "I heard that Sheikh Efendi and our grandfathers fought the enemy together (with Atatürk).[122]"In relation to this narrative, it is stated in the historical literature that during the Libyan war, Ottomans fought together with Arab tribesmen as stated by (Gawrych 2013) "Ottoman soldiers retreated into the interior of

[120] Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Şıh efendimizin burda değeri büyük. Onun manevi yönü ile bu konuda bizi kanıksatmıştır. Toplum bizi kabullendirmiş durumda. Kozan'da Adana'da Kadirli'de diğer illerimizden insanlarımız, yani Türkiye'nin her yerine yayılan Cezayirli yani Kuzey Afrikalı kim olursa olsun bizden bizle beraber yaşamış olan kişiler Türkiye'nin her yerinde Şeyh Efendi'nin iyiliğini görmüştür. Kendi olmasa bile selamıyla işimiz olmuştur." (Translated by the author)

[121]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana: "Ben hiç tanımadığım adamı Bursa'da gördüm. Nereden geldin dedi? Ben Kozan'dan geldim. Bana dedi ki Şıh Efendi işte bunları tanır mısın? Evet dedim. Ben onlarla beraber büyüdüm onun terbiyesinde büyüdüm deyince adam bana sahip çıktı. Ben adamı tanımıyorum. Ben bunu iki kez yaşadım yani hiçbir Türkiye'nin neresine gittiysem gittim hiçbir sıkıntı çekmedim Elhamdülillah bundan sonra da çekmeyiz." (Translated by the author)

[122] Personal interview with Ahmet T. on 28.10.2019, Adana. "Trablus'ta Şıh Efendinin yanında o zaman Şıh Efendiyle beraber Trablus'ta duyduğuma göre dedelerimiz onlar beraber orda birlikte mücadele verdiler" (Translated by the author)

the country, where they joined forces with the Sanusi brotherhood and Arab tribes to fight the Italian occupation." (Gawrych 2013, 25). The author follows by saying that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, aiming to mobilize Arab tribes under the Ottoman flag, have had some relations with North African Sufi tribes during the Libyan war, in his words:

> Kemal's previous experience in Libya helped him develop relations with the tribal leaders and the şeyhs of the Sanusi Sufı brotherhood, this time with the aim of mobilizing them as combatants against invading European army. To help mobilize the Arabs under the Ottoman banner, Mustafa Kemal even went "native" in appearance, at times donning local tribal attire (Gawrych 2013, 25).

Figure 6.2. Picture of Mustafa Kemal with the Sanusi Leader in Libya.

Source : https://www.trtworld.com/

The relationship between the Sanusi Sufi order[123] and Atatürk in Libya closely resembles my interlocutors' narration about the Sheikh's relationship with Atatürk. Knowing that Atatürk had become close to the North African tribes in Libya suggests that he might indeed have had a relationship with the Sheikh. Vincent Crapanzano

[123] "Islamic order founded in 1837 by Muhammad ibn Ali alSanusi (died 1859); followed by Muhammad al-Mahdi (1859–1902), Ahmad al-Sharif (1902–1917), and Idris al-Sanusi.. The Sanusi political power was recognized by the Ottoman Empire and by central African kingdoms. The order was a key factor in the resistance to Italian rule (1911–1933), which caused the death and exile of many Sanusi leaders and followers, the confiscation of zawiyas, and the de facto collapse of the order." (source: https://www.encyclopedia.com/)

(1973), who studied the Hamadsha religious brotherhood in Morocco, indicates that members of an order create legends about the spiritual leader by stating :

> Although the lives of both Sidi Ali and Sidi Ahmed are poor in historical fact, they are, like the lives of most Moroccan saints change of any importance, rich in legend. The legends themselves are rooted in a historical reality which has been greatly elaborated and distorted by the addition of popular themes (Crapanzano 1973, 30).

In that sense, although Mustafa Kemal might have had a relation with the Arab tribes during the Italian invasion, however, my interlocutors' narratives stating a friendship between their Sheikh and Atatürk might be a legend. Crapanzano (1973) continues his analysis by saying, “this themes often appears to be less a product of the historical matrix upon which the legend is built than upon a theme's reflection of social and psychological tensions.” (Crapanzano 1973, 31). This leads me to say that this historical narrative is built upon the legitimation that need this community to be in Turkey. My interlocutors claim some existing documents were proving the relationship between the two men but, I could not verify this information in the literature; thus, I only rely on my interlocutors' narratives of history.

This issue had led me to doubt the veracity of these narratives at some point. However, Portelli (1991) states that "Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no "false" oral sources." (Portelli 1991, 51). In that sense, what is important here is not the veracity of the fact but the symbolism and imagination involved in the narration of the fact. Indeed, the authenticity of the relationship between Atatürk and the Sheikh is not important for this study; rather, its symbolism is. I argue that associating a Sufi leader with the founder of the secular Turkish Republic reveals my interlocutors' hybrid identity, and even though the narrative of my interlocutors is controversial in Turkey, their identity has been shaped based on these narratives and stories. Atatürk symbolizes their acceptance of being an ideal integrated citizen and permits them to feel belonging and legitimize their presence in Turkey. At the same time, the Sheikh symbolizes their religious and cultural identity and their successful integration into Turkey.

