

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

**MASTER THESIS**

**THE CONTEXT OF CIVIL SOCIETY: ANALYZING THE  
MUSLIM WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE  
INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS IN TURKEY**

**NESİBE ŞAHİN**

**THESIS SUPERVISOR: ASST. PROF. NURSEM KESKİN AKSAY**

**ISTANBUL, 2020**

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**by**

**NESİBE ŞAHİN**

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

**THESIS SUPERVISOR: ASST. PROF. NURSEM KESKİN AKSAY**

**ISTANBUL, 2020**

## 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 Sociology.

### Thesis Jury Members

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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.

Name Surname: Nesibe ŞAHİN

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nesibe ŞAHİN', with a checkmark above the 'Ş'.

## ÖZ

### SİVİL TOPLUM BAĞLAMINDA MÜSLÜMAN KADINLARIN TÜRKİYE'DE KURUMSALLAŞMA SÜRECİNE KATILIMININ İNCELENMESİ

Yazar Şahin, Nesibe

Sosyoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı

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Bu tezin amacı, 1970li yıllarda dernek ve vakıf tanımlaması ile kurumsallaşan Müslüman kadınların motivasyonlarını, onların duygu ve inançları bağlamında incelemektir. Bugün sivil toplum kuruluşu olarak tanımlanan birçok kurumun 1970li yıllarda Müslüman kadınlar tarafından kurulmuş vakıf ve derneklerle bağlantılarının olduğu görülür. Bu çalışmada hem bugün sivil toplum kuruluşu olarak tanımlanan kurumların hem de geçmişte dernek ve vakıf olarak kurulanların farklı anlamlandırmalara açık olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu durum, kadınların aktivitelerine ve kurdukları kurumlara atfettikleri anlam analiz edildiğinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu anlamlandırmanın izleri sürüldüğünde, geçmişte vakıf ve dernek olarak kurulan kurumların motivasyonu ile benzer motivasyonların var olduğu görülmektedir. 70li yıllarda kurumsallaşmaya atfedilen anlamlar, güncel olarak bugün sivil toplum kuruluşu tanımlamasıyla aktiviteler yapan kurumlara da atfedilebilmektedir. Kadınların bu motivasyonları, tarihsel tecrübeler, politik ortam, geçmişteki vakıf kültürü ile de ilgilidir. Bu motivasyon, kadınların duygulanımları aracılığıyla hedeflerine yönelik aktiviteler yapmalarını sağlamıştır. Çalışma için derinlemesine görüşmeler, odak grupları, etnografi ve katılımcı gözlem yoluyla birden fazla veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Ayrıca yazılı ve görsel materyaller, yayınlar ve web kaynakları analiz edilmiştir. Saha çalışması İstanbul'da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Tüm bu veriler, sahadaki tarihsel iz sürümü ve söylem analizine dayanarak Müslüman kadınlardaki benzer dini inançların, benzer duygulanımları ürettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Bu bağlamda, dini inancın bedenleşmesi olarak ortaya çıkan örtünme, kadınlarda kolektif bir duygusal ruh üreterek, kurumsallaşma sürecinde kadınları ortak bir amaç etrafında toplamıştır. Örtünmeye yönelik devlet tarafından konan

yasaklamalar nedeniyle eğitim kurumlarının kurulması, kurumsallaşmanın önemli aşamalarından birisidir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Duygu antropolojisi, Müslüman kadın, sivil toplum, Türkiye.

## ABSTRACT

### THE CONTEXT OF CIVIL SOCIETY: ANALYZING THE MUSLIM WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS IN TURKEY

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MA in Sociology

Thesis Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Nursem Keskin Aksay

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The aim of this thesis is to examine the motivations of Muslim women who established institutions with the definitions of association and foundation in the 1970s in the context of their feelings and beliefs. Many institutions currently defined as civil society organizations have connections with these institutions established by Muslim women in the 1970s. In my study, I argue that both the institutions defined as civil society organizations and those established as associations and foundations in the past are open to different interpretations. It is seen that when the meaning that women attribute to their activities and the institutions they establish is analyzed. When the traces of this interpretation are followed, it is seen that there are similar motivations with the motivation of institutions in the past. The meanings attributed to institutionalization in the 70s can also be attributed to the institutions engaged in activities with the definition of civil society organizations today. Women's motivations are also related to historical experiences, political environment, and *vakıf* understanding in the past. This motivation enabled women to do activities towards their goals through their emotions. I used multiple data collection methods for the study through in-depth interviews, focus groups, ethnography, and participant observation. In addition, I analyzed written and visual materials, publications and web resources. Fieldwork was carried out in Istanbul. All these data, based on historical trace version and discourse analysis in the field, reveal that similar religious beliefs in Muslim women produce similar emotionality. In this context, veiling, which emerged as the embodiment of religious belief, produced a collective emotional spirit in women and gathered women around a common purpose in the institutionalization process. Due to the state's prohibitions on

covering establishment of educational institutions is one of the important stages of institutionalization.

**Keywords:** Anthropology of emotion, civil society, Muslim women, Turkey.

*to my dear nephew, Enes...*

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My thesis writing process moved on simultaneously with a historical experience. In the period we were in quarantine due to the COVID 19 pandemic, I would like to thank my professor Prof. Dr. Yasin Aktay, who provided me with resources and opened my horizons with his analyzes. Also, my other thanks for my professor Prof. Dr. Alev Erkilet, who gave an idea to my work individually and whose works I benefited from. I am also grateful to Assoc. Prof. řule Albayrak, who supported me when I stepped into my academic studies and also accepted to be a member of the jury where I present my thesis.

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Nesibe řAHİN

İSTANBUL, 2020

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Today, in Turkey, the institutions established by women with Islamic identity and defined as civil society organizations are increasing. These institutions carry out various activities in many fields such as education, art, humanitarian aid, cultural studies and religious activities worldwide. In my study, I aim to analyze the emergence process of institutions established by Muslim women and defined as civil society organizations today. In particular, I will analyze how women attach meaning to these institutions. To do this, I will focus on answering the core question of my research: “How did Muslim women in Turkey motivate themselves to institutionalize in the context of civil society organizations?” Following this main question, I will also concentrate on two more questions in order to conceptualize different dimensions in the research. The first one is “how did Muslim women experience the institutionalization process of civil society organizations in terms of their beliefs and emotions?” The second one is “how did they attach meaning to their experiences related with their social and private lives?” Answering all these questions with respondents’ own narratives will reveal how they attribute meaning to the institutions they established.

Sara Ahmed argues that “narrative involves a rewriting of history” (Ahmed 2004a, 117). Hence the historical events affecting their emotions, the political, economic, educational and cultural conditions of that time will be revealed with these narratives of personal perspectives. For this reason, I aimed to evaluate these women by considering their specific activity areas, different backgrounds, educational levels and aims.

I conceptualize my respondents as “Muslim women” throughout my study. Different scholars have different conceptualizations in their studies in order to examine the women who practice religious beliefs in daily lives. According to Nilüfer Göle, “Islamist” and “Muslim” concepts are not the same. The concept of Islamist, which is

widely preferred in academic literature, “expresses a religious identity and it implies a political consciousness and social action” (Gole 1997, 47). Although this conceptualization is very common in the academic literature, none of my respondents defined themselves with this concept. Actually, they did not accept any “external” definitions that are produced about themselves. When I asked them how they define themselves, most of them clearly said that “Muslim” is an essential and sufficient word in order to define themselves if it is needed. Some of my respondents harshly emphasized that especially the concept “Islamist” is very annoying for themselves. Similar to my observation Ayşe Saktanber uses the concept “Muslim” due to the fact that it is a self-referential concept following Giddens’s “life politics” concept. Through this approach, she sees self-identity is an extension of the “narrative of the self” (Saktanber 1994, 99). Due to the fact that my respondents express themselves with the concept “Muslim”, I also preferred this term throughout my study. Ömer Çaha, on the other hand, claims, although the concept of “Muslim women” is comprehensive, when this concept is used, other identities that remain outside these segments, although they are Muslims, are excluded such as women who are feminists, Kurdish or Kemalists (Çaha 2017, viii). I agree with Çaha about this concern. Although ethnic origins, ideological ideas or different tendencies vary, Muslim definition can cover all of this. However, when I followed the discourses of the respondents throughout my study, I observed that they define themselves only with the word of “Muslim”, without revealing ethnicity or other differences of opinion. For this reason, I conceptualized my respondents as “Muslim women” throughout the study.

When we trace the institutions that were established by Muslim women in Turkey and currently defined as civil society organizations, we see that these institutions emerged in the 1970s as associations or foundations. Therefore, I focused on the emergence process of the institutions that currently defined as civil society organizations in Turkey in terms of the participation of Muslim women. In recent studies Muslim women are considered as “subjects” rather than “objects”. Kenan Çayır sees them as actors of the Islamic movement and individualized identities (Çayır 1997) while Göle considers them as modern consumers of the new class structure, modern subjects accepted modernity (Göle 2016b). It is also common in academic studies to consider Muslim women submissive to men in the context of patriarchy (Göle 2016a; Yılmaz 2010; Dursun 2019). In my study I aimed to analyze the emergence process of the

institutions established by Muslim women by considering the political, economic and cultural environment with the narratives of the women. Additionally, I focused on their motivational sources, feelings, emotions those they had in the process. Hence in my fieldwork, I listened to women's backgrounds, work areas, their social and private lives and the meanings they attributed to their activities. Some of these women are women who took an active role in the institutionalization process of some associations in the 70s. Aynur Mısıroğlu, Mukaddes Çıtlak, Reyhan Uzuner, Türkan Kumru and Mevlüde Uçar had been in the institutionalization process of two different associations in 1970s. Some of my respondents are the women who knew the founders of these associations and they worked with them and were found in the transformation process of associations and foundations to civil society organizations. Gülden Sönmez, Müzeyyen Taşçı, Havva Sula, Halime Uyulan, Hülya Şekerci, Tuğba Albayrak are examples of the second kind. I aimed to enrich my work by listening to both groups.

For me, the incident known as “Mavi Marmara incident” that took place in 2010 has had a major impact on the conduct of this study. Because it is one of the effective examples of activity focused on civil society organizations that was established with religious motivation in Turkey. According to data in Humanitarian Relief Foundation’s web page

*In May 2010, 6 international NGOs (IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Free Gaza Movement, European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza, Ship to Gaza (Greece), Ship to Gaza (Sweden) and the International Committee to Lift the Siege on Gaza) organized an aid Flotilla to transport 6000 tons of humanitarian aid obtained as donations to Gaza. In addition to humanitarian aid, the Flotilla was also carrying 750 aid workers / supporters. Among the aid workers / supporters from 36 countries including Germany, Kuwait, Israel, Ireland, Sweden, Greece, Southern Cyprus, Morocco, Yemen, Egypt and Algeria, there were over 15 MPs, more than 60 international press members, artists and Peace Prize winner aid workers (Humanitarian Relief Foundation, n.d.).*

There were many women in this organization that both supported the organization and traveled with the fleet. As an example, Gülden Sönmez, who is a respondent in my fieldwork, took an active role in the Gaza Freedom Fleet organization in 2010. This incident, in which Israel killed 10 Turkish citizens with a violent intervention and injured tens of them, caused serious problems between the two states. The incident had a great impact all over the world and caused plenty of controversy. After the incident, relatives of those who were killed and injured in the incident sued the Israeli government but the case was dismissed due to the attempts to normalize relations

between Israel and Turkey. Gülden still defends the Mavi Marmara case as a lawyer in international courts through a law firm called *Stoke White*.

This fleet was organized by institutions defined as civil society organizations also including state officials and politicians among its participants. During my field work, I saw that many women were active participants in this organization. Some were involved in the process of collecting humanitarian aid, although they did not participate in the fleet. During my visits to IHH, I observed that these women who were in the ship were mentioned as “veterans”. With this incident, we have seen that organizations identified as civil society organizations can be effective enough to affect the relations between states. Hence my interest is about the effectiveness of Muslim women in civil society organizations in Turkey. Therefore, I focused on the emergence process of the institutions that are defined as civil society organizations in Turkey in terms of the participation of Muslim women. Because when we trace the institutions that were established by Muslim women in Turkey and defined these as civil society organizations, we see that these institutions emerged in the 1970s as associations or foundations.

It is also important for my study to explain how I conceptualize institutions established by Muslim women in the 1970s. In Turkey throughout history generally these institutions defined as “dernek/association” or “vakıf/foundation”. The institutions I study were defined by the term “association” at that time. Those are Hanımlar İlim ve Kültür Derneği -shortly HIKDE- (Women’s Wisdom and Culture Association), İdealist Hanımlar Derneği (Idealist Women Association) and Mukaddesatçı<sup>1</sup> Hanımlar Derneği (Mukaddesatçı Women Association). After a while some other institutions emerged and defined themselves with the term “vakıf<sup>2</sup>/foundation”. Actually, all these definitions are related to the legal regulations. Due to the fact that for the institutions that I study, legal regulations required defining their institutions as “dernek” and they

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<sup>1</sup> This word has no English equivalent. It evokes the meaning of the one who prioritizes the sacred and works for it.

<sup>2</sup> The word *vakıf* is used in Turkish to describe institutional structures those have some certain characteristics in terms of legal regulations. However, in Turkish, it is also used to refer to a historical tradition both existed in Seljuks and Ottomans. It has also religious roots. In my study, I translated the word *vakıf*, which is used to describe modern institutions, as “*foundation*”. However, when I used it as a religious based-historical tradition, I preferred the term *vaqf*. In the second chapter, I will discuss the term *vaqf* in terms of its religious and historical roots.

defined themselves in this way. My study addresses a limited historical process. However, due to this transformation in the definitions, these organizations defined as “associations” or “foundations” were later defined as “non-governmental organizations”. The term civil society organization is also referred to as non-governmental organization. However, in my study, I preferred the expression of “civil society organization” since it is the literal translation of the Turkish expression, “sivil toplum kuruluşu”, and also the term had a historical development and transformation throughout its history.