Similarly, according to my interlocutors, after the Libyan war, Atatürk had help the North African tribes to settle in Anatolia as a form of gratitude to the military support provided in Libya, as claims my interlocutor:

> Sheikh Efendi met with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and asked him to indicate a place where he and his tribe could settle; Atatürk asked the Sheikh where they wanted to settle...of course, the Sheikh didn't speak nor write Turkish; thus, he opened a map and indicated the place where he wanted to settle. Mustafa Kemal, who knew well the region, asked the Sheikh why he wanted to go there? (It was around Nalbant köyü where there was a marsh, snakes, mosquitos, and a forest); the Sheikh wanted to go there because it was far from crowded cities, he wanted to be in the countryside, and this is how they came here (Kozan) and stayed here.[124]

Similarly, once settled in Kozan, North African tribesmens had also participated massively in the Turkish war of independence; as states my interlocutors, "The tribes that settled here fought against the French and the British in the Turkish War of Independence. As I told you, my grandfather's brother was a martyr in Çanakkale. He fought and died there.[125]"For my interlocutors, Atatürk privileged in some way North Africans, as says Salih A. "Atatürk gave Algerians much importance during the Turkish war of independence because they spoke French and knew how to fight the French enemy; that is why he gave them many lands to stay here (in Kozan).[126]"

From my interlocutors' narratives, I understand that Atatürk's conduct towards this community was extraordinary because, during the single-party regime, a series of reforms took place for the Turkification of the nation, like the ones related to religious affairs. As the Kemalist regime regarded Sufi orders as a symbol of backwardness, reforms were voted against them as explained by Hj Ab Rahman et al. (2015) "In 1924, another series of reforms began, leading to the closing of religious school and colleges. Kemal saw the existence of these schools or 'medresa' would prevent the Turkish people from having contacts and association with the West." (Hj Ab Rahman et al.

[124]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan *"*Şıh Efendi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'le görüşmüş bize bir yer göster demiş o da demiş nerede kalmak istiyorsun haritayı açmış. Şıh Efendi'nin okuma yazması Türkçesi yok ama elini koymuş ben buraya gitmek istiyorum demiş haritada bir yer göstermiş. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk demiş ki sen oraya ne gideceksin buralar o zaman bu aşağı tarafları ilk geldikleri yer şurada bir tepe var dağı görmüşsünüzdür Nalbant Köyü o Nalbant'ın olduğu yer bataklık, sinek, yılan, orman. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk biliyor onu demiş sen orada ne yapacaksın demiş ora böyle böyle olsun demiş Şıh Efendi bizi oraya gönder o zaman yani o kalabalık şehirlerden daha uzağa kırsala gelmek için buraya gelmişler ve burada da kalmışla*r. "*(Translated by the author)

[125] Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan "Buraya gelen o cemaatler Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda gidip savaşmaları Fransızlarla İngilizlerle. Az önce de söyledim ya benim dedemin kardeşi Çanakkale'de şehit. Savaşmış şehit düşmüş orada o kadar eski." (Translated by the author)

[126] Personal interview with Salih A. on 31.10.2019, Kozan (Translated by the author from Arabic)

2015, 204). In fact, during the modernization process of Turkey, the single-party regime took many actions to reduce the religious content in the society as the clothing reforms where the fez was prohibited and substituted it with Western hats (Hj Ab Rahman et al. 2015), the aim being to unify the nation under the same model, they wanted to eliminate "visible markers of ethnic, religious, regional, occupational, and other differences" (Yılmaz 2013, 14).

According to my interlocutors' narratives, the reforms on clothing under Atatürk's ruling haven't targeted their community and claim they had the freedom to dress as they wanted to and even call to prayer in Arabic in their mosque, Süleyman narrates in this way:

> It is said that there are letters between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the Sheikh where Atatürk allowed the North African community to live freely wherever they wanted and even dress the way they wanted to. In other words, they did not interfere in anything in relation to the life of this community; even after the founding of the Turkish Republic, they did not interfere with their lifestyles.[127]

I understand from Süleyman's narration that Atatürk protected or they imagine that he protected them in some way as the early Republic reforms were not applied to the North Africans as a sign of gratitude for the Sheikh's help during the Libyan war but also in the war in Anatolia, in his words:

> There were some problems during that time, of course. For example, people could not wear a fez or clothes they wanted to, but this did not happen when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was alive. He was tolerant of our community and to Algerians in this community by not interfering in their clothing and lifestyles. But after that, not only Algerians but also other immigrants had problems. Indeed, when the Republic was newly established, there was a dress code that people had to comply with, but it is said that there are the Sheikh and Ataturk communicated with letters, there are even pictures of them together...and the community really benefited from that relation they had, they didn't get involved in our affairs.[128]

[127]Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk dediki istediğiniz yerde iste, istediğiniz kıyafetiniz de dahi özgürce yaşayabilirsiniz diye mektupları mevcut olduğunu söylenir. Yani hiçbir şeylerine karışmamışlar Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kurulduktan sonra bile onların yaşam tarzlarına hiç müdahale edilmemiş." (Translated by the author)

[128] Personal interview with Süleyman on 31.10.2019, Kozan: "Cumhuriyetin ilerleyen yıllarında tabii ki bazı problemler olmuş. İşte fes takmayacaksın kıyafet takmayacaksın ama Mustafa Kemal Atatürk hayattayken bunlar olmamış. Onun özel bir bunlara toleransı varmış bizim gelen bu cemaate Cezayirlilere. Onların kılık kıyafetlerine yaşam tarzlarına karışılmayacak diye ama ondan sonraki dönemlerde tabii ki burada yalnız bizim Cezayirliler değil diğer gelen muhacirler de aynı problemleri yaşamışlar tabii ki. Kılık kıyafet devrimi olduğu için burda o zaman Cumhuriyet yeni kurulmuş o devrimin gereklerine uyman gerekiyormuş ama dediğim gibi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün Şeyh ile mektuplaştığı görüştüğü mektupları mevcut olduğunu söylenir fotoğrafları da falan beraber onların da tabi ondan faydalanmışlar çok. Pek de karışmamışlar." (Translated by the author)

In this part, I showed that associating Atatürk with a Sufi leader in a friendship is one of the strategies used by interlocutors to justify their national identity and legitimize their right to belong to Turkey. Narratives and stories on Atatürk's figure symbolize their adaptation and their integration into the host society. As I explained, these narratives might be their imagination but, what is primordial to understand here is interlocutors' symbolic understanding of belonging. Similarly, their attachment and romanticization of the figure of the Sheikh showed me that interlocutors are also attached to the religious and cultural values that they strive to preserve in the host country and transmit through generations. All this clarifies clearly the hybridity in interlocutors' identity.

6.3 Creation of a Third-Space

As I have detailed in chapter five, this community preserves a sense of their Algerian identity through nostalgia and collective memory that is apparent in their everyday life settings. Concurrently, this community negotiates their legitimate right to be in Turkey and be considered Turks by shifting between identities following the context. Hall (1992) states that identity in the diaspora is forming continually "It always remains incomplete, is always 'in process,' always 'being formed'" (Hall et al. 1992, 287), which led me to stress in the previous section on the hybrid dimension of the identity of the Algerian descendants. In my sense, my interlocutors' hybrid identities are a way of balancing between their Algerian and Turkish identities as an acculturation strategy in the host country.

As I have shown, the notion of belonging is not stable among this community; my interlocutors' understanding of belonging is not limited to one unique place because they associate themselves to different places, revealing the ambiguous connection between belonging and identity. As I have demonstrated in the previous section, my interlocutors cultivate collective narratives that legitimize their belonging to Turkey. Yet, they are also proud and claim to belong to their Algerian identity. This duality makes them feel "here" and "there" as Vertovec (1997) says, "being simultaneously 'home away from home' or 'here and there'" (Vertovec 1997, 282). Due to the versatile positioning of the diaspora towards the understanding of "home," I discuss in this part

the creation of a diasporic space (Brah 1996; Bhabha 1994, 1996) in which interlocutors negotiate and shape their hybrid identities.

Diasporic spaces are for Brah (1996) places occupied by both migrants and their descendants where "boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and otherness, of 'us' and 'them,' are contested" (Brah 1996, 205), which shows that these spaces are where diaspora negotiate disputed identities. For Bhabha (1996), the diasporic space is where both cultures interplay and create a hybrid space where an "in-between" culture emerges (Bhabha 1996, 54). Moreover, the third-space is where cultural differences are not imposed on a hierarchical basis "without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha 1994, 4); it is a space where culture does not have a fixed meaning.

Bhabha (1994) explains that identity formation within cultural differences is an act of ‘adding to’ and not ‘adding up’ by stating, "The 'difference' of cultural knowledge that 'adds to' but does not 'add up'" (Bhabha 1994, 163). He continues by emphasizing the necessity of leaving a space for the hybrid identities to be expressed "keep open a supplementary space for the articulation of cultural knowledge that are adjacent and adjunct but not necessarily accumulative” (Bhabha 1994, 163). Thus, this study argues that the Algerian community in Adana creates a diasporic space in which their different forms of identities emerge, express, and are negotiated. In that sense, the identity formation of my interlocutors results not from adding an Algerian culture to an existing Turkish one or the opposite; instead, their identity emerges from the combination and juxtaposition of both cultures in the sense that cultural identity “ is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (Hall 1994, 225).

This study shows that the Algerian descendant's community creates a third-space supported by community gatherings and memorial places. The gatherings are, to my sense, the materialization of the diasporic space, in which collective memory is maintained, created, nurtured among the community members. During the fieldwork, I understood from my interlocutors that diverse cultural events took place in the community to celebrate their differences. Whether it be religious, cultural or, commemorative events, the community regularly gathers in settings where the past is transposed and introduced to the present.

The analysis of my participant observation shows that the community created three third different spaces: a cultural space, an emotional space, and a sacred space, and I argue that these spaces can coexist in the same physical space. I base my conceptualization of space on Bhabha's (1994) third-space theory, but I am trying to analyze the community's creation of space differently. Bhabha (1994) conceptualizes the third-space as a negotiation of cultural performances between ex-colonized population and ex-colonizer in a binary power relation understanding of "us" and "them." My contribution consists of looking at the diasporic space through memory and emotion repertoires that are part of the identity construction of my interlocutors. I argue that the Algerian descendants in Adana created multiple intertwined spaces that may unfold in the same space as I will explain further.

6.3.1 The Emotional and Cultural Spaces: Community Practices

As I have described in chapter five, interlocutors developed a sense of belonging towards an imagined and romanticized Algeria. Nevertheless, the community is completely isolated from Algeria nowadays, and they even perceive it as a "lost homeland." However, as says Alisdair Rogers (1992), homeland is "a place distant in time and space, and partly lost, but also ever-present in daily life."(Rogers 1992, 520), which leads me to emphasize the existence of an emotional space where the materialization of the homeland through cultural aspects takes place in the everyday practice.

I showed in the previous chapter the keen interest this community had for Algeria. In fact, their forefather's separation from their homeland narratives has been transmitted to them, which creates a strong nostalgia towards the homeland. The relation between my interlocutors and the homeland is thus imaginary. Furthermore, this imagination of the homeland is also concretely strengthened through cultural practices in the community. North African communities in Adana and surrounding villages often gather to celebrate their differences and maintain the community's spirit that they cherish. I argue that during these gatherings, the past unfolds to the present as claimed by Andreas Huyssen (2003) "the act of remembering is always in and of the present, while its referent is of the past and thus absent." (Huyssen 2003, 3). Thus, I argue that the awareness of place led Algerian descendants in Adana to create new symbolic

places that compensate for the absence of other places they could never see. As a part of my fieldwork observation, I had the opportunity to attend one of these gatherings, and I will show how the community is preserving its cultural identity in these spaces.