While starting my work, I followed the emergence processes of the institutions that are defined as civil society organizations today. For this reason, in my work, I consider civil society from a historical and theoretical perspective. However, during my fieldwork, I observed that the meanings attributed by women to the institutions they established had different dimensions from these discussions. However, since the current definition is based on civil society, I have included the historical and theoretical debates of civil society in my work. In the second chapter, I will discuss some of the prominent theories of civil society debates since my work examines in the 70s the emergence of the so-called civil society organizations. Although the concept civil society has transformed in terms of its definition and practice since its emergence, contemporary scholars consider civil society as “a realm of organized social life that is voluntary and autonomous from the state” (Diamond 1994, 5) and emphasize the “non-violent, self-organizing and self-reflexive” (Keane 1998, 6) nature of it. Tocqueville also sees civil society organizations as “bedrock of American democracy” in order to “breathe life into their democracy” (Hoffman 2006, 2–3). While evaluating all these approaches, in my study, I will also examine with which motivations women establish these institutions. In this context, while analyzing what motivations women have when establishing these institutions in the field, I argue that the meanings they attribute to these institutions should be understood. Because I have observed that Muslim women who worked under the umbrella of “civil society organization” and who were carrying out activities under the umbrella of “foundation” and “association” in the past attributed meaning to these institutions in line with their religious beliefs, I argue that their practice is different from the theoretical discussions of civil society discussions or modern foundation and association institutionalizations. Therefore, in

the next chapters, I will discuss how their religious beliefs affect their motivation in their work.

On the other hand, since the subject of my study is about the effectiveness of Muslim women in civil society organizations, another discussion arises. The debate about whether civil society can exist in Muslim societies is quite an old discussion in the social sciences (Weber 1968; Turner 1997; Gellner 1994). In my study since I consider the civil society discussion in the Turkish context and focus on Muslim women, I treat this discussion in the first section. Some experts emphasize the contradictory nature of Islam and civil society due to the fact that Islam's nature of patrimonialism and warlike piety is unable to develop autonomous cities (Turner 1997, 176–77). Although there are experts who say that Islam and civil society are not in conflict since Islam has civic organizations (Aktay and Topçuoğlu 2007; Kamali 2001), I want to draw attention to the orientalist nature of civil society debates. For this reason, while evaluating these discussions in my study, I draw attention to the fact that the debates were constructed in the context of power relations within the East-West dichotomy that I will discuss in the second chapter in detail. Also following David Lewis' (2001, 5) argument that in a non-Western context civil society has local and different meanings, I argue that it will be a more meaningful analysis when it is evaluated in terms of the meaning that members of civil society organizations attach to these institutions. While doing this I will also consider the historical background of civil society organizations in Turkey's context.

The term “Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu/Civil Society Organization” has become widespread in Turkey in 1996 after the HABITAT meeting (Gümüş 2004, 12). Although the names of “vakıf/foundation” and “dernek/association” have continued to be used, “Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu” has been accepted by many institutions with different functions. The first association founded by people with Muslim identity in 1951 is known as İlim Yayma Cemiyeti (The Community for Spreading Wisdom). Since these associations did not do activities for women directly, in 70s, firstly HIKDE and then Idealist Women Association and Mukaddesatçı Women Association are established. Throughout my work, I will analyze the founding goals and processes of these associations with the narratives of the founders and witnesses.

While analyzing Muslim women, in terms of their participation in social life, the historical process should not be ignored. Because in the post-republic period, women who wanted to practice Islam in their lives were not approved in social life by the state. In 1923, the newly founded Republic of Turkey, placed women in a “visible” position in its social change plan (Göle 1998). The changes made in subjects such as the Westernization of women's clothing and being given the right to be elected are clues that show the importance of the new republic to the woman. However, since the new Republic promoted a secular lifestyle in terms of the importance it attributes to western and modern values, this led to the exclusion of people trying to practice their faith in society in social life (Gole 1997, 52).

During my fieldwork, I observed how Muslim women who established associations were affected by the historical events and the conditions of their time. It is an important part of my study to analyze how their veiling as a necessity of their beliefs affected their social life, their education and their system of beliefs. With the coming of the Democrat Party to power, there was a gradual softening of rigid state policy from the 1950s on with the transition to pluralistic democracy (Göle 1998, 68). People who wanted to practice their religious beliefs in their lives had the opportunity to express themselves to some extent. Muslim women started to be visible in social life. It was approximately in the 1970s that Muslim women who wanted to practice their religious beliefs in their lives and who had an education, started to embark on business life and take active roles in social life. In this context, the absence or the inadequacy of religious education in official schools forced them to open alternative educational institutions. *Fazilet Kuran Kursu (Fazilet Quran Course)*, established in 1970, is important in this respect. With these institutions, the aim was to increase the religious knowledge level of the society and raise women who know their religion and who have a profession at the same time. The students of this school were supported during their education period for high school and university education, as I will discuss in detail the third and fourth chapters. Another motivation in establishing associations is to increase social aid and try to eliminate social inequality through financial support for the poor in the society. At this point, it is seen that these institutions were influenced by the “vaqf understanding/*vakıf kültürü*” inherited from the Seljuks and Ottomans (Ataseven and Erdoğan 1999). In Islamic law, if a person sacrifices ownership of properties such as bridges, roads, schools, fountains, etc. and presents them to the

service of the whole society, it is a “*vaqf property/vakıf malı*”. This tradition is actually one of the important elements of Islamic societies. A foundation is the allocation of a property by its owner to a religious, social and charitable service forever (Günay 2012). The person who donates a property in Islam in this way believes that s/he will gain great *sevap*<sup>3</sup>. Hence due to this Islamic belief both in Seljuks and Ottomans maintained this religious tradition. In my study I will also analyze how Muslim women were inspired from this understanding in their activities.

Throughout my field work, I tried to analyze the motivations experienced by Muslim women while establishing the institutions I mentioned. While doing this, I observed that Muslim women attribute different meanings to these institutions regardless of the historical development and conceptual discussions of civil society. The fact that women gave different meanings to civil society was related to their attribution of meanings depending on their emotions. Their emotions were also closely related to their beliefs. To reveal these meanings nurtured by their emotions and beliefs, in the third chapter, I will focus on how Muslim women attribute meanings to their activities and institutions in the context of their emotions and beliefs. At the same time, I will analyze how their emotions circulate, leading to a collective spirit in them. I will also discuss how historical experiences, macro-scale policies, and their backgrounds affect their emotional world. In this context, Ahmed argues that emotions should not be considered as psychological dispositions, on the contrary we need to focus on how they work concretely in order to understand the “relationship between the psychic and the social, and the individual and the collective” (Ahmed 2004a, 119). In my study, I will analyze how women's emotions gather them around common ideals, create a collective soul and how this guides their activities. Through their narratives, I will examine the processes of reflection of emotion on society in terms of their motivations and beliefs.

Women's relations with patriarchy is also an important part of my work. In this context, I will try to analyze how women interpret patriarchy in line with their religious beliefs. As far as I observe Muslim women interprets their relations with men in accordance with their religious beliefs. Hence, they develop some “coping mechanism” in order

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<sup>3</sup> *Sevap*, in Islam, expresses the reward of good deeds and obedience in the hereafter for a believer (Karadaş 2009).

to maintain their actions that requires relations with men (Kandiyoti 1988). From Kandiyoti's perspective, these coping mechanisms are the results of women's "patriarchal bargain" that is to both provide open re-bargaining of the relations between genders. Hence, their positionality in relation to patriarchy locates a different position than feminists. At this point, Saba Mahmood's approach in her ethnography (Mahmood 2019) is an important standpoint for my study. She criticizes feminist theory due to its "liberal based" type of agency. However, both in Mahmood's ethnography and in my field work, Muslim women construct their relationships with men within the framework of religious rules. In my study, I will analyze the relationship of Muslim women with men in the context of their religious beliefs. Generally, they did not want to talk about the patriarchy they encountered in the family. The religious belief of the Muslim women is the basis of this practice. Because Islam sees relationships in the family as private and forbids them to be shared with others. At this point, I argue that Muslim women ignore this patriarchal relationship by making a silent war with the "coping mechanisms" they produce. They stated that they had no patriarchal problems in their relationships with men outside the family. At this point, I argue that the field of activity of Muslim women in the 1970s allowed women to demonstrate their agency. Establishing schools, doing sports and artistic activities, distributing aid are activities in which women did not feel male pressure. The 70s was also a process in which patriarchy discussions had not yet been discussed academically.

My work is a good example of understanding Muslim women's agency. They established institutions on their own; they made the decisions themselves; they provided the financial means themselves. Men in their social lives were not a decision mechanism for them since they established and managed the institutions themselves. However, in academic studies, in the context of relations with patriarchy, Muslim women are generally regarded as submissive to men and only agents of social life in as much as men allow them to be. I argue that this is because women in Muslim societies are analyzed with western-based feminist approaches. Sara Ahmed, in an interview with herself, points out the relationship between this perception about Muslim women and the feminist approach.

If feminist agency is found in whiteness, then the passivity and helplessness of women of color becomes the occasion to demonstrate this agency. As we know too well, Muslim women are assumed as passive, oppressed, and in need of being saved by feminists who seem curiously more concerned with other women's liberation than their own. Coming from a mixed religious as well as mixed racial background, I have come across this assumption, because it was often used as an explanation of my own feminist story: that I was lucky to have lived in the West, otherwise I would not have become a feminist, or that my feminism came from my mother's (English) side. Exposing what's wrong about this case reveals the problem with assumptions (Mehra 2017).

The fact that even Sara Ahmed, as an expert, faced this kind of reaction is a reflection of the view in western societies towards Muslim women. In Ahmed's remarks, the assumption that she was lucky to live in the west and therefore could be feminist is related to the eastern-western discourses those produced as hierarchical and imaginary. This is also a manifestation of the orientalist view towards Muslim women. In this context Saba Mahmood's famous study (Mahmood 2011), which I mentioned before, is also meaningful. Mahmood made an ethnography that examines the work of Egyptian women from different classes in three mosques, which she called the "women's mosque movement". She criticizes feminist scholars due to the fact that they try to accord freedom a normative status and to emphasize those instances that exemplify women's desire to be free from relations of subordination. Hence this normative perspective limits our ability to understand and interrogate the women's self, aspirations and projects have been shaped by non-liberal traditions. For her, it is important to interrogate the practical and conceptual conditions under which different forms of desire emerge, including desire for submission to recognized authority. We cannot treat as natural and imitable only those desires that ensure the emergence of feminist politics.

On the other hand, Göle also claims that modernization and education attract Muslim women to social life. She considers Muslim women as "the product of secular education, urbanization and Islamization" and "the result of the hybrid nature of modernism and Islamism" (Gole 1997, 57). I argue that even if Muslim women used modern elements, they did so by interpreting them for their ultimate purpose. Therefore, in my work, I focus on these interpretations and attributing meaning. In addition, I claim that their involvement in social life is not only the possibilities of modernism or modern education, but a sense of religious responsibility. As an example, in my field, there are also women who had not gone through modern education or if so, had not neglected alternative education. I observed that many

women who have received a secular education, due to the fact that the state did not provide religious education, tried to meet this through alternative religious education. I will discuss this in detail in the third chapter. Thus, I claim that for Muslim women existence in social life is not just through modernism or secular education. Muslim women have already been added to social life with their religious beliefs. Modern products such as official and autonomous institutions have been used as instruments to carry out these activities.

As I discussed earlier, Göle sees the concepts of Islamist and Muslim separately from each other. My study will be important in terms of seeing how the concept Göle evaluates as Islamization is interpreted by Muslim women. I argue that the reasons that push them to become “Islamists” according to Göle are important to understand women’s activities in the context of beliefs, emotions and historical fact.

In the last part of my study, I will discuss the effect of belief on the motivation of Muslim women to institutionalize. While doing this, I will take into consideration that my respondents are individuals who lived in an Islamic society and I will use the multiplexity methodology that Şentürk put forward inspired by Ibn Khaldun. Although Khaldun’s approach is very detailed and comprehensive and can be used as method and theory, I will refer to the part relevant to my study and use it in my analysis rather than a method. Taking into account the understanding of the existence and knowledge of the Islamic societies he analyzed, Khaldun defines human beings as a multiplex being. In doing so, he uses the possibilities of the science of fiqh, which is used to explain and analyze Islamic societies. Accordingly, human beings are linked to all levels of being, from material to divine. It analyzes human action by taking into account the visible (*zâhir*) and invisible (*bâtin*) side. In this case, *zâhir* is concerned with body and actions, and *bâtin* is concerned with the heart and its actions. However, body and heart are not considered separately. (Şentürk 2019, 334). Accordingly, the heart contains the intention that gives its soul to action. In this case, while human action is analyzed with a Khaldunian point of view, the actions of the body find meaning with the spiritual emotions produced by the heart. In my work, I will follow this approach while analyzing the action of Muslim women, who are a reality of Islamic society. Accordingly, the relationship of the Muslim women with the divine is related to the meanings they attribute to their activities. These meanings are the product of the

emotions of Muslim women fostered by their beliefs. Therefore, the meaning they attribute to Islam is similar to the meaning they attribute to the tools they use in doing what Islam requires. For this reason, Muslim women consider the institutions they established and their activities as fulfilling their religious responsibilities.

For Muslim women, fulfilling the religious responsibility is important not only socially but also individually. The practice of veiling<sup>4</sup> is an individual religious responsibility and its consequences can be observed at the social level. Hence, in my study, I will also analyze the emotions that arise as a result of women's veiling that is a requirement of Islam for every adolescent woman. This religious practice is concerned with the women's body, as Islam wants women to apply the modest dressing command to all of their bodies. Anna Secor and Banu Gökariksel (2014) conceptualize this religious practice as "veiling", as it includes the whole body, as I will discuss in the fourth chapter. According to them, the headscarf does not mean the entire veiling, it is only a part of veiling. In my fieldwork, I observed that women regard veiling as a religious practice that concerns the whole body. Hence, throughout my work, also following Secor ve Gökariksel's conceptualization, I used this concept. On the other hand, this religious practice, put forward as a requirement of faith, can be evaluated in the context of the embodiment of emotion. Sara Ahmed draws attention to the "othering" that occurs in the context of power relations with the embodiments of emotions (Ahmed 2015, 4). In this context, in terms of my respondents, through veiling, it emerges that how a feeling has religious roots turns into a practice emerging in the body. Hence in the historical period, as I mentioned before, due to the fact that the appearance of veiled women is not approved by the state in social life, I argue that my respondents feel themselves as the "other" in society when they were veiled as the embodiment of belief-based emotions. The relationship between feeling "other" and institutionalization for common aims is very important. Because women who could not find a place in the official organs of the state or receive an education, and could not work at their professions and they tried to create opportunities for these activities. Fazilet Quran Course I mentioned earlier is an institution established for the education

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<sup>4</sup> Both the practices and the definitions of the modest dress commanded to the Muslim women in Islam differ. Covering, veiling, wearing headscarf/ turban (*başörtülü/türbanlı olmak*) are some of these expressions. These definitions contain different connotations. I will make a detailed discussion and explanation of the term veiling that I use in my work in the third part of my work.

of young girls. In this course, on the one hand, the Quran education is carried out within the official program, and on the other hand, female students are encouraged and supported to study high school education with the external system. The establishment of associations can also be evaluated in this context. The veiled Muslim women, who felt that they were pushed out of social life, created a collective soul and found spaces and activity areas where they could come together.