I note here that all the participants involved in the gathering were emotionally stimulated, and each one of them seemed to belong to the community. I argue here that the "shared nostalgia for a common homeland" (Brown 2011, 232) that shares members of the community strengthen the community ties and create a powerful emotional sense of belonging to the community, as stated by Bess et al. (2002) "One draws identity by being a member of the community, has emotional support, and is reinforced for the behaviors that are beneficial to the functioning of the community itself." (Bess et al. 2002, 7). In that sense, this emotional "need of belonging" (Bauman 2001, 63) in the diaspora is a fundamental aspect of the continuation and preservation of these community gatherings.

Usually, during these meetings, descendants of first, second, and third-generation North Africans come together to read the holy Quran, perform invocations (*dua*), and pray together (figure 6.3). Then, in a joyful atmosphere, all share a meal consisting of Turkish food served with Algerian beverages. Finally, in the evening, they gather to perform a *zikir* ceremony and sing songs related to migration and praising of their Sheikh as mention my interlocutor Ahmet K.:

> We generally gather in the village of Nalban for special occasions such as the Mirac Kandili, Berat Kandili, and the Nights of Power (*Kadir Gecesi*). We read Qur'an, share a meal, we chant (*ilahi okuyoruz*), we perform zikir; this is how we strengthen our togetherness as a community.[129]

[129]Personal interview with Ahmet K. on 02.11.2019, Adana : "İşte istisna günlerimiz var. Bu, peygamber efendimizin Miraç Kandili, Berat Kandili, Kadir Gecelerinde Nalbantta bir araya geliyoruz. Kur'anlar okunuyor, yemek yeniliyor Kur'an okunuyor, ilahi okuyoruz, zikir yapıyoruz; bunu bu şekilde birlikteliğimizi devam ettiriyoruz." (Translated by the author)

Figure 6.3. Gathering of the North African Community in Adana.

Culturally speaking, there are many elements from the Turkish culture to which my interlocutors adapted and considered part of their cultural heritage. Similarly, they preserve elements from the Algerian heritage, which they strive to implement into their daily lives. To show this dual culture, interlocutors were very keen and proud of the Adana Kebab, which is part of the traditional Turkish food, and insisted we taste it before leaving Adana. Similarly, I also understood the strong attachment and their pride in the traditional Algerian culture that they strive to preserve. For example, I had the opportunity to eat traditional Algerian dishes at interlocutors' homes, who were not informed of our arrival; this shows that cultural preservation is part of their daily lives (figure 6.4)

Figure 6.4. Traditional Algerian Meal and Traditional Algerian Mint Tea.

One other aspect that unites this community in remembering the cultural practices of the homeland is done through food. To overcome the nostalgic emotions existing in the community, food is part of the emotional space that the community has created. Amy Hubbell (2015), in her study on the *pied-noir* community's nostalgia, states that the transmission of the past in a community isolated from the homeland is an essential part of the "healing and identity building" (Hubbell 2015, 3). Food is related to remembering the past and emotions; thus, she explains it is "an efficient tool for maintaining and transmitting 'happier times.'"(Hubbell 2015, 3). Food is a part of the past that can still be reproduced in the present. From my understanding of the Algerian descendants in Adana, I can say that they 'eat to remember', which is a way to sustain the community's togetherness.

I explain that through regular gatherings, the community creates a sense of rootedness and connects to their culture, history, and past. During the North African meetings, the Sheikh is very much present and celebrated. As a matter of fact, when the descendants of the Sheikh arrived at the event, there was such an enthusiasm to welcome them, and everyone rushed to greet and have their blessings. For instance, in the following extract of a song that was performed during the gathering, it is understandable that the remembrance of the Sheikh and his migration journey to Turkey shows the emotional side that unites this community and romanticize his figure.

Şeyhim geldi Kozan'a	My Sheikh came to Kozan
Kuduflar ile yan yana	Side by side with the kudufs
Can kavuştu canana	The self (the soul) have met the beloved one
Şükür Elhamdulillah	Praise be to God, Alhamdulillah
Kuduflar hep dolaştı	Kudufs wandered around
Nice çölleri aştı	They surpassed many deserts
Türkiye'ye ulaştı	They arrived in Turkey
Hoşgeldin efendimiz	Welcome, o our master
Geldiler İstanbul'a,	They came to Istanbul
İzmir'e, Amasya'ya,	To Izmir and to Amasya
Konya'ya, Antalya'ya	To Konya and Antalya
Hoşgeldin efendimiz	Welcome, o our master
Şeyh muridi topladı	The Sheikh gathered the Murid
Dört yana haber saldı	He spread the news all over
Hicret'te karar kıldı	He decided to make the Hijra
Hoşgeldin efendimiz	Welcome, o our master
Muhtarım sözüm sana	I have a word for you, O distinguished one
Doğru ol haktan yana	Walk the path of truth
Adana'ya Kozan'a	To Adana and Kozan
Hoşgeldin efendimiz	Welcome, o our master

In the emotional space that the community creates, they come together and chant to keep the past present with them. In fact, this song commemorates the Sheikh's venue to Kozan and narrates how he decided to make the *hijra* from Mauritania. Furthermore, while describing the different routes that migrants took, this community remembers their ancestors' suffering and challenges to sustain collective memory. Moreover, by welcoming their Sheikh to Kozan, I understand that the community justifies the Sheikh's decision to come to settle in Kozan and again legitimize their belonging to the host country.

6.3.2 The Religious Space: a Contested Belonging

As a part of the fieldwork, it was apparent that the Algerian descendant was a community that gave importance to religion. Indeed, the community showed tremendous respect to the religious leader by regularly visiting his shrine and participating in communal observance. The Sheikh's tomb has become a symbol for the community because, according to them, it is a place particularly visited by the

North African community to "remember or make other generations remember, people, events, sacrifices, rites or beliefs.[130]" (Bruneau 2006, 331). During the fieldwork, I had the opportunity to visit a graveyard in the village of Kozan, where Sheikh Efendi and his family are buried but also many other Algerians and their descendants. The grave of the Sheikh and his family members were clearly distinguished from others, as is visible in the following pictures.

Figure 6.5. Graves of Sheikh Efendi and his Wife Temennüge Hanım in Kozan.

It was evident at that moment to see the importance of the Sheikh for the community as many visitors were coming to visit the graveyard to make prayers and invocations close to his tomb. I argue that these visits permit the community to stay attached to their roots, consolidate their memory, yet also feel a belonging to the host country. In other terms, the Sheikh symbolizes the hybridity of the descendants, combining their origins and attachment to their religion and culture, and at the same time, he symbolized their belonging to the host country.

[130] "Se remémorer ou à faire remémorer à d'autres générations, des personnes, des événements, des sacrifices, des rites ou des croyances" (Translated by the author)

Figure 6.6. Grave of Zeynel Abidin Efendi, one of the Sheikh's Sons, Kozan.

As discussed earlier, the religious leader of this community was also a key character in their settlement in the region; thus, this religious affiliation is, to my sense, part of their identity building and sense of belonging and a way to stay connected to the past. In that sense, the religious gatherings that my interlocutors participate in are also

strengthening the collective memory. As stated by David Garbin (2013), "migrants and ethnic minorities are forming, through their religious practices and strategies whether visible/readable or invisible to outsiders particular spaces of alterity" (Garbin 2013, 692). These spaces of alterity are a central space in forming the collective identity of this community in which events of the past are remembered and shape the present. During these religious ceremonies, my interlocutors read the holy book (figure 6.7) and perform *zikir*, and it is common that they narrate religious narratives in the form of chants.

Figure 6.7. Religious Gathering of North Africans in Adana

The members of the North African community in Adana give much importance to religious poems that they have inherited from their forefathers. According to my interlocutors, the origin of these poems is from the first generation of migrant descendants, and it was apparent during the gathering that most first and second generation were involved in singing together. The following extract of a religious chant narrates how the community gathered around the Sheikh's *tariqa* to exalt the guidance he has in their life. In that sense, it seems that the relation between the murids and the Sheikh is a relation still existing today.

Dolana Dolana Bir Şehre Girdim Allah Bir Tarikat aldım şeyhim elinden Görülmedik yollar aldim şeyhim elinden Bilinmedik sırlar aldim pirim elinden	I wandered into a town, o Allah I joined the path of my Sheikh I walked over unknown roads by my Sheikh I learned unknown mysteries from my Pir
Şeyhim Muhammet Emin açmiş bir yelken Allah Bana Yol Gösterdin. Maksadimiz Allah ise varalim erken Şeyim Muhammed Abdallah açmiş bir yelken Allah Maksadımız mevla ise varalim erken	Sheikh Muhammed Emin set the sail and gave me direction If our aim is Allah, then let's arrive early Sheikh Muhammed Abdallah gave me direction If our aim is our master, then let's arrive early
Gafil olan bu sırları duymasin Varın sultan kokkasın da Solmasın Bu Ayrilik Taa Mahşere Kalmasin	Let not the unwary hear these secrets, Let the sultan smell them and not wither Don't let this separation last until the judgment day
Haktan Elçi Gelmiş Hep Beraber Varak Tanesini Samanindan Ayirak Muhabbetin Harmanina Savurak, Muhabbetin Yellerine Savurak O Benim Büyük Şeyhim Aleme Sultan, Maksadimiz Allah Ise Varalim Erken	Allah sent the Sheikh, let us all go near him Let us sort out truth from falsehood Let us have the best of affection He's My Grand Sheikh, Sultan to the world, If our aim is Allah, then let us arrive early

Another important aspect of the space that shows the underlying aspects of belonging to the community are the graveyards where Algerians are buried. During the fieldwork in Kozan, I have visited a graveyard where Algerians and their descendants were buried. As it is visible in the following pictures (figure 6.8), the inscription of "*Cezayirli*" is engraved on their tombs. According to the dates on the tombs, it suggests they belong to the first and second generations of Algerian descendants, who have never been to Algeria, yet, their tombstone reflects their ethnic identity and not their national one. Alistair Hunter (2016) stated that death in diaspora communities reveals the foundations of belonging to the host country. In that sense, death could be one of the events that clear up the sense of belonging of an ethnic community. In fact, it is common to see diaspora repatriate deceased loved ones to be buried in the country of origin; however, it is not the case for the Algerian diaspora in Adana who buries deceased ones in local cemeteries. As state Hunter (2016), "Deathscapes are not only spaces associated with the dead and dying, but also are constituted by the meanings

which are attributed to such spaces by the living" (Hunter 2016, 3). In that sense, I argue that graveyards are places of memory for the living and a way of negotiating belonging in the diaspora. Bruneau (2006) affirms that within diaspora communities, the space visibility in the public sphere is the sign that the community is established in the host society, which suggest that the Algerian community in Adana is indeed rooted in the host country yet, the inscription of "Algerian" on the gravestone suggests a dual belonging, to the homeland and to Turkey.