Consequently, the diversity of functions of institutions established by Muslim women and called civil society organizations is obvious today. In my work, I focus on the emergence of these institutions in the historical context. While doing this, I try to reveal the motivations of women by taking into account their own narratives.

### **1.1. Methodological Approach: Being a Researcher on the inside**

I will present my inspirational points to study this topic, how I identify and communicate with my interlocutors, and my field notes. However, I will mention my positionality in the field and how my position affects my work.

For my study, I determined the first respondents with Gülden Sönmez. The respondents were very old people due to the fact that my work would be a historical study. Gülden prioritized the main respondents and told me the connections I can establish with the relatives of those who passed away. Since she had close relationships with all respondents, she gave me advices about establishing relations with the respondents and sincerely supported my work and helped me during the research process.

I used to see Gülden in newspapers in the late 90s when she was defending the rights of students who could not go to school due to the headscarf ban in Turkey. Years later in 2010, I also remember her in Mavi Marmara ship that carried humanitarian aid due to the fact that Gaza was under blockade by Israel. As I will discuss in detail later, the ship was captured by Israeli soldiers in international waters and ten people were killed and dozens injured. During the attack, she was with the orange life jackets, and by speaking English, called out to the world saying that “we are civilians”.

Gülden has been in the establishment of some civil society organizations and was vice president of IHH (Humanitarian Relief Foundation/İnsani Yardım Vakfı) one of the important international aid foundation in Turkey. She has taken her work to an international level over time. During my fieldwork, she was defending 200 Syrians' cases in context of war crimes such as harassment and rape in international courts.

While Gülden informed me about the field, she strongly emphasized that my interlocutors were old so I should treat them polite and respectful. Otherwise, they might not want to speak. I paid attention to what Gülden said during my fieldwork. Since she is a lawyer, she was in London at that time to learn English and to work with international lawyers for cases in international courts. We met with her at IHH in Istanbul, where she was the vice president earlier.

When I told all respondents that Gülden advise me to talk with them, I realized that all respondents felt confident as soon as they heard her name throughout my work. In some cases, I was introducing myself in detail at the first meeting. Because to me, my background was also important for them.

I grew up in Sivas in central Anatolia. My mother was working as a Quran teacher in the Department of Religious Affairs. On the other hand, she was actively working in institutions defined as associations and foundations at that time. In particular, she would organize training programs, in addition, she would collect and distributed aid for poor people. Sometimes when she was telling us about her past memories, she would mention that they had established a foundation in our house with her friends. Her narratives would affect me a lot. From a young age, as her children, we also attended her classes, sometimes we would go to distribute aid with her. Her belief, her empathetic personality, and her appreciation of knowledge always impressed me. She has been a role model for me. After high school in 2005, I could not take the university entrance exam due to the fact that I was veiled in the photo on the exam application form. At that time, the headscarf ban continued to be implemented in official schools and institutions. Due to the fact that my parents were both teachers, education has not been optional for my family. Reading, learning and writing was a passion for me but I couldn't uncover my head so I could not continue my education after the high school. I started reading activities with the group I founded with my friends. At that time, my

mother worked in various foundations and associations in my hometown as a retired teacher. After a while, I started to continue the reading group activities in the offices of these foundations and associations. Then, I continued working in different institutions and in different positions until I returned to my university education nine years later.

Respondents had a close relationship after getting to know me. I was already at the same age with their daughter or grandchildren. The dialectical nature of qualitative research affects both the researcher and the respondents throughout the research (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 64). During the fieldwork process due to having experienced the headscarf ban and having worked in foundations and associations in my hometown made it easier for me to have a close relationship with them. While listening to their experiences my positionality was very clearly located as an insider. In qualitative research, a researcher's positionality is related to his/her race, gender, social class background (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 63–64). Being an insider made it easy for me to understand my respondents' beliefs and emotions. Also, they talked to me very openly and supportively about my research so that they thought it also would be a valuable work as a part of their services for the society. Perhaps for this reason, many of my interlocutors wanted to host me at their homes to interview with them. At the end of the interview with almost all of them, we became like close friends. Understanding their feelings and beliefs and analyzing how they are motivated in their work are important to my work. Because when the researcher reflects emotional reflexivity in the study "the implicit becomes explicit" (Collins and Cooper 2014, 90). In this context, being able to make the implicit explicit in understanding the meaning they put in their work makes my work unique. On the other hand, being an insider means having some pre assumptions regarding the field. To avoid this, I preferred to listen and analyze the narratives by being neutral. Another limitation was to miss macro realities by romanticizing female narratives. The fact that both the respondent and I experienced common feelings and pain made it difficult for me to limit the narratives to the emotional dimension and express them in academic style.

I conducted eighteen interviews in total. Four of them were people who had been through the institutionalization process of HİKDE or Idealist Women Association. Due to the fact that two important people of my work passed away, I interviewed their

daughters. My other interlocutors were those who knew my main interlocutors closely, worked with them and experienced the process of defining associations and foundations as civil society organizations. Talking to them enriched my work and made me know the field better. I conducted semi-structured interviews but generally asked my respondents to tell their life stories focusing on their experiences in the field and emotions and beliefs they had.

I analyzed written and visual materials in order to understand my respondents. I examined brochures, books and articles written about them and interviews conducted with them and watched TV programs about them. I also evaluated the books they wrote about their work, memories and friends. In this way, I tried to understand their worlds of emotion, belief and meaning. I evaluated their motivation in the context of their activities.

Sometimes I conducted focus groups and listened to a certain person or institution from several people. I sometimes obtained conflicting data because it was a long time since the activities of the people and institutions I worked with. Therefore, it was useful to edit focus groups to verify the information. Sometimes I tried to correct the conflicting information by listening from different respondents. An important point that caught my attention was that my elderly respondents remembered certain events very clearly despite their age. So much so that sometimes giving long details made it difficult for me to follow them. Another important point was that all of them were very strong in oratory. This ability was advanced in all of them because they gave lectures and made speeches for a long time. Some of my respondents were bringing books, brochures, written or visual documents about my work while coming to the interview. These materials also helped me to analyze my work.

The fact that some of the interlocutors were old provided me with data not only in terms of their own research position, but also in obtaining historical information as an unintended result. During interviews, respondents often refer to historical events, making comparisons between the past and the present, discussing how the recent past affected both their own lives and the present generations. Hence, the data I obtained in my work contributed to the oral history of the country. In particular, I observed how

macro-scale changes and transformations in the new Republican era affected micro-scale lives.

During my study, my interlocutors avoided talking about some points or talking in detail. I think the first reason for this was that they wanted to be modest. Explaining this point is important to understand the meaning they attach to their work. Because for a believer to say the good deed is not welcome in the Islamic tradition. If the good deed is not disclosed, its *sevap* increases. They also thought that they did their work as good deeds so if they explained them in detail then their *sevaps* would decrease.

During my fieldwork, I observed that some of my respondents could not speak comfortably when the recorder was turned on. Although they let me record the interview, I noticed that they filtered their remarks while the device was on. In the same environment, when the device was switched on, they preferred to speak formally, but when I closed the recorder, they talk to me more openly and frankly. It is also important that these were usually those who had been involved in politics in the past. I think they thought the recorded data may cause a negative claim about them in the future and make them guilty according to the political conditions and environment. I also realized that they avoided talking about the differences of opinion between their friends. When they talked about these issues, they never spoke in detail. I think the reason for this is both due to the loyalty of previous close relationships and the concern that it will be considered as gossip in religious literature. Because Islam prohibits one person from speaking behind the other person in a way that s/he does not want.

## CHAPTER II

### CIVIL SOCIETY AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MUSLIM WOMEN

Just last week, two young aid volunteers died while carrying the aid of orphans in Syria. The risk is too high, others can't afford it, you can't expect it from a normal NGO or a volunteer anyway. ... The purpose of the establishment of IHH is to reach places where nobody can go. It is the most difficult time for a person. Of course, there are a lot of *sevap*. ... We chose not to be a usual aid organization but to be an aid organization that could be there at hard times, we prioritized this. We always advise the next generations to say, "Don't change this mission, there are many institutions and organizations that do the other, but there are not so many organizations doing this (Özkan 2014).

The lines above belong to Gülden Sönmez in an interview regarding female prisoners in Syria in 2014. Gülden, who is also the respondent of my field work, is the founder of IHH<sup>5</sup> (İnsani Yardım Vakfı/Humanitarian Relief Foundation) women's branches and was one of the directors of the association between 2004-2018. Although the above narrative contains an Islamic discourse, she describes the institution she is a volunteer of as a civil society organization. In her narrative, her distinction is significant for my work. "We chose not to be a normal, routine charity, but to be a charity that can be there at hard times, we prioritized this." With this sentence, she states that the institution she volunteers started to do activities with different motivations. She also describes the volunteers who went to distribute aid to people in need and were killed, as "martyrs" and states that reaching a person who is in a difficult situation is an act of *sevap*.

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<sup>5</sup> The organization was founded in 1995 to help the people of Bosnia who were hurt during the Bosnian war. The organization has made its name announce both in Turkey and in all over the world through its works. In 2011, this organization even prepared a fleet to pierce the Israeli embargo on Gazze. In IHH's website, it is explained that IHH has been working since 1992 with the purpose to deliver aid to all people who are in need, who had a catastrophe, who are victims of war, natural disaster, etc. or wounded, crippled, starved, homeless and persecuted thereof, wherever they are regardless of their religion, language, race or sect and to prevent the violation of the basic human rights and freedoms of those people. IHH's voluntary relief activities have evolved to an official organization in 1995 and spread around five continents as it established a bridge of goodwill stretching from Turkey to 135 countries and territories.

This narrative is located in a different perspective from the discussions of the historical development of civil society. Although they do their activities under the title of “civil society organization”, the meaning attributed to this recognition is different from historical and theoretical discussions. As I will discuss in this section, the dynamic nature of civil society has different meanings throughout the historical process. As seen in this narrative, the narrator sees her activities through civil society as religious duties. It is a result of the belief that she hoped that their works would be rewarded by Allah according to the difficulty of the work and she defines those who passed away in the field as “martyr”. At this point, the meaning that Gülden attributes to the civil society organization to which she is a volunteer of is seen to be religious origin. When we trace this motivation, we see that in 1970s Muslim women experienced similar feelings and beliefs while establishing institutions as “associations” or “foundations”. Hence, I argue that as Muslim women started to institutionalize at that time, they considered these institutions as a tool to achieve their religious goals. The meanings that they attribute to these institutions are related to their religious beliefs. Over time, as the concepts changed and transformed, they changed the definitions they gave to their institutions.

My study focuses on Muslim women who have been found in the institutions that emerged in the 1970s and defined as the civil society organization today. For this reason, I will reveal how these women have been added to the process and how they attach meaning to these institutions in the context of their religious beliefs. While doing this I will also take into consideration historical process in Turkey. Because it is of great importance for the social life of Muslim women both in the Republic period and after the 1950s. The New Republic put the woman in the center of the social change plan that she has created with the reforms. However, it demands that women should have a secular appearance. On the other hand, Muslim women should be veiled when they reach puberty according to Islamic rules. This situation causes tension between the women who want to be veiled and the state. The Muslim women, who remained at the periphery of the society until the 1950s, tried to find a place in social life with the arrival of the Democratic Party at this date. In the 1970s, educated, professional veiled women became visible in the society, even if they are few.

Muslim Women's mobility in the context of institutionalization, which is the subject of my work, coincides with the end of the 1960s. They also referred to their institutions as *vakıf* or *dernek* which means *foundation* and *association* in English. However, by time even if the names of these institutions have changed, the institutions that continue their activities are now called civil society organizations. It has been involved in academic studies in which Muslim women's movement has been associated with modernization and globalization (Göle 1998). Civil society itself is also associated with enlightenment and modernity (Kamali 2001, 457). On the other hand, in the scope of my study, I observe that Muslim women attach meaning to these institutions with emotions based on their beliefs. As I explained in the introduction, I claim that the analysis of these attributed meanings can be understood by analyzing their world of emotions and beliefs. One of my interlocutors, 74-year-old Mevlüde Uçar, is one of the founders of HİKDE, associates their motivations in the process of institutionalization with their religious beliefs.

HİKDE first became an association and then a foundation. At that time nobody would lean towards establishing an association. They were afraid. There was only İlim Yayma Cemiyeti (The Community for Spreading Wisdom). They did not have a rooted work for women. We made our homes foundation. We made an association. Our houses were open every hour. Our goal is to teach them the sacrifice, kindness. To tell about the suffering of our past elders. Today, if we are away from these torments, we should not lie on our side, to move this flag further we should spend time on the path of Hakk (Allah) as much as we devote to mathematics and physics. We have to. Allah appeals to us. O believers, He says, He addresses us.<sup>6</sup>

As it is clearly understood from her narration, Mevlüde Uçar states that the first reason for their institutionalization after opening their houses to people is to realize their religious purposes. While aiming to educate young people, she states how they were affected by the past and they should work to avoid the difficulties they experienced in the past. Her difficulties with the past are about practicing religion, as I will analyze in detail later. It also makes sense to express that this responsibility is directly given by Allah. In this context, she sees herself as a direct interlocutor to fulfill God's orders.

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<sup>6</sup> HİKDE, önce dernek oldu sonra vakıf oldu. Dernek olarak kimse sıcak bakmazdı o zaman. Korkarlardı. Bir İlim Yayma vardı. Bunun da kadınlara yönelik bir köklü çalışması yoktu. Biz evlerimizi vakıf yaptık. Dernek yaptık. Her saat evlerimiz açıktı. Amacımız onlara insanlığı, fedakarlığı öğretmek. Geçmişteki büyüklerimizin yaşadığı eziyetleri anlatmak. Bugün biz bu eziyetlerden uzaksak yan gelip yatmamalıyız bu bayrağı daha ileriye taşımak için matematiğe fiziğe ayırdığımız vakit kadar Hakk'a giden yola vakit ayırmalıyız. Buna mecburuz. Allahu Teala bize hitap ediyor. Ey iman edenler, diyor, bizi muhatap alıyor bize hitap ediyor. (Interview conducted on 7/16/2019)

Reyhan Uzuner is the daughter of Mukaddes ıtlak, one of the founders of HİKDE. As a young girl, she witnessed the institutionalization process of HİKDE. While sharing her experiences with me, even though their motivations were multi-dimensional during institutionalization, she emphasized the relationality of all of them with religion:

HIKDE institutionalized under the umbrella of “association” so that everything is official. It was not unofficial. Because money is collected. All of these have to be recorded. The command of the Qur'an is to write it when you give something. My mother and her friends took the foundations of the Ottoman period as an example. Then the association became a foundation later. For example, poor families come to us, we go to the address, what they need, we look at them. I remember when I was thirteen, we would have “aid day” once a month. Families would come to get their supplies. I was responsible for olive, I never forget. For example, for a family of five, I was putting five kilos of olives as I was told. Then I can never forget the spiritual pleasure I feel. How important it is for a teenager. Rather than saying “Be patient, don't waste”, show it in this way.<sup>7</sup>

Reyhan Uzuner worked in HIKDE and many other institutions with her mother for years. While explaining why they need institutionalization, it bases both a historical example and a religious order. In doing so, she explains their relationship with the state with a comment that matches their religious belief. On the other hand, while explaining that her activities there make her happy, she reveals how working there affects her emotional world.

In both narratives I discussed above, I have demonstrated how the meanings have been attached on institutions during the emergence process in 1970s. In doing so, I observed that these meanings differed from the historical context of civil society. For this reason, in my study, I will first analyze the conceptualization of civil society and the historical development and transformation process. Second, I will discuss how the definition of “civil society organization” emerged in Turkey and how it is experienced by Muslim women. Based on the narratives of Muslim women, I will also reveal how civil society,

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<sup>7</sup> HİKDE dernekleşme çatısı altında kurumsallaştı. Her şey resmi olsun. Gayrı resmi bir şey değil. Çünkü para toplanıyor. Bunların hepsinin kayda geçmesi lazım. Kuran'ın emri, bir şey verdiğin zaman onu yazmak. Annem ve arkadaşları Osmanlı dönemindeki vakıfları örnek almıştı. O zaman dernekti, sonradan vakıf da oldu. Mesela bize fakir aileler gelir başvurur, gider adresini alırsız ne kadar ihtiyacı var ona bakarız. Ben on üç yaşındaydım hatırlıyorum ayda bir yardım günümüz olurdu. Erzaklarını almak için aileler gelirdi. Ben zeytinin başındayım hiç unutmuyorum. Mesela beş kişilik aile. Beş kilo zeytin koyuyordum bana öyle söylenmişti. O zaman duyduğum manevi hazzı hiç unutamıyorum. Bir genç için ne kadar önemli. Sabret, israf etme diyeceğine işte böyle göster. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2019)

which is a modern product, is practiced by Muslim women by blending “vaqf understanding” as a historical and religious tradition.

### **2.1. Debating Civil Society**

Civil society has undergone differences in the historical development process, and this change and transformation is generally interactive with European history (Hann and Dunn 1996, 2). Lewis stresses that the term has different understandings, it is also theoretical rather than practical and “historically specific to particular time(s) and place(s)” (Lewis 2001, 3). For these reasons, discussing civil society for different societies has not been easy in the social sciences. It is discussed by experts how civil society will function for non-European societies. In this context, Mamdani's proposal is important for my study. Mamdani (2018, 19) states that there is a need to understand its “factual formation” for an analysis of whether civil society exists rather than considering it as a “promised agenda for change”. In this context, in my work, I do not discuss whether civil society exists in a particular society. Instead, I reveal how Muslim women make sense of it and how they use it to achieve their goals.

Edwards, with a general definition, defines civil society as “the arena in which people come together to pursue the interests they hold in common - not for profit or political power, but because they care enough about something to take collective action” (Edwards 1998, 1). In historical process until the 17th century, the concept of civil society has the same meaning with the political society (Çaha 2017, 2). Being a member of civil society meant being a citizen of a state by conforming to the rules of that state (Keane 1988, 36). The term originated in Ancient Greece and had in different practices in different periods of history (Aktay 2015, 294).

Civil society, across Europe due to the effects of the Revolutions of 1848, was under the influence of state surveillance and could not develop freely (Hoffman 2006, 43). After a long period of silence, civil society reappeared in the 1970s in efforts to transformation from authoritarian ones to democratic governments in Eastern Europe (Özdalga and Persson 1998, v; Keyman 2004, 5). In this process, civil society was seen as the most important tool to get rid of authoritarian and military administrations in transition to democracy (Keyman 2004, 5). While Latin America, Eastern and

Southern European countries are going through this struggle, European and North American countries those already governed by democracy have further developed their existing democracies. Keyman explains this phase by associating civil society with participatory democracy and globalization (Keyman 2004, 11). In this phase it was approximately in the 1990s that civil society was institutionalized and started to be seen as civil society organizations. In Turkey these institutionalizations have also proliferated and diversified after the HABITAT II conference had organized in Turkey in 1996 (Gümüş 2004, 12).

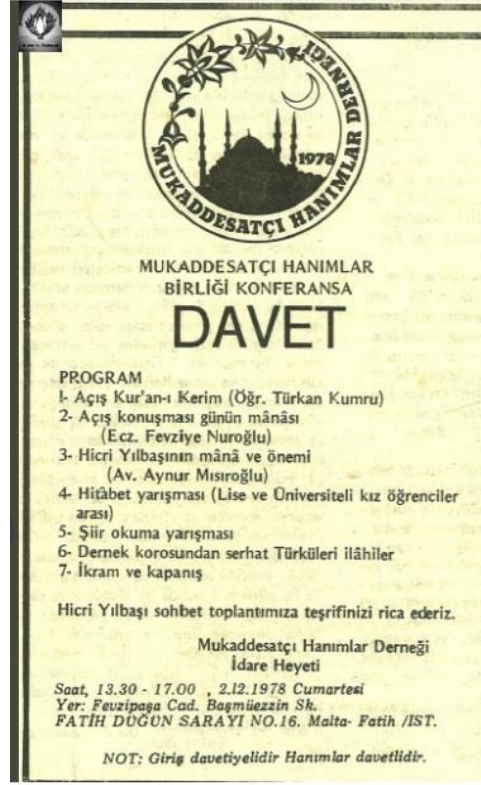
According to Keane the term civil society besides connotes a complicated and dynamic unity of legally protected non-governmental institutions, they should “tend to be non-violent, self-organizing, self-reflexive, and permanently in tension with each other and with the state institutions that ‘frame’, constrict and enable their activities” (Keane 1998, 6). Similar to Keane, Diamond defines civil society as “a realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, (largely) self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules” (Diamond 1994, 5). Gordon White makes an inference similar to Diamond. According to him, the main idea of the term civil society is “an intermediate associational realm between state and family populated by organizations which are separate from the state, enjoy autonomy in relation to the state and are formed voluntarily by members of society to protect or extend their interests or values” (White 1994, 379). It can be said that the nature of civil society, which is autonomous, voluntary, and creates an activity area according to values and interests, constitutes an activity field for the Muslim women. Muslim women used this area to provide religious education, help the poor, and organize sports and educational activities. This autonomy allows them not only to be independent of the state, but also to establish different institutions within the same groups. In this context, it is meaningful that three different associations were established in the 70s as I mentioned in the introduction. Türkan Kumru, one of the founders of the Idealist Hanımlar Derneği (Idealist Women Association), explains the aims of the association while describing the establishment process. According to her, Muslim women aimed to realize their own values and interests by establishing autonomous institutions according to their social level and status. Türkan Kumru said they founded a new association inspired by the associations founded in the 1970s.

So they (*Muslim women those established associations, she means*) go down to the people. Trying to reach all women. They turn into something social. Just leaving a local level and making their voices heard to more people, more women. Our starting point is only Islam, let me say it. Making the voices of Muslim women heard by people through social activities. I think other associations have set out with that intention. According to their own social level and situation.<sup>8</sup>

With this narrative, it is revealed that the common motivation reasons for Muslim women are religious based. On the other hand, both the existence of three associations established in the same years and the narration of Türkan Kumru show that women act independently at certain points. However, in Figure 1, it is seen that Türkan Kumru was a participant in the activity of the Mukaddesatçı Women Association. Likewise, HIKDE member Aynur Mısıroğlu was also a speaker in the program. While establishing different associations shows that they benefit from the autonomous nature of civil society and are not homogeneous, their joint activities show that they actually meet in a common collectivity. It is also revealed in the narratives of women that the common point is to serve for Islam.

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<sup>8</sup> Yani halka inmeleri. Bütün kadınlara ulaşmaya çalışmaları. Toplumsal bir şeye dönüşmeleri. Sadece mahalli bir düzeyden çıkıp seslerini daha çok insana, daha çok kadına duyurmaları. Bizim çıkış noktamız İslamdir yalnız, onu söyleyeyim. Müslüman kadınların sesini insanlara yapacakları sosyal faaliyetler yoluyla duyurmak. Diğer derneklerin de o niyetle yola çıktığını düşünüyorum. Kendi sosyal seviyelerine, durumlarına göre... (Interview conducted on 5/17/2020)



**Figure 2.1. An invitation from the Mukaddesatçı Women Association**

The autonomous nature of civil society faces some contradictions in its relationship with the state. According to Keyman, a "state-civil society relationality" emerges in the restructuring of politics after the 1990s. Accordingly, civil society understood that it needed the state to be more effective (Keyman 2004, 20–21). Kumi Naidoo, in his article "The Promise of Civil Society", draws attention to civil society as autonomous, rights bearing and voluntarily entity in order to address common problems and interests and promote collective aspirations (Naidoo 2000). He also refers to the relationship of civil society with the state as a legitimate actor to direct public policy (Naidoo 2000, 4). The relationship of Muslim women with the state at that time was controversial. On the one hand, they try to provide services such as religious education deprived of the state itself, independent of the state. On the other hand, they aim to secure their activities through state control and protection. Although these two situations seem contradictory, there is an explanation for the Muslim women's own world of meaning. Muslim women tried to use the opportunities in the current conditions for their own purposes. Although their work did not comply with the official policy of the state to some extent, they preferred to be under state protection for the continuation and security of their work. For this reason, they reinterpreted the

definitions and regulations with their religious beliefs and turned them into possibilities for their activities. Mukaddes Çıtlak, one of the founders of HIKDE, explains both the aims of establishing the association and the benefits of entering state protection for themselves.

We had two goals: how can we help poor families? And let's call our children's friends. Let them come to our meetings, let us educate them intellectually. To help the poor, even if s/he's not believing, is there in Islam? These would be heartwarming things for us. Also, we will be reminded that Muslims are so good again. For this, there were rich people, I think there were three people with cars. Yalçıntaş and doctor Gülsen had a Wolkswoen. I never forget, sometimes we would ride six people on that car, then I met another friend, my husband introduced, named Nuran, she also had a car, I never forget a blue Murat. Those three people had cars. The husbands had their own works. With Allah's blessing, smart friends, they went, they talked to the official departments, after that we went to an official position. After that, we performed our activities better. We organized sporting activities for young girls. For example, there was Judo. Those who were good at English started to teach it, voluntarily.<sup>9</sup>

In this narrative, it is clearly seen how Muslim women tend to institutionalize by accepting state control to make religious activities motivated by more comprehensive and secure. Çıtlak's remarks that "with Allah's blessing, smart friends, they went, they talked in the official departments, after that we went to an official position" are very meaningful. The fact that she sees her friends talking with the official departments as "smart" and it is a blessing from Allah to find this way is a sign of how Muslim women see modern institutions. According to them, modern things are instruments that they can use for their purposes. The reason for Çıtlak's evaluation is because their work has reached a better level in this way.

Although Muslim women do not refer to modern values in their narratives, they are not openly in opposition. However contemporary discussions of civil society emphasize the relationship between civil society and democracy as a modern product. Tocqueville sees civil society organizations as "bedrock of American democracy" due

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<sup>9</sup> Bizim iki tane hedefimiz vardı: fakir ailelere nasıl yardım edebiliriz? Bir de çocuklarımızı arkadaşlarını çağıralım. Onlar da gelsinler toplantılarımıza fikri bakımdan eğitelim. İnançsız bile olsa fakire yardım etmek İslam'da var değil mi? Bunlar hem gönül alıcı şeyler olacaktı bize. Hem de demek ki Müslümanlar böyle iyiymiş diye tekrar hatırlatmış olacağız İslam'ın özünü. Bunun için arkadaşlardan zengin olanlar vardı, arabası olan üç kişi falan vardı galiba. Bir Yalçıntaş'ın, bir de Doktor Gülsen'in Vosvogen'i vardı, hiç unutmuyorum bazen ona altı kişi dolardık, sonradan başka bir arkadaşla tanıştım, bizim efendi tanıştırdı, Nuran isminde birisi, onun da arabası vardı, hiç unutmuyorum Murat'ı vardı, mavi. İşte o üç kişinin arabası vardı. Hanımların kullandığı onlardı. Efendilerin tabi kendi işleri var. Biz Allah'tan olacak, akıllı arkadaşlar, gittiler resmi dairelerde konuştular ettiler, Ondan sonra resmi bir konuma geçtik. Ondan sonra faaliyetlerimizi daha güzel icra ettik. Genç kızlar için sportif faaliyetler düşündük. Judo vardı mesela. İngilizcesi iyi olanlar ders vermeye başladı, meccanen. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2020)

to the fact that Americans established countless associations in order to solve their problems without any need from the state authority. By doing this, they “breathed life into their democracy” (Hoffman 2006, 2–3). Although Muslim women do activities for society without support from the state, their purpose may be controversial in breathing democracy through Tocqueville's analysis. Because the main purpose of women is not to maintain the vitality of democracy, but to achieve their religious goals through the institutions they had established. Kumi Naidoo also argues that civil society promotes democracy both conceptually and practically (Naidoo 2000, 5). White sees civil society as one of the “magic trio” together with the market and democracy (White 1994, 376). Keyman also states that mentioning about civil society requires staying within the paradigm of liberalism due to the fact that the concept of civil society has emerged historically in connection with the modern society, the market and the bourgeoisie (Keyman 2004, 4). As can be seen, contemporary scholars’ explanation associates civil society with values such as modernity, liberalism and democracy. At this point, civil society theories contain limitations in explaining the institutionalization of Muslim women. Because Muslim women are not directly opposed to elements such as modernity, democracy and liberalism but they did not associate their activities with these elements. They transformed the dynamic structure of civil society according to their own goals by attaching meanings to these definitions in their own perspective. For this reason, their practice of civil society is different from that of contemporary scholarly discussions.