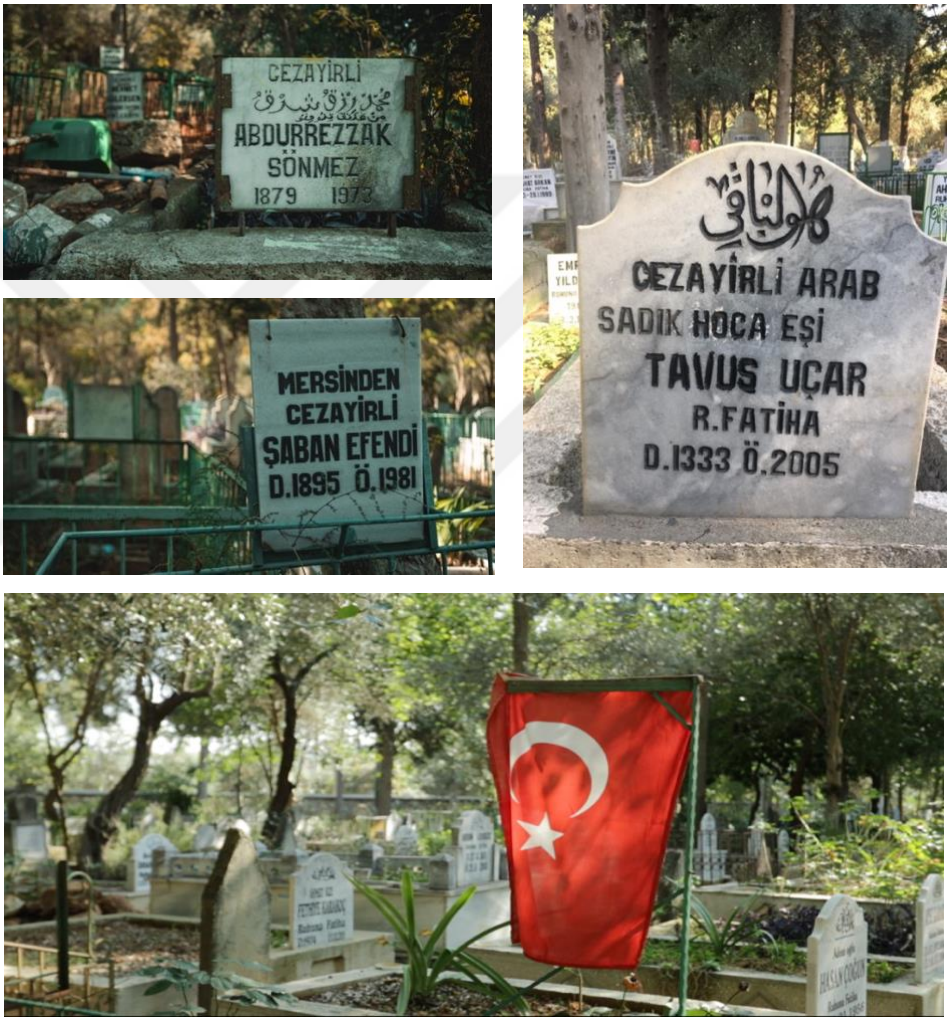

Figure 6.8. Gravestones with the Inscription of "Cezayirli" or "Algerian" in Kozan.

In this part, I have detailed the creation of diasporic spaces among the Algerian community and more globality within the North African community in Adana and Kozan. I argued that the homeland is materialized in these spaces through cultural practices and regular gatherings in which collective memory is preserved. I understand

these spaces as emotional, cultural, and religious spaces, which adds to Bhabha's (1994) third-space understanding. The emotional space engages the shared nostalgia for the homeland among community members. I explained how North Africans needed to be together in a space where homeland is remembered and the past unfolds in the present. This space strengthens the community and supports the understanding of the "we" of the group. The cultural space revealed the materialization of the homeland through everyday cultural practice. I explained that interlocutors' cultural understanding is negotiated in this space. Further, I concluded that my interlocutors' understanding of culture is about language, food, songs, and religious performances. In this space emerge the hybrid culture of my interlocutors, in which Turkish and Algerian cultural heritage combine and coexist. Finally, the sacred space is also where the collective identity of this community is negotiated. I claimed that the religious understanding of this community is related to belonging also. My argument was demonstrated through religious chants but also in relation to graveyards, in which dual belonging is still being negotiated.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this thesis has been to explore the identity construction experience of Algerian descendants in the city of Adana and Kozan. Although many researches focus on Algerian diasporic groups' identity worldwide, this study explores and reveals central elements such as memory, emotions and space influencing the diaspora identity building in the host country like Turkey which has not be studied before in relation to Algerian diaspora. The life stories and narratives collected from my interlocutors as primary sources gave me valuable data to apprehend their experience of identity construction in Turkey. In that sense, the purpose was to understand how the different generations negotiate their in-betweenness in identity through their culture, memory, emotion, and space.

Based on a qualitative analysis of the interviews and my observation in the field, it can be concluded that the identity construction of the Algerian descendants is influenced by memory and emotions. I also concluded that interlocutors from different generations created a hybrid identity that balances their attachment to the homeland and the host society. My observations in the field also allowed me to say that the Algerian descendants create a diasporic space in which their hybrid identities are negotiated.

For this study, I considered individual and collective identity to understand how my interlocutors negotiate their belonging. The main points that emerged from the data analysis were the existence of collective memory, strengthened by a constructed narrative of the past, a romanticization and idealization of Algeria, and a strong nationalist Turkish identity discourse.

Before developing my discussion on constructing the identity of three generations of Algerian descendants, I first engaged in historical research to apprehend the migration phenomenon and understand in which circumstances my interlocutors' forefathers' had left their homeland. As a result, I collected primordial information from French, Arabic, and Turkish sources explaining the Algerians' migration to the Ottoman Empire. The third chapter also presented my interlocutors’ narrations of the migration, which has been further detailed in relation to the memory work in identity construction. Through my interlocutor's narratives, I explained that the emotional aspect of migration and the separation from the homeland created an attachment and sense of