Among the civil society discussions, whether civil society exists in societies that the West does not accept as modern is one of the most discussed issues in this field. In this context, for example, Gellner argues that the most decisive difference between Communism and Western liberalism is that civil society exists between unions, political parties, religious organizations, pressure groups or clubs that fill the gap between the family or individual and the state (Gellner 1994, 7). Diamond also claims that when an organization tries to monopolize a functional or political sphere in society, arguing that it is the only legitimate path, it contradicts civil society’s pluralistic and market-oriented nature (Diamond 1994, 6–7). When the institutionalization of the Muslim women in order to practice Islamic religion in social life is analyzed with these theoretical approaches, limitations are encountered. When

I asked if she is in favor of institutionalization Aynur Mısıroğlu, one of the founders of HİKDE, referring to the famous fair Ukaz in Prophet Muhammed's time, she says:

I am in favor of institutionalization. Even how many institutions our Prophet established. He said that I always keep going to Ukaz. As something is institutionalized this enables it to spread. Make Easier. Force comes out of the union. When it is corporate, it becomes much more extensive, it becomes wider.<sup>10</sup>

This narrative of Mısıroğlu reveals that civil society theories and the practices of Muslim women are controversial at this point. While Diamond stressing the pluralistic nature of civil society and arguing that claiming that “the only legitimate path” is in conflict with the nature of civil society, Muslim women saw institutionalization as a way of spreading Islam. It is a reality that theoretical debates are insufficient in analyzing the activities of Muslim women and that Muslim women do not need any discursive definition. It is clear that definitions such as foundations, associations, and then civil society organizations are not motivating for them to carry out their activities. For this reason, in order to analyze Muslim women's mobility, it is more appropriate to analyze the religious motivations that motivate them to move and the meanings they attach to the definitions.

At this point, civil society discussions should not be considered to be controversial only with Muslim women. The debate on whether civil society and Islam is compatible is an important discussion topic in social sciences (Weber 1968; Turner 1997; Gellner 1994). Western sociology characteristically argues that “Muslim society lacked independent cities, autonomous bourgeois class, rational bureaucracy, legal reliability, personal property and that cluster of rights which embody bourgeois legal culture” (Turner 1994, 23). Weber, in his analysis of Eastern cities, states that Eastern cities lack autonomy, community organizations and a privileged community of citizens. (Turner 1997, 176–77). Also Gellner, to the question of whether civil society is possible in Islam, responded negatively saying that secularization is necessary for the development of civil society (Özdalga 1998, 99). I will discuss this relationship by following Foucault's knowledge power relationality. I draw attention to the orientalist

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<sup>10</sup> Ben taraftarım. Peygamberimiz bile kaç tane kurum kurmuş. Ukaz'a gitmeye hep devam ederim diyordu. Bir şeyin devletleşmesi gibi, kurumsallaşması yayılmasına sebep olur. Kolaylaştırır. Birlikten kuvvet doğar. Kurumsalken çok daha şümulü oluyor, daha geniş oluyor. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

dimension of knowledge production on this subject, which discusses the relationship between Islam and civil society by emphasizing the relationality of knowledge-producing power and the power-producing knowledge (Foucault 1977, 27). This analysis of Foucault is actually the most important standpoint for Edward Said, who theorized orientalism. East-West dichotomy is the most famous distinction of orientalism that was formulated by Said as West's creation of "other" in order to define itself (Said 1979). He also analyses the relationship between the production of knowledge and power by referring to Foucault, along with discussions of orientalism. While Turner explains how the definition and relationality of east and west were structured through power relations analysis, he says:

Orientalism created a typology of characters, organized around the contrast between the rational Westerner and the lazy Oriental. The task of orientalism was to reduce the endless complexity of the East into a definite order of types, characters and constitutions. (Turner 1994, 21).

While the orientalist traces are followed in the social sciences, Islam has a special position in the East-West contrast. According to Turner "Islam has always represented a political and cultural problem for Western accounting system" (Turner 1994, 22) When we evaluate these discussions in the West, East and Islam axis, it is seen that the imaginative Western thought tradition, which is the source of knowledge production, tries to analyze the east in general and Islam in particular with a reductionist approach. With this analysis, the societies evaluated on the one hand without considering their historical development and dynamics are put down. On the other hand, the superiority of information producers is justified by this analysis and measurement. At this point Aktay and Topçuoğlu argue that "the purpose of the essentially ahistorical comparisons of European and Muslim cities was to 'prove' the superiority of Protestant, later Christian, and then Western civilization over that of the East, which was stereotyped as under 'oriental despotism'" (Aktay and Topçuoğlu 2007, 276).

While Aktay pointed out that the orientalist context exists in all uses of the term, he does not suggest that this should never be faithful today. On the contrary, the dynamism of the concepts makes it possible to impose different meanings on them in every period. For this reason, Aktay argues that today it is necessary to focus on what

is expected from the concept (Aktay 2015, 291). Lewis also stresses the fragile nature of the concept and says: “If the concept of civil society is a historically specific and ultimately extremely fragile, then it becomes relevant to ask whether it has meaning outside the context in which it originally evolved. If we move on to consider non-Western contexts, differences of culture, history and politics may complicate such questions further” (Lewis 2001, 3). In this context in his article that he focuses on civil society understanding in the African context he asks if the concept of civil society is relevant to Africa. One of his important answers is “an adaptive view which suggests that while the concept is potentially relevant to non-Western contexts it will take on local, different meanings” (Lewis 2001, 5). In this context, my work follows these two suggestions and reveals how civil society is understood by Muslim women beyond all these discussions. Even if it is civil society with today's nomenclature, it will be useful to reveal this motivation of women, which existed with different definitions in the past, to understand the motivation in international social activities today. So, it is also important for my study to relate women mobility with historical context and to reveal the current motivations women in civil society organizations have. However, it is necessary for the work to be discussed in the context of civil society in Turkey.

## **2.2. Civil Society Organizations in Turkey’s Context**

The concept of civil society that was included in academic literature through translations increased in 1990s. (Gümüş 1998, 13–14) However, the inclusion of the concept of “Civil Society Organization/*Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu*” was in 1996 with the UN HABITAT II conference held in Istanbul (Gümüş 2004, 13). The fact that civil society organizations will manage the NGO forum with the opportunities provided by BM has also led to the emergence of the concept of “civil society organization” and mobilized these organizations after the forum (Gümüş 1998, 13–14). Non-governmental organizations, third sector, volunteer organizations, non-profit organizations, all these nomenclatures could not create a semantic framework for an organized civil society as a whole, so it was needed to gather organizational structures under one name to embrace the existing organizations (Caniklioğlu 2007, 175–76). Before the United Nations Summit, a correspondence was sought to the concept of “non-governmental organizations” (NGO) in English, which is one of the participating sides according to international standards. However, at this time,

"organization/*kuruluş*" was added next to the concept of "civil society/*sivil toplum*" which was included in a number of translation publications, and thus the Civil Society Organization/Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu/STK was accepted as the equivalent of the NGO concept (Gümüş 2004, 13–14). The flexibility of this concept has become an umbrella term for many formations. After this process associations from the different opinions in Turkey, foundations, trade unions, cooperatives, professional organizations, bar associations, and other entities found another place for themselves in this concept (Caniklioğlu 2007, 178–83; Gümüş 2004, 13–14).

The first regulation on associations was in 1909 with the "Law of Associations/Cemiyetler Kanunu". Some provisions of the law were softened in 1946 by getting rid of the interventionist content in the process (Caniklioğlu 2007, 177). The increase in specialization after 1950, the spread of migration from the village to the urban areas and the spread of political participation increased establishing association. With the transformations in social and economic life after 1970, the bases of associations are mobilized with the participation of people with a high level of education and financial income (Caniklioğlu 2007, 177).

Sunar, the process in Turkey between 1950-1980 defines as "Communal Formation and Representation Mechanisms/Cemaatsel Oluşumlar ve Temsil Mekanizmaları " (Sunar n.d.). Göle also says that contemporary Islamist movements in Turkey arose after the 1950s and grew after the 1980s (Gole 1997, 52). Rapid social change and partial political comfort after the single party period allowed Islamic actors to appear on the field. The state's inability to meet the demands of such a rapid social change and to respond to the problems that arise has also opened a space for the institutional nature of the Islamic solidarity networks that have formed. In this period, when deep-rooted Islamic actors started to take institutional forms, creating alternative solutions to social problems and creating an identity became one of the main functions of Islamic civil organizations. Today, the history of many leading institutions is rooted in this period (Sunar n.d.).

In my field work, two of my respondents mentioned the existence of İlim Yayma Cemiyeti (The Community for Spreading Wisdom) as an association founded with

Islamic motivations when Muslim women started to form associations.<sup>11</sup> Although it was allocated to be transformed into Imam Hatip High School in 1951, the ruined Zeyrek Middle School in Şehzadebaşı, due to lack of financial support provided by the state, was bought by some businessmen who repaired the building. Later, İlim Yayma Cemiyeti was founded on October 11, 1951, with the support of sixty-eight charities led by Mahmut Celâlettin Ökten, known as Celâl Hoca, the founding director of the school. The first activity of the society was to ensure that this school was opened on October 17, 1951. Later, an old building of Şehremini was repaired and turned into a dormitory for Imam-Hatip School students (Bilge and Akbulut 2016). Imam Hatip Schools are the schools that started to give education as a secondary school in 1951 by having various changes based on the Ottoman period. The weight of religious-based vocational courses in the curriculum of Imam-Hatip schools was determined to be approximately 40%, and the weight of culture courses was 60%, which was preserved in later regulations (Ayhan 2000). As it can be understood from their activities, İlim Yayma Cemiyeti was established to compensate for the gap in religious education provided by the state at that time. Mahmut Celal Ökten, the founding director of the association, is the father of Ayşe Hümeysra Ökten, who is known as a benevolent “Doktor Abla/Doctor Sister” among the Muslim women (Meriç 2010). It is a narration that I heard from my respondents that Doctor Gülsen Ataseven, the pioneer and founder of HIKDE, which I will evaluate in the next section, is inspired by her.

### **2.3. Muslim Women in Turkey in Historical Context**

In this section, I will discuss where Muslim women’s establishment of associations or foundation takes place in a historical timeline. I will discuss this in two ways. First of all, I will reveal what historical experiences Muslim women have been fed while guiding their work at that time. As I mentioned in the introduction, I observed from both the narrative and discourse analysis of written materials addressed to the Muslim women in Turkey that they were impressed by the vaqf understanding in the Islamic faith. For this reason, I will associate the motivations of the institutionalization process with this understanding.

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<sup>11</sup> The interviews I made with Mevlüde Uçar and Reyhan Uzuner on 2/27/2020.

Institutionalization has been a hope for women who cannot receive education or do their profession as a result of the restriction in social life for women who want to practice their religion, Islam, in daily life. Thus, women obtained areas where they could receive education and social activities. On the other hand, women's motivation to work is also related to the cultural environment. The removal of religious practices from social life in social change after the new republic made Muslim women worried. Women who wanted to develop both themselves and future generations in terms of religious knowledge and practice tried to achieve these goals through institutionalization. The economic conditions of the period were also decisive for the field of activity of the Muslim woman at that time. Because, women also said that they aimed to eliminate social inequality while establishing these institutions. One of the founders of HIKDE, Mukaddes Çıtlak, explains what they did gradually after establishing the association. She frequently refers to Islamic references in her narrative. She tells that they had been developing projects around the question of “what should we do” with their friends.

We used to sit on cushions before, it was cold. We set tiny stoves. Then we had our tables and chairs and a heater. We did all of them step by step. Allah says “walk”. He says. “When you come to me on foot, I will come running” says the Lord. Of course, these are figurative expressions. Therefore, Allah united us in this line. What should we do next? We said, let's give lectures to our children. We told the elders of Islam to the youth. For example, I started to explain some of the Companions. I was preparing articles about Imam Azam, Mevlana, Yunus Emre, etc. College students, sometimes high schoolers, were coming. Sometimes we called them for tea, sometimes we gave iftars. As the years passed, the activities became more beautiful. Some of our friends made bakes. We bought them cheaply from other places, so that the profit will remain for us. Handicrafts, embroideries, books... Everyone would do something. We became happy when we earned a little money. Then we were cooking, these are the cakes. Now those beauties are still going on in some places. We were doing competitions, we were doing information competitions, I never forget. It was very serious; everyone was educated to some extent. We were making tempting programs, brainstorming, what should we do? There were very precious people. Asaf Bey used to talk about medicine in his field. Our friends' husbands also had ideas, so they were academicians. They were also coming and speaking. The cultural level of youth was rising as voluntarily. Then we had meetings specific to the professions. For example, we are calling teachers this Monday, for teachers will be iftar. Then we started publishing magazines, first like a brochure<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup>Önceden minderlerin üstünde otururduk, soğuktuk. Mini mini sobalar kurduk. Sonra masalarımız, sandalyelerimiz oldu. Kalerifer yaptırıldı. Aşama aşama yaptık hepsini. Allah yürü kulum, diyor. Hani bana bir adım gelene, ben iki adım. Bana yürüyerek gelene ben koşarak gelirim diyor ya, Rabbül alemin. Tabi mecazi ifade bunlar. Onun için bizi Allah bu safta birleştirdi. Sonra ne yapalım? Çocuklarımıza konferanslar verelim dedik. İslam büyüklerini gençlere anlatalım dedik. Mesela ben Ashabtan bazılarını anlatmaya başladım. İmamı Azam, Mevlana, Yunus Emre vs hakkında yazılar hazırlıyordum. Üniversiteliler, bazen de lisedekiler geliyordu. Bazen çaya çağırıldık onları, bazen iftarlar verdik. Seneler geçtikçe faaliyetler daha güzel oluyordu. Bazı arkadaşlarımız kermesler yaptı. Başka yerlerden ucuzca aldık, kârı bize kalsın diye. Elişleri, oyalar, kitaplar... Herkes birşeyler yapardı. Ufak ufak paralarımız olunca sevinliyorduk. Sonra yemek yapıyorduk, pastalar şunlar bunlar. Şimdi hala o güzellikler bazı yerlerde devam ediyor. Yarışmalar yapıyorduk, bilgi yarışmaları yapıyorduk, hiç unutmuyorum. Gayet

Reyhan Uzuner, the daughter of Mukaddes ıtlak, who works with her in the association, says that while the association was being established, his mother and friends examined the vaqf understanding in the Ottoman Empire and took a model for their own activities. At this point, it is seen that this understanding is reinterpreted and practiced by the Muslim women. They transformed this understanding and practiced it through modern institutionalization. The activities they performed and the institutional instruments they use differ from the practice of the historical context of civil society. This shows that these institutions are dynamic and open to new interpretations. As a result, it is seen that both the institutions in the 70s and the existing civil society organizations have different meanings at all times and conditions. In my work, I argue that the meanings attributed to the institutions established by Muslim women are fed by the motivation of the Islamic faith. For this purpose, I argue that the analysis of the discursive and practical activities of Muslim women is important to reveal these meanings. It is an important standpoint for my study to analyze the meanings of the Muslim women who founded institutions by referring both to the historical vaqf understanding and to the understanding of modern civil society.