belonging to a utopian imagined homeland. Furthermore, I explained how my interlocutor's narration of the past is romanticized and based on emotions and showed that the narrative of the past is also constructed to legitimize their belonging to Turkey. In that sense, I demonstrated how memory continuously reshapes the past to justify the present and the future through narrations. For example, by examining the narration of the migration as a *hijra*, I aimed to explain that it is a socially constructed narration of the past that strengthens the community bonds and gives meaning to "the collective we" to which my interlocutors belong to. Further, I concluded that my interlocutors' use of romanticized versions of memory is actually a quest for belonging; these memory shifts justify their position and their identity based on emotions and are a way to legitimize their present and future in Turkey.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to understand the role of emotions especially nostalgia and yearning in my interlocutors' identity building process. It was undeniable that my interlocutors idealize the past and romanticize the homeland. I explained in chapter five that through the narrative of their elders, my interlocutors inherited a nostalgia and a yearning that was intrinsically linked to their identity building. Therefore, the homeland is for them a utopia, a collective myth, and an inaccessible land they nurture in their imagination. Without any exceptions, all my interlocutors defined themselves as “proud Algerians,” and I discussed that this belonging to the utopian homeland was nurtured by the nostalgia and yearning of the previous generations. Concurrently, I explained how the romanticization of the homeland reinforces the sense of belonging to it but is also a strategy used by my interlocutors to keep alive their Algerian identity and culture in Adana and Kozan.

The study also explained in detail how the memory of the past shapes my interlocutors' identities differently. By striving to preserve their cultural identity and protect collective memory, this community also interacts and is part of Turkish society, adding an additional layer of complexity to their identity building. I argued in chapter five that my interlocutors' understanding of identity was not homogenous as they inherited memories to a different degree, as memory generation and post-memory generation. I also explained how the different political experience they encountered in Turkey as a minority regulated their positioning as a strategy of adaptation. It appeared to me that the first and second generations of Algerian descendants grew up in an era where

government policies aimed to "Turkify" the non-Turkish population as part of the construction of the Turkish nation state. I noted that these generations had a strong nationalist identity discourse and sense of belonging to Turkey. Through their attachment and official speech on Turkishness and their willingness to be part of the public sphere, I understand they adhere to the Turkish nationalist understanding of identity and emphasize their belonging to Turkishness. I have also argued that this visible Turkishness is to hide the discrimination and otherizing they might have experienced as a minority during the state building period.

In contrast, the third generation's understanding of identity was more openly directed towards their ethnic identity. This identity shift was explained as a willingness to openly express their identity as Arabs in Turkey. In that sense, the discrimination and otherizing, especially toward the third generation Algerian descendants in school or in society, lead them to find refuge in their ethnic identities in return. Globally, I showed my interlocutors' positioning towards the contextual political experience in Turkey as a minority regulate their identity, memory, emotions, and sense of belonging. I clarified that they adopt a strategy of identity shift that enables them to adhere to a visible Turkish identity and at the same time feel belonging and long for the utopian homeland.

The Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan distinguish themselves from the rest of society through their physical traits, culture, language, and traditions. Yet, they also feel and want to look like others, and this was visible through their official discourse of Turkishness and the use of narratives that legitimized their belonging to Turkey. Therefore, I recognized that the need for belonging and being integrated was a fundamental matter. In this light, these shifting identities have led me to develop in chapter six the hybrid dimension of my interlocutors' identity, where I explained the “in-between” position of the identity of this diaspora.

My interlocutors' hybrid identity was visible through their cultural practices but also through narratives in which hybridity was evident. I explained how Turkish culture was celebrated and the Algerian culture heritage glorified and nurtured. Moreover, I demonstrated how my interlocutors relate their belonging to Turkey through their religious leader, Sheikh Efendi, who is the key symbol of their religious identity as a minority. I showed in what sense interlocutors idealize and romanticize his figure in

relation to his friendship with Atatürk. The fact that my interlocutors' narration combines a Sufi Sheikh and the founder of the secular Turkish nation in a friendship relationship revealed to me their hybrid understanding of their identity. Their narratives on Atatürk symbolize their adaptation and their integration into the host society. Still, their romanticization of the Sheikh showed their attachment to their religious and cultural heritage, which they are keen to preserve in the host country. I concluded that the hybridized identities of interlocutors do not exclude one another; rather, they coexist, negotiate and, continually influence and nurture one another to create a balance in identity.

Finally, I discussed the notion of belonging of the Algerian descendant community and concluded that the in-betweenness of their identity required the creation of a diasporic space in which they express their differences. I explained how the hybrid identity is continuously forming and adapting to the context. Thus, I claimed interlocutors needed a space where differences were not imposed hierarchically and in which identities are continuously negotiating, shaping, and reshaping. For that, I concluded from my field observation the existence of three different spaces: cultural, emotional, and sacred spaces that are intertwined spaces that can coexist in the same physical place. In chapter six, I detailed the creation of these spaces through memory and emotion repertoires, which are part of the identity construction of my interlocutors. I concluded that in these spaces, the past unfolds in the present, interlocutors' cultural understanding is negotiated, homeland is materialized through cultural practices, and the collective memory nurtured. These spaces in which Turkish and Algerian cultural heritage combine and coexist are the starting point of interlocutor's hybrid identity.

As a result, this study is an ethnographic study of Algerian descendant identity construction experience in Turkey. I hope in this research that I have contributed to Algerian diaspora academic studies in terms of approaching identity construction through memory, emotion, and space repertoires that have not been studied before. Furthermore, the presence of Algerian descendants in Turkish society is a historical reality; however, there is almost no scholarly research in Turkish. To attain social integration in Turkey, the recognition and celebration of the cultural minorities are essential in a diverse society like Turkey; in that sense, cultural differences and diversity in the society should be celebrated, accepted, and remembered. Therefore,

this thesis is also a contribution to Turkish historiography but also Algerian historiography.

This study understands identity as versatile, fluid, and not fixed. Unlike other studies that problematize identity construction in relation to assimilation, I discussed the identity formation of interlocutors through belonging strategies that bring balance in their life of minority in Turkey. In this study, I didn't focus on a class or gender-based understanding of identity because such a distinction was not visible in the fieldwork.

This study main question was to explore the identity formation of Algerian descendants in Adana and Kozan, however other theoretical discussion emerged from the fieldwork findings. For instance the diasporic space discussion was not a central question in this thesis and could be developed theoretically and practically more deeply in a future research such as a gendered understanding of the space dimension in relation to identity in this diaspora.

As I mentioned in the methodology chapter, one of the main limitations of this study was due to the COVID 19 outbreak and the travel restrictions. In that sense, a more elaborated ethnographic work can be considered in future studies. In addition, the outcomes of this thesis can be expanded further and open up new discussions about this diaspora. For instance, it would be interesting to focus exclusively on one generation identity construction in relation to an eventual return movement to Algeria. In fact, as I explained in this study, interlocutors' understanding of the homeland is imagined and idealized; in that sense, a future study can be undertaken in relation to the outcome of an eventual return movement to Algeria on the diaspora's identity. Lastly, future researches may also focus on the religious aspect of this community in terms of religious identity in the host country.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

ADANA'DA İSKÂN EDİLECEK CEZAYİR MUHACİRLERİNİN BEYANNAMELERİ HAKKINDA TAKİP EDİLECEK MUAMELE

Adana'da iskân edilecek Cezayir muhacirleri tarafından verilecek beyannamelerde, hüviyetlerinin açık bir şekilde yazılarak, konuyla ilgili talimatname gereğince tasdikli bir suretinin Fransız Konsolosluğu'na da tebliğ edilmesi

كتابة المعلومات الشخصية في البيانات التي قدمها المهاجرون الجزائريون الذين يتم إسكانهم في آدنة بشكل صريح وتقديم صورة مصدقة منها إلى القنصلية الفرنسية وذلك وفق التعليمات المتعلقة بالموضوع

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Bâb-ı Alî
Dâhiliye Nezâreti
Muhâcirîn İdâresi
Umum: 27

Hülâsa: Cezayir muhâcirîni tarafından verilecek beyânnâmeler hakkında

Adana'da iskân edilmek üzere o cihetlere giden Cezayir muhâcirlerinin verecekleri beyânnâmenin asl veyâhud sûretinin konsoloshâneye irsâli Fransa konsolosu tarafından taleb edilmesine mukâbil bu sûret evvelce ta'mîmen ısdâr kılınan ta'limât-ı mahsûsası ahkâmına mugâyir olmasile gayr-ı kâbil olduğu der-miyân olunarak şu kadar ki ba'demâ konsolatoya yazılacak tezkirelerde sâhib-i beyânnâmenin etraflı sûretde ta'yîn ve tasrîh-i hüviyeti kararlaştırılıp bunu mûmâ-ileyh konosolosun da kabul eylediği Adana vilayeti ile cereyan eden muhâbereden anlaşılması üzerine keyfiyet Fransa Sefareti'ne teblîğ olunmuş ise de sefâret-i müşârun-ileyhâ sâlifü'z-zikr ta'limâtnâmenin fıkra-yı sâniyesinde mevzû'-ı bahs beyânnâmenin Fransa Konsolatosu'na "teblîğ" edileceği tarzındaki metnine bi'l-istinâd beyânnâmenin aynen teblîği veya sûretinin gönderilmesi nokta-i nazarında sebat gösterdiği ve her ne kadar ta'limât-ı mebhûsü'n-anhânın bu vechile tefsîri ruh ve maksadına mugâyir idüği mukâveleten beyân ve nokta-i nazarımıza imâleye ihtimâm olunmuş ise de ısrâr-ı vâki' tekrâr edildiği cihetle şıkk-ı sânî vechile beyânnâmenin musaddak bir sûretinin konsolatoya gönderilmesine muvâfakat olunarak ba'demâ bu usûle tevfîk mu'âmelât olunması vilâyet-i mezkûreye cevâben izbâr edildiği beyânıyla îcâb eden sâir vilâyât ve elviye-i gayr-ı mülha-

kaya dahi teblîgât icrâsı lede'l-muhâbere Hariciye Nezâret-i Celîlesi'nden cevâben vârid olan 26 Şubat sene [1]327 târihli ve 2256 numaralı tezkirede iş'âr ve îcâbı icrâ kılınmış olmağla oraca da ber-minvâl-i muharrer îfâ-yı muktezâsı muhâcirîn idâresi ifâdesiyle ta'mîmen teblîğ olunur.

Fî Rebî'ü'l-evvel sene [1]330 / [24 Mart 1912]

Dâhiliye Nâzırı Vekili Nâmına
Müsteşâr

APPENDIX B

LIST OF INTERLOCUTORS

Research Participants		
Name	**Gender**	**Generation**
Participant 1	Male	1st generation (79 years old)
Participant 2	Male	1st generation (85 years old)
Participant 3	Male	2nd generation (58 years old)
Participant 4	Male	1st generation (79 years old)
Participant 5	Male	Historian
Participant 6	Female	2nd generation (56 years old)
Participant 7	Female	1st generation (84 years old)
Participant 8	Female	1st generation (84 years old)
Participant 9	Male	1st generation (76 years old)
Participant 10	Female	1st generation (70 years old)
Participant 11	Female	1st generation (86 years old)
Participant 12	Male	2nd generation (69 years old)
Participant 13	Male	1st generation (86 years old)
Participant 14	Male	1st generation (88 years old)
Participant 15	Male	2nd generation (57 years old)
Participant 16	Male	2nd generation (52 years old)
Participant 17	Male	2nd generation (52 years old)
Participant 18	Female	3rd generation (24 years old)
Participant 19	Male	2nd generation (57 years old)
Participant 20	Male	3rd generation (19 years old)

CURRICULUM VITAE

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2011-2014 BA in Applied Mathematics to Social Sciences, Aix-Marseille Université, France

2014-2016 MA in International Negotiation and Cross-cultural Communication, Aix-Marseille Université, France