### **2.3.1. “Vaqf understanding” as an inspiration for Muslim women in Turkey**

*Vakıf kltr*/vaqf understanding remaining from the both Seljuks and Ottomans combined with the tense experience of the first periods of the new republic led to both relief activities and activities to transform society in a religious sense. In Ottoman society, women aimed to benefit the society with their own will, by building, mosques, madrasahs, inns, baths, hospitals, that is, establishing vaqfs (Başar 2019, 5). This tradition even exists in the Seljuk period. During the Seljuk period, 28 women founders in different positions in the society made their mark on 83 buildings, and one woman undertook an important building repair. Among these works, there are many different

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ciddi oluyordu, herkes iyi kt tahsil grmş. Cezbedici programlar yapıyorduk, kafa patlatıyorduk, ne yapalım acaba diye. ok kıymetli insanlar vardı. Asaf bey kendi branşında, tıpla ilgili konuşma yapardı. Arkadaşlarımızın kocalarının ekserisi fikirleri de vardı yani, niversite hocalarıydı. Onlar da gelip konuşma yapıyorlardı. Meccani olarak genliğın kltr seviyesi yükseliyordu. Sonra mesleklere zel toplantılar yapıyorduk. Mesela bu pazartesi ğretmenleri çağırıyoruz, ğretmenler iftarı olacak. Sonra dergi ıkarmaya başladık, nce bir broşr gibi. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2020)

structures such as mosques, madrasahs, libraries, hospitals, fountains, pavilions and palaces (Başar 2019, 24).

One of the founders of HİKDE that was established in 1973, Gülsen Ataseven says that:

We were in high school, college age or with a group of graduates, used to examine our history, our culture, our religion, and instead of Western imitation formulas; we were discussing how we could find solutions using our cultural background. In short, HİKDE may seem like a charity at first glance. Because it carries out many activities such as running for the help of what it needs, building schools, dormitories, scholarships, distributing hot meals every day. But HİKDE is actually an association that starts with a heavy burden such as raising a society with human values, and the birth of up to 54 civil society organizations. Many young people who participate in the workshops of the association and step the corridors of it are among the well-known names of the country today. (*Yeni Şafak* 2013).

As it can be understood from Ataseven's discourse, the institution was first established in 1973 with the name "association". However, she uses the concept of "civil society organization" while describing their current activities and naming a large number of new organizations. At this point, we can see that the names such as "association" or "civil society organizations" are dynamic and variable for those who organize these activities in the field. Gizem Zencirci (Zencirci 2015) analyzes how the meaning and function of the definition of endowment/*vakıf* have changed since the Republic. Zencirci's work explains the processes of how the *vaqf* understanding passed to the definition of non-governmental organization through "shifting development discourses".

In Ataseven's book titled "Vaqf and Woman/Vakıf ve Kadın", the speeches Gülsen Ataseven made at various national and international meetings were compiled. In 1993 in a speech that she made at Turkey Women's Association and Voluntary Organizations Congress and Fair (Türkiye Kadın Dernekleri ve Gönüllü Kuruluşları Kongre ve Fuarı), the title of her speech is "Spirit of Vaqf Again We Discover/Yeniden Keşfettiğimiz Vakıf Ruhu". In her speech titled "Vaqf and Women" at the United Nations Habitat II Forum in 1996, she speaks of the increasing importance of civil society organizations. "Our history is full of the most successful examples of organizations expressed as NGO (non-governmental organizations), and our society has once been a pioneer of the *vaqf* civilization/*vakıf medeniyeti*" (Ataseven and Erdoğan 1999, 21–22). As it is clearly seen, Ataseven identifies *vaqf* understanding with civil

society and uses the expression of non-governmental organization in the same conversation instead of civil society organizations. In this context, although her preferred concept is theoretically controversial, it can be said that there is no contradiction in terms of Ataseven's field experience and discourse. Because she often states that the main motivation in their activities is to try to meet the needs of the society without waiting for the state. She also examines the pioneering women who have established vaqfs in history and state that they are inspired by their efforts and views (Ataseven and Erdoğan 1999, 12). As can be understood from the discourse of Ataseven, there are vaqfs established by female sultans in almost every period of the Ottoman Empire (Başar 2019, 136). Moreover, after the Sultan vaqfs, the biggest vaqfs are female sultans, grand viziers and viziers (Başar 2019, 114).

As an example of this historical figures, Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan was the mother of Abdulmecid and the wife of Mahmud the second. She is a woman who has the qualities of being the “Valide Sultan<sup>13</sup> who founded the most vaqfs in Ottoman history” (Başar 2019, 13). At the same time, she started the construction process of a hospital built in the status of the vaqfs for the treatment of the poor and helpless people in the Ottoman State with the approval of the sultan (Başar 2019, 16). In the Ottoman society, not only palace women but other wealthy women donated their property for the benefit of the society. For example, a woman called Sitti Hatun dedicated her home in Bursa to be used for the masjid in her neighborhood and the oil of the same masjid on the condition of reading the Quran every day from her income. She was a trader's wife (Başar 2019, 144). On the other hand, sometimes people who had not so much property, also tried to serve the society (Ataseven and Erdoğan 1999, 23).

In Seljuks and Ottomans it is understood that vaqfs were used effectively as a social policy tool, and a significant part of the services provided by the state today were provided by vaqfs at that times. Women supported both education and cultural life by building libraries. They provided medical education, free hospital and medicine services. Poor and needy people were saturated in the imaret houses. The guesthouses served passengers as well as providing shelter for those in need. They provided orphan's support up to a certain age, dowry support, and a place to stay for widows. In

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<sup>13</sup> “Valide Sultan” was the title given to their surviving mother during the reign of the Ottoman sultans (Akyıldız 2012).

addition to having mosques, baths, waterways and public fountains they have contributed to the commercial life of the region and provided significant employment by establishing many economic businesses (Başar 2019, 136–37).

Innovation movements that started with *Tanzimat* in the Ottoman times led to some developments and changes about women. In the process of modernization, which started with the declaration of *Tanzimat*, the issue of whether women will come to the public sphere is located at the basis of the distinction between public life and private life (Çaha 2017, 117). In the second Abdulhamid era, women began to discuss new ideas among themselves and with men. Women started to think of ways to achieve their own rights (Kodaman 1990, 166). The first women's organization of that period, which was established in 1908 in the environment provided by the constitutional monarchy (İkinci Meşrutiyet) is Cemiyet-i İmdadiye. Their goal is to provide winter clothing assistance to soldiers on the border of Rumelia. The other one is Teâlî-i Nisvan Cemiyeti (Kadınları Yükseltme Cemiyeti)'dir. This was established in 1909 and its aim "to serve to raise the level of lore of our women, provided that the national issue and customs are not harmed. (*Hususat ve âdât-ı nuilliyemizin hâlelden masun kalmasına riayet edilmek şartıyla kadınlarımızda seviye-i irfanın itilâsına hizmet etmektedir*"). This process continued in 1912 with Esirgeme Derneği, in 1913 with Müdafaa-ı Hukuk-ı Nisvan Cemiyeti, and in 1916 with Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesi; other associations were also established with different goals. According to Çaha, women formed one of the remarkable civil society movements of the 2nd Constitutional Era, but found themselves in a great war like all the Ottoman people. During the Independence War, they spent their energy on the way of defending the country (Çaha 2017, 1–2) We see that the institutions established in this process have a wide range of services (Kodaman 1990). The fact that these structures have worked on many issues such as social assistance, education, and women's rights also reveals how the continuation of the historical tradition came. It also reveals that activity areas of women are determined according to social needs. Since the first women's association was a war period, it was meaningful that it was an institution that provided clothes for soldiers. Again, the fact that law and worker associations were established in order to discuss issues such as women's education, rights, and public presence in a common platform under the influence of *Tanzimat* also supported this claim. In this context, in my study, I also observed that women's mobility was shaped according to

social needs. At the same time, it is inevitable that the country's political environment is reflected in women's studies.

In the following process of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, women's views transformed into secular, Western and a symbol far from Islamic lifestyle (Kavakçı, 2010). Reforming, modernizing and secularizing the society caused that Islamists challenged this Western model of change (Gole 1997, 47). "In Turkey's modernizing program, women were depicted as the builders of a "new life," a modern way of living both in the private and the public spheres" (Gole 1997, 16). This has prevented women trying to practice their religious practices from being visible in the society.

According to Çaha, the new republic brought the end of the women's movement due to the possibility of harming other aspects of the social initiative and harming the homogeneous society structure, which is the ideal of the bureaucratic elite. In addition, the political power of that period, by pulling a cover over the women's movement, developed an understanding as if there had never been such a formation in Ottoman history (Çaha 2017, 1–2). In this political atmosphere, I argue that the Muslim women were pushed twice from the social environment because while the republican regime silencing the women's movement is a general pressure for the existence of a Muslim woman in social life, the same regime's promotion of the existence of a secular-looking woman in social life is a second pressure factor for Muslim women.

Meltem Dikmen Caniklioğlu states that concentration on civil society movements in civil society-state relationship is generally specific to periods of social change. The periods in which the current system is insufficient to meet social demands are the periods that give mobility to civil society (Caniklioğlu 2007, 175–76). Because of the new republic's attempt to keep religion out of the practice of social life, religious non-implementation of some of the practices in society is one of the sharp periods of change in Turkey. As I mentioned before, after the single party period through beginning new associations such as *İlim Yayma Cemiyeti*, Muslim women also became visible through such associations. In this context associations founded by Muslim women have tried to respond to the needs of society. It may be possible to explain this situation both with the *vaqf* understanding and with the understanding of civil society in Western

experience. However, we are also faced with an experience that transcends the general understanding of civil society as they aim to transform society in a religious sense with their religious-based activities. I also argue that Muslim women's relations with the state are intertwined and complex. On the one hand, they are in a field of mobility that disrupts these attempts of the state, which mostly promotes secular lifestyle. On the other hand, it is a reality that they tried to eliminate social inequality where the state cannot afford it, and while doing so, they established institutions that comply with the law and open its activities to state control.

As far as I can observe, Muslim women, who set goals in the light of their religious motivations, proceeded with different names according to developing and changing conditions. Their activity areas have been updated in line with these targets. At this point, I argue that it is necessary to analyze the meaning that Muslim women attributes to their activities rather than the general naming given to institutions or organizations. I noticed that although all of my respondents are at an advanced age, but they still tell their memories with an intense burden of emotion. In this respect, instead of analyzing them at the macro level with homogeneous and stereotyped parameters, I think we should discuss the effect of this on the macro by conducting a micro scale belief and emotion analysis. Likewise, I think that the factors that affect the society at the macro level are necessary to trace their meaning in their world to understand their motivation.

## CHAPTER III

### THE ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN TURKEY IN RELATIONALITY BETWEEN MEANING AND EMOTION

In the previous section, I mentioned the nature of civil society that is open to interpretations. In this section, I will analyze how Muslim women, who are the subject of my work, attributed meaning to the institutions they had established in the 1970s. However, I will reveal how, in which way and for what purpose they use these institutions. I argue that the meanings attributed by Muslim women to the institutions they establish are related to their emotions and beliefs. During my fieldwork process, I observed how these emotions, which are fostered by belief, motivate women in institutionalization. As an example, in my later experience in the field, I saw that women who are my respondents have different approaches even in events that seem like detail in daily life. They approached even a small detail as a meaningful event, sometimes taking lessons from it and making deep comments. As an example, once I met a 74-year-old respondent in a cafe. When I offered her to sit somewhere overlooking the sea, she did not want to do this. We sat at a table in the interior of the cafe, while sitting at the table, she said, "There is no need for the view, the view is inside us. */Bizim manzaraya ihtiyacımız yok, manzara içimizde.*" Later in the conversation I thought she was hungry and got tired, she did not accept anything to eat but wanted to continue the interview instead and said, "I have no business with eating and drinking, *dava* is important. */Benim yemek içmekle işim yok, önemli olan dava*" The word "dava" is important for my all respondents. Although the word literally means "to invite, to call, to pray", they use this word for articulating their "holy aim". So, it connotes all the works that are sacred and done only for Allah's sake.

It is clear in these examples how my respondents made sense of even the small things they did in everyday life. It is part of the rhetoric to relate even the many things they do daily to their religious belief. Their approaches to daily events carry important clues to understand their world of belief and emotion. Because the meanings they attach to their activities are the products of their inner world. As such, analysis of emotions and beliefs makes it easier to analyze the meanings they attribute to institutions.

### **3.1. Meaning in the Context of Belief and Emotion**

When the emotional world of the Muslim women is understood, it is easier to understand the motivation towards institutionalization. This motivation, which directs women's behavior even in everyday detail, is a micro level reflection of the motivation towards institutionalization. For this reason, the driving force that motivates women is seen as religious beliefs and emotions. The meanings attributed to institutions and activities are revealed by the analysis of these emotions and beliefs. In my work, I will also analyze the relationship between meaning and emotions. I will reveal how the meaning attributed to things motivates Muslim women in their activities. In this context, I argue that there is an intertwined relation between meanings and emotions. Hence analyzing this relation gives the clues of Muslim women's motivation in the process of institutionalization. Muslim women, who attribute similar meanings to things, experienced similar emotions and paved the way for common actions by producing a common spirit. My argument is that these common actions are the cornerstone of institutionalization.

When analyzing the relationship between the meaning attributed to institutions by Muslim women and emotion and belief, it will be interesting to start with a narrative of Aynur Mısıroğlu. She mentions a memory in her book about her close friend, Hoşyar Pazarcı, who was a member of an association in 1970. In Aynur Mısıroğlu's memory, her friend Hosyar Pazarcı passed away, but no one had yet been notified of her death. A few hours after her death, a woman whom no one knew came home and asked if something happened to Hoşyar. Everyone in the house was surprised because no one knows about her death. Then the woman says: I came to the association to get help, there was no one in. I remembered hurting so bad in my heart that she said to me

that “if one day there is no aid for you, know that I had died.”<sup>14</sup> (Mısıroğlu 2010, 92) For Hosyar, in this narrative, distributing aid to the poor in the association is a sign that she is alive. It is clear that Hosyar perceives this as a responsibility that must be met. In Hoşyar’s world of meaning, the association, which is a modern product, had become a tool in which she can reach the poor and realize her purpose in life. With this example, we can both understand her inner world and analyze how she attributes meaning to the association as an institution.

While Sorokin analyzes the socio-cultural, he considers “meaning” as well. According to him, three dynamics are required for a phenomenon to be socio-cultural phenomenon. These are meaning, human agent and vehicles components (Erkilet 2015, 24). Their absence makes the phenomenon not empiric. The lack of meaning reduces sociocultural phenomena to natural phenomena (Erkilet 2015, 26). In order for a phenomenon to be socio-cultural, it must be given meaning by people. In this context, while analyzing my field, I tried to understand the meanings that my respondents had attached in socio-cultural actions. Geertz also argues that “an individual is born into an already meaningful world.” His approach is similar to Sorokins’s standpoint in the sense that socio-cultural phenomenon has meanings. Hence, analysis of meanings is an important step in analyzing an individual's behavior.

I suggest that in order to understand the meaning that people attach to things, his/her world must be discovered. In this context, Geertz argues that “the cultural processes of giving meaning to the world are rooted in the human capacity for symbolic thought. All men impose thought or meaning upon the objects of their experience (events, images, sounds, gestures, sensations) which, when defined, become attached to symbols or the material vehicles of meaning” (el-Zein 1977, 228). Sorokin also stated that when a flag is abstracted from the meanings and ideas it contains, it will turn into a piece of fabric attached to a piece of wood (Erkilet 2015, 25). In this respect, according to my observations in my field, Muslim women attribute meanings similar to the meanings they attribute to Islam to every tool they use to serve Islam. Addition to this “meaning is not to be interpreted once, but continually reinterpreted” (el-Zein 1977, 234). Hence the meaning added to the things may change over time. What

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<sup>14</sup> Yardım almaya gelmişim, dernekte hiç kimse yoktu, bana “bir gün yardım gelmezse bil ki ölmüşümdür” dediğini yüreğim yana yana hatırladım.

remains is that can make different connotations at different times. Even if the thing remains as the same, due to the meaning which is attached the thing can have different connotations at different times.

Mevlüde Uçar (74) one of my respondent who has been in the institutionalization process of HİKDE, narrated a memory which she experienced in her childhood. She clearly expressed her feelings only about “a notebook” which has lots of meaning in itself in both in her childhood and now.

At that time the vegetables and fruits taken from the outside were put on a paper bag. They wouldn't crumple the paper bag. They put it neatly. You say “why”. When you bring the paper bags home, they are emptied and straightened, the grannies cut around them, put them on top of each other, sew in the middle. They used to make them notebooks. We would sit right beside Hafiz Efendi, he would teach fiqh lessons, we would write. The things that break the prayer, the things that break the fast... If fiqh is not in a society, a great loss. There are *Cuma evleri*/Friday houses in El-Aziz<sup>15</sup>, places for only women. In the Friday houses, after the morning prayer, women gather, they chant there until the afternoon prayer, they sing *ilahi*, chant, but the real essence of the work is we read the fiqh information we received from our teachers, by saying “My Hafiz hoca said that...” There are at least 30 40 women there. I am 9-10 years old. I am reading, as soon as the adhan is being recited for noon prayer, because of it is the Friday house, the girl in the other Friday house comes, and she has received information from another teacher. She gives me her notebook, I give her my notebook, she runs to another Friday house and I read her notebook here. Walking library. And time is over, we are scattered, to meet again next Friday<sup>16</sup>.

With this example, based on the meaning that the respondent attributes to a paper bag, we obtain clues about her inner world, emotions and motivations. Although the thing is a paper bag as material value, now it has a different meaning as she writes religious information on it and shares this information with others. This meaning has a deep relationship with the respondent's world of belief. Because both getting education with this paper bag and sharing religious knowledge to people with it are actions that the

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<sup>15</sup> She prefers to use the name of Elazig city before the republic, El Aziz.

<sup>16</sup> Dışardan alınan sebze meyve yiyecekler kese kağıda konurdu o zaman. O kese kağıda konduğu zaman ağzını buruşturmazlardı. Fileye düzgünce koyarlardı. Neden dersin. Eve getirince domates biber boşaltılır, kese kağıdı düzeltilir, etrafını büyükler neneler keser, üst üste koyar, ortadan diker. Onu defter yapar. Öyle bi defter... Biz Hafiz efendinin dizinin dibine otururduk, fıkıh derslerini yapardı, biz yazardık. Namazı bozan şeyler, orucu bozan şeyler... İlmî fıkıh bir toplumda yoksa büyük bir kayıp. El azizde Cuma evleri var. Kadınlara mahsus bir yer. Cuma evlerinde sabah namazından sonra kadınlar toplanır ikindi namazına kadar orda zikrederler, ilahi söylerler, maniler söylerler ama işin asıl özü bizim hocaefendilerden aldığımız fıkıh bilgilerini “hafiz Abdullah hocam buyurdu ki,...” diye okuruz ve orada en az 30 40 kadın vardır. Yaşım 9 10. Okuyorum öğle ezanı okunur okunmaz, Cuma evi ya, öbür Cuma evindeki kız gelir o da başka hocaefendiden bilgiler almıştır. O defterini bana verir, ben defterimi ona veririm, o öbür Cuma evine koşar ben onun verdiği defteri burda okurum. Ayaklı kütüphane. Ve vakit biter, dağılırız. Öbür cumaya görüşmek üzere. (Interview conducted on 7/16/2019)

respondent sees as a religious responsibility. Therefore, the meaning she attributes to the paper bag has emerged as a result of her religious beliefs.

When I asked about her emotions of doing these activities at the end of the interview, which lasted more than three hours, she remembered the paper bags again. In her narrative, she both strengthened the meaning she attached to them and transformed them into a metaphor in terms of the transfer of the Islamic information and value system to the next generations:

They made a notebook of paper bags, gave them to us and said “you grew up, maybe it will be worse than that. Write on these pieces of paper, give each other, teach each other”. We do not teach the importance of the *dava* to our children today. This was taught us when we were children.<sup>17</sup>

As we can see, in her narrative, she attributed new meanings to the material to which she had initially attributed different meanings, and this new meaning was updated with today's conditions. Thus, she reinterpreted the meaning she attributed to the thing.

On the other hand, Gülden Sönmez also refers to the “paper bag” while explaining how she opened up to the world from the small village where she lived.

But I was a little curious. At that time, newspapers were made paper bags. I would try to understand what was going on in the world with a paper bag. Naturally, my paper bags are my first point of opening to the world. I would carefully remove their sticky parts and try to understand what's going on in the world. Wars, what happened in the world, Palestine issue ... I remember, I always used to pray "If somebody is wronged somewhere, I will do something; Let me help hungry people, Africans".<sup>18</sup>

At this point, we see that the objects with the same function have different meanings in different times. In the first, the paper bag made of blank paper turns into a notebook

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<sup>17</sup> Hani kese kağıtlarından defter yapıp elimize verdiler ya, siz büyüdünüz, artık bundan belki daha kötüsü olacak. Şu kağıt parçalarına yazın, birbirinize verin, birbirinize öğretin. Bugünkü çocuklarımıza biz davanın önemini vermiyoruz. Biz çocukken bize bu verildi. (Interview conducted on 7/16/2019)

<sup>18</sup> Ama ben biraz meraklıydım. O zamanlar gazeteleri kese kağıdı yaparlardı, Kese kağıdından dünyada ne olup bittiğini falan anlamaya çalışırdım. Doğal olarak kese kağıtları benim ilk olarak dünyaya açılma noktam. Onların yapışkan yerlerini dikkatlice sökerdim ve dünyada neler olup bittiğini anlamaya çalışırdım. Savaşlar, dünyada yaşananlar, Filistin meselesi... Ben hatırlıyorum o zaman da dualarım hep “bir yerde birisi haksızlığa uğrarsa ben gideyim bir şey yapayım; aç insanlara, Afrikalılara, gideyim yardım edeyim. (Interview conducted on 7/3/2019)

has religious knowledge to share with people. In the second, the paper made from the newspaper turns into the window of my respondent to the world. It also continues to lead to meaningful connotations in the human mind, even though time has passed. In addition, these examples reveal how interactive the meaning attributed to things by both the inner world, (emotions, dreams, goals, beliefs) and action.

The emotions that shape the world of meaning of women leave an effective trace in the mind through materials. Even though time has passed, the material continues to evoke emotions and affect human action. These attributions and connotations reveal the world of emotions and beliefs of Muslim women.

This analysis also gives clues about how Muslim women were motivated to establish institutions. As I discussed before, the activities they carried out in the institutions they established have similar characteristics to what they did or wanted to do in their early lives. For them learning, teaching, sharing ideas are activities both as they did in their early and later lives.

### **3.1.1. Motivation Sources in the Context of Emotions**

As I discussed so far, the meanings attributed to things relates to emotional world of the human. Hence analyzing the relation between meaning and emotion gives us the clues of the motivation sources in human action. In this context, Robert C. Solomon argues that it is our emotions that provide the structures of our existence and give meaning to our lives (Solomon 1978, 197). Thus, I will focus on theorizing emotions. While emotions are theorized there emerges a dichotomy. Some scholars argue that emotions are primarily biological. Also, some of them argue that emotions are primarily sociocultural in nature. The first ones see that human phenomena is natural and belongs to a universally identical biology, emotions and feelings are fundamentally inward and private, ideas can be translated and interpreted. On the other hand, the latter see that human phenomena is nurture and belongs to a locally specific sociocultural tradition, words and meanings are public and emotions cannot be translated and interpreted (Leavitt 1996, 514). Cutz argues that “emotion may be treated as something to be explained by other variables (such as the body, social structure, or childhood experience), as something that can explain cultural institutions (such as hospitality, avoidance customs, or individual participation in religious ritual),

or as an inseparable part of cultural meaning and social systems” (Lutz 1986, 409). Leavitt states that they do not fit easily into these dichotomies. According to him, while Western scholars dealing with such dichotomized sets, if the material fits into one side only, they can develop criticism but when they are faced with material that does not fit into only one side “they tend to squeeze it into one side or other of the dichotomy and so distort it” (Leavitt 1996, 515). I think it is the appropriate method to analyze the human phenomenon from a holistic point of view rather than trying to understand it with dichotomies. Because distinguishing with sharp lines in understanding human behavior causes an inability to understand it. Also Leavitt argues that emotion terms and concepts cannot be categorized, but, due to their nature, they include both meaning and emotion, mind and body, and culture and biology (Leavitt 1996, 515). At this point, Ibn Khaldun's approach will be seminal for my work. In his multiplex approach that I will discuss in more detail in the fourth chapter, Khaldun does not include dichotomies in his micro and macro scale social analyses. In his approach, mind, soul and body are entities that exist in harmony with each other. The presence of one of these does not exclude the other, and analyses do not focus on the outputs of a single one. Instead, all of them are approached from a multiplex perspective (Şentürk 2019, 323).

On the other hand, in mid-1990s in social sciences a new theoretical approach has emerged defined by Patricia Clough as “affective turn” (Athanasidou, Hantzaroula, and Yannakopoulos 2009, 5). This approach focuses on especially “discourses of the emotions emerge, circulate, are invoked, deployed and performed. It also challenged the conventional oppositions between emotion and reason, and discourse and affect together with “(it) reconfigured political and ethical (mis-)appropriations of emotions” (Athanasidou, Hantzaroula, and Yannakopoulos 2009, 5). Eric Shouse states that the terms feeling, emotion and affect are different from each other. For him “Feelings are *personal* and *biographical*, emotions are *social*, and affects are *pre-personal*” (Leavitt 1996). He argues that unlike feelings and emotions, affect is unformed and unstructured, so it can be transmitted between bodies. On the other hand, Sara Ahmed points out the etymology of *emotion*. Due to the fact that emotion comes from Latin *emovere* which means *to move, to move out*, she says “What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place” (Ahmed 2004b, 27). In this context, it is very important in terms of its reason for her preference of the

concept of emotion. Ahmed uses *affect* as part of what emotions do. “Emotion is about having a feeling in response to something – however, it is much more complicated and socially mediated than that” (Schmitz and Ahmed 2014, 97).

Through recent interpretivist approaches anthropology of emotion has had an impact on itself. With these approaches “emotion is treated as a central aspect of cultural meaning, with a corresponding interest in historical and cross-cultural variation in emotional meaning” (Lutz 1986, 408). Based on the findings from my field, following Cutz, I also want to stress that historical experience is an important factor in stimulating emotion. When we consider the relation between culture and history, we cannot ignore the effect of historical reality reflected on micro-scale life experience. At the same time due to the fact that my respondents are old and always needing to compare their own time with the present they often need to refer to historical events. By doing this, they also revealed the effect of historical events, which are macros, on micro individual lives. In my fieldwork all the respondents referred lots of personal memories those were under the shadow of the political conditions those we currently consider as history. As an example of this, Mevlüde Uçar tells about a memory in her childhood at the beginning of our interview.

When I was a child, one day we were in Kubbeli Mosque. Lots of soldiers raided the mosque. Hocaefendi immediately stood up. They took off Hocaefendi’s turban from his head and tied it around his neck. We stuck to Hocaefendi by crying. In Hocaefendi’s pocket there would be a mixture of roasted chickpea and grapes for those who know the lesson well. Besides we used to call it “kınaşekeri”. As we cried, Hocaefendi said, “Don’t be afraid, my child, don’t be afraid. They will all leave your homes.” “Isn’t it, *Mehmedim*<sup>19</sup>?” He says to the soldiers. He gives us candy but who cares. They tied Hocaefendi’s turban his neck and rousted Hocaefendi out of the mosque. El Aziz’s roads are straight. Parallel to each other. They took him down the Kubbeli Mosque to the courthouse. Whatever child we pass in front of the house, Hocaefendi pushed. He said to us “to your home, to your home!” Of course, when it was my turn, I blew in immediately by crying. “What happened?” said my deceased grandmother. I said, “They took Hocaefendi, granny.” When my granny stretched her head, saw a crowd of soldiers immediately ran the neighbor. “Vasfiye!” She was baking bread and my grandma said, “Vasfiye, are you still looking for bread, they took Hocaefendi.” “Is that so, Pambuh?” “Lütfiye!” So and so. My grandmother was wandering around all the houses as if she went crazy. All of the women were on the streets.”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> A symbolic name given to the military in Turkish culture.

<sup>20</sup> Çocukluğumda birgün Kubbeli Cami’deyiz. Epeyce bir asker inzibat bastı camiyi. Hocaefendi hemen ayağa kalktı. Hocaefendinin başından sarığını çıkardılar boynuna bağladılar. Biz hocaefendiye yapışmışız ağlıyoruz. Hocaefendinin cebinde dersini iyi çalışan iyi bilenlere leblebi ve üzüm karışımı olurdu. Bi de kına şeker derdik. Biz ağladıkça hocaefendi dedi ki “korkmayın evladım korkmayın. Hepinizi evlerinizi bırakacaklar”. “Değil mi Mehmedim” diyor zabıtlere. Seker veriyor ama şeker kimin umurunda. Hocaefendini sarığını boynuna bağlayıp ite kalka çıkarıp götürüyorlar. El Azizin sokakları da dümdüzdür. Parallel birbirine. Kubbeli camiden aşağıya, adliyeye götürüyorlar. Hangi çocuğun evinin önünden geçiyorsak hocaefendi itiyor. “Evinize evinize” diyor. Tabi bana da öyle bir sıra gelince

This narrative reveals how historical events have had an impact on micro lives. Past experiences continue to affect emotions in the present. In fact, as I will discuss later, these emotions direct human action. During my field experiences I observed that my respondents remembered historical events with sensitivity. My main respondents were over seventy years old and they all emphasized political historical events in their narratives. Especially the reciting of the adhan in Turkish and years later reciting of it in Arabic were very important historical events for my respondents. I have observed that my respondents consider all these events not only as historical events, but as accumulations that should be shared to future generations. On the other hand, I argue that they opened up areas of activity for them so that the events that negatively affect them in history do not recur. Considering that the institutions they established are also their fields of activity, we reveal how historical experiences affect Muslim women's activities by stimulating emotions. At this point, one of the pioneers of Muslim women's institutionalization, Fevziye Nurođlu tells how her memories in the past affect her activities in her later life with this narrative:

I had an elderly teacher in Gaziantep. She was still feeling the fear of the CHP due to the pressure on the teachers while the CHP was in power. I was five years old then. She said to us: My child, do not expose your Qur'an openly, wrap it in the bundle; let those who see you think that you are going somewhere else. We also wrapped the packs of our Quran, and came to the house of our teacher. We knocked on the door. Our teacher would be afraid. Because at that time, even the women teachers bastinadoed. It is these kinds of events that awaken the spirit of struggle in me. Why would we hide our Qur'an, saying, I would be very upset to investigate the reason for the fear of our teacher.<sup>21</sup> (Yıldız 2005)

The owner of this narrative, Fevziye Nurođlu, is an important figure for my research. Cihan Aktaş considers her as the “leading names in the effort to create alternative publics for Muslim women who are forced to live their religion in the private sphere” (Aktaş 2017). Due to the fact that she passed away in 2017, I made interviews with her friends and her daughter. They also see Nurođlu as a pioneer of the Muslim women in

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ađlamışız zaten. Hemen içeriye daldım. Rahmetli babannem “Noldu Adıgüzel” dedi. “Hocaefendiği götürdüler nene” dedim. Nenem başını uzattığı zaman bir kalabalık asker, hemen nenem koştı karşı komşuya. “Vasfiye hanım!” ekmeğ pişiriyor o da, “Vasfiye hanım ellerin kurusun sen hala aş ekmeğ peşinde misin, hocaefendiği götürmüşler.” “Yaa öyle mi Pambuh hanım?” Lütfiye hanım efendim falan hanım bütün evleri dolanıyor. Rahmetli nenem çıldırılmış gibi. Kadınların tamamı sokađa dökülüyor. (Interview conducted on 7/16/2019)

<sup>21</sup> Gaziantep'te bir yaşlıhocahanım vardı. CHP'nin hocalara baskı yaptığı dönemdeki korkuyu hala yaşıyordu. Beş yaşında idim o zaman. Bize diyordu ki: Çocuđum sakın Kuranımızı açıkta getirmeyin, bohçaya sarın; sizi gören başka bir yere gittiđinizi zannetsin. Biz de bohçaya sarardık Kuranlarımızı, öyle hocamızın evine gelirdik. Kapıyı çaldık. Hocamız korkuya kapılırdı. Çünkü o dönemde kadın hocalar bile falakaya yatırılmış. İşte bende mücadele ruhunu uyandıran bu tür olaylardır. Niçin saklıyoruz Kuranlarımızı, diyerek, hocamızın korkusunun sebebini araştırıp çok üzülürdüm.

terms of institutionalization activities. She was active in the Yeşilay Derneği (Green Crescent Society) during her high school years, and she was the head of the Türk Kızları İlim ve Kültür Kolu (Turkish Girls Science and Culture Branch) at the Milli Türk Talebe Birliği (National Turkish Demand Association). Numerous Quran Courses were founded by her for girls. Looking at the curriculum of these courses, it is seen that they are planned similar to Imam Hatip Schools' curriculum. Fazilet Kız Kur'an Kursu and Tûba Kız Kur'an Kursu are the best known of these courses, which give great importance to Arabic and English education.

From Nuroğlu's narrative, it can be understood how effective her past experiences were in explaining later actions in her life. Her past experiences and emotions caused her to attach meanings to her actions. Almost all respondents started with similar historical memories while telling life stories. These memories were often related to the difficulties they faced in practicing religion. As they describe their motivations, they often return to their historical memories, as in this narrative. While sharing these, they say that they are trying to avoid the difficulties they experienced in the past again and that their motivations are fed with this emotion. On the other hand, Ahmed argues that emotions are also used to manipulate human action at the macro level (Ahmed 2004a). At this point, it also raises the risk that women's motivations, fed by emotion and belief, are used in macro level by some political or ideological entities. However, the fact that the autonomous structure of these institutions worked for many years without adding to any political or ideological structure shows that they have overcome this risk. I did not observe that women see themselves attached to any macro scale structure in their own narratives or discourses.

Different parameters in individual lives also affect emotion, such as the effect of history through emotions in shaping human action. For Cutz, "Such things as the degree of individualism, notions of privacy and autonomy, multiplicity of selves, or sense of moral responsibility which result have important consequences for the way in which emotion is conceptualized, experienced, and socially articulated" (Lutz 1986, 420). This determination of Cutz is also meaningful for my field in the sense that the differences in the expression of the emotion depend on different parameters. Even if my respondents come from different backgrounds, their understanding of individualism is at different levels, having the same belief strengthens their sense of

taking responsibility. In my field there were respondents from different backgrounds, both educationally, culturally and religiously. However, though the women have different backgrounds, through the feelings of the same religious beliefs they unite and motivate women around a common goal. Aynur Mısıroğlu who is a lawyer explaining her family and lifestyle she said:

My father was an army officer, my brother, my uncles, my brother in law, my grandparents were also officers. The most important group where the reforms are located is the soldiers' group and the teachers' group. These were forcefully dictated. My mother grew up in an Ottoman family. To make someone so racy... Too hard for them, like an insult. And we only talked to officers' families where we were, nobody would meet us. I don't want to spoil my family, they were Muslim but they had to keep up with the circumstances, they made up. And then I don't know how they endured it. Since I lost my father at a very young age, I could not negotiate these issues with him. But my family, my brother etc we were a family going to balls or something like this.<sup>22</sup>

Mukaddes Çıtlak is a religiously educated person. Family elders also provided religious education to people at that time. She narrated me a memory of herself:

One day, the art teacher said that "we will make a beach picture." I was good at art course. So, I thought I already would not fail. I had never seen a beach. I said "where did she get this topic in Ramadan?" I did not. A little later, the teacher came, she was a kind lady, "Mukaddes, why didn't you do anything?" My friends laughed, they said "she will not paint today because she is fasting. "Oh" said the teacher. She got surprised. They said "she performs prayer and does not wear short socks as well." The teacher was thoroughly surprised. "Why are you studying, then, Mukaddes" she said. "Madam, the prophet has commanded" showing my kindness "work for the world as if you will never die, and for the hereafter as if you will die tomorrow" I said. "Oh, she knows hadith too" the teacher said. After the lesson she called me out and said 'Do not think that I am a non-believer.'" I was shocked. Until then, I never thought that a person could be unbeliever. Then I understood that there is such a thing as disbelief in the world.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Babam subay, abim, eniştelirim, amcalarım, dedelerim subay. İnkılapların yerleştirildiği en mühim zümre bir asker zümresi bir de öğretmen zümresi. Bunlara zorla dikte ettirilmiştir. Benim annem Osmanlı ailesinde yetişmiş. Öyle bir kimseyi açık saçık bir hale getirmek... Çok zor onlar için, hakaret gibi. Ve biz bulunduğumuz yerde yalnızca subay aileleriyle görüşürdük eşraftan, halktan kimseler bizimle görüşmezdi. Ailemi kötülemek istemiyorum, Müslümandılar fakat devre ayak uydurmaları gerekiyordu, uydurdular. Ve o halde nasıl tahammül ettiler onu bilemiyorum. Babamı çok küçük yaşta kaybettiğim için bu meselelerin müzakeresini onunla yapamadım. Ama ailem ağabeyim falan balolara falan giden bir aile idik. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

<sup>23</sup> Bir gün resim öğretmeni plaj resmi yapacağız, dedi. Benim resmim iyiydi. Zaten kalmam, diye düşündüm. Ben plaj görmemiştim. Ramazan'da bu konuyu da nerden buldu dedim. Yapmadım. Biraz sonra hoca geldi, kibar bir hanımdı, Mukaddes'ciğim neden bir şey yapmadın. Arkadaşlarım güldüler, hocam o bugün resim yapmayacak, çünkü oruçlu, dediler. Aaa, dedi hoca. Çok şaşırı. Hocam o namaz da kıyor, kısa çorap da giymiyor. Hoca iyice şaşırı. O zaman neden okuyorsun Mukaddes'ciğim, dedi. Hiç kibarlığımı bozmadan ama hocam peygamber efendimiz buyurmuştur ki, hiç ölmeyecekmiş gibi dünya için, yarın ölecekmiş gibi ahiret için çalışın. Aaa hadis de biliyor, dedi hoca. Ders çıkışı yanına çağırıp Mukaddes'ciğim beni inançsız zannetme, dedi. Çok şaşırımdım. O zamana kadar bir insanın inançsız olabileceğini hiç düşünmemiştim. O zaman anladım ki, dünyada inançsızlık diye bir şey var. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2019)

Neriman Günyüz, who was born in 1933, was a woman who could not finish primary school and worked in HİKDE. Her daughter, Tansu Körükçü, explaining her mother and work:

My mother was not a well-educated person. When finished third grade in primary school, they took from school. I don't know what task she was doing there, they were distributing supplies, but I know that they had financial difficulties. She sold the fabrics and dowry in his chest and donated the association. But the other ladies were all well-educated ladies like doctor Gülsen, Fevziye and Melahat.<sup>24</sup>

In these three examples, we see that people with different backgrounds and lifestyles are united around the same goal and were added to this institution with different works. Different lifestyles and backgrounds have opened a field of activity in a common environment with similar motivations. This situation not only affects the realization of institutionalization, but also allows diversification of activities, reaching different audiences and realizing the same goals with different discourses. All kinds of experience and emotional intensity from the past have guided the work of these women. As an example, we can evaluate Aynur Mısıroğlu's narrative.

My husband said to me, "Islamic communication is okay, but make an academic career." But I said if I knew, I would live in Islam. By God, nobody taught me. I curse everyone who does not teach. Since there is such a huge gap, I said, I gave up career, I will tell everyone, there is a religion called o Muslims, there is a religion. My husband did not bore me, in no way, but he said "it is more convenient" to show the way. But now I do the same thing. I mean, we weren't stolid people. If they hadn't forcibly dispatched us to those sides, we would have come if we knew this way. How many years have been lost since my childhood... I performed the *kaza namazı*<sup>25</sup> for years. Some of my fasts were okay but some of them were not. Sometimes I was fasting, my mother was angry but I did.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Annem çok tahsilli bir hanım değildi. İlkokul üçüncü sınıfı bitirince okuldan almışlar. Erzak dağıtıyorlardı orada nasıl bir görev aldığımı bilemiyorum ama maddi olarak çok zorluk çektiklerini biliyorum. Sandığındaki kumaşları ve çeyizleri satıp katkıda bulundu. Ama diğer hanımlar hepsi iyi tahsilli hanımlardı, Doktor Gülsen hanım, Fevziye hanım, Melahat hanım gibi. (Interview conducted on 5/10/2020)

<sup>25</sup> There are certain times for prayer as a worship in Islamic faith. If the prayer is not performed at a certain time, then it is necessary to perform this prayer. This type of prayer is called *kaza namazı* (Bilmen 1966, 179).

<sup>26</sup> Eşim bana dedi ki, İslami tebliğ tamam ama dedi akademik kariyer yap. İlim yap dedi. Ama ben dedim vallahi bilseydim İslami yaşardım. Vallahi bana öğretmedi kimse. Öğretmeyen herkese lanet ediyorum, mademki böyle çok büyük bir boşluk var, ben dedim, kariyerdan de mariyerdan de vazgeçtim, herkese sokak sokak anlatacağım, ey Müslümanlar, Müslümanlık diye bir din var, diyeceğim, dedim. Eşim beni sıkmadı, hiçbir yönden ama yol göstermek bakımından bu daha uygundur dedi. Ama şimdi de olsa aynı şeyi yaparım. Hakikaten vurdumduymaz insanlar değildik yani. Bizi zorla o taraflara sevk etmeselerdi, bu taraftan haberimiz olsaydı, gelirdik. Çocukluğundan beri kaç seneler kaybolmuş... Senelerce kaza namazı kıldım. Oruçlarım, kimi oldu kimi olmadı. Oruç tuttuğum da oldu, annem kızırıyordu ama tuttum. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

While we were chatting with MıSıROđLU after the interview, she was still sad because she did not do academic study although she has a master degree. She encouraged me for academic study, offered various ideas to study, talked about them for a long time. As it is seen in her narrative, since she did not get religious education in the past, she gave up her academic career and aimed to teach Islam to the next generations by working in HİKDE. While this narrative reveals how she guided her own life under the influence of her own past, she also shows how she attributes meaning to her activities.

### **3.2. Muslim Women in Turkey in the Context of Gender and Patriarchy**

In the previous section I revealed that Muslim women's emotionality based on religious beliefs affects their activities. Muslim women's approach to relations with patriarchy which has an importance in women studies, is also based on a religious-based understanding. Although there is no agreement on the definition of the concept *patriarchy*, it is a term which is used throughout history by social scientists. Weber used it to refer a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households. Patriarchalism is the situation where, within a group (household) which is usually organized on both an economic and kinship basis, a particular individual governs who is designated by a particular rule of inheritance (Weber 1978). After Weber the term has been used by so many scholars especially by radical feminists. Patriarchy is used in order to express men's control over women's sexuality and fertility; and to describe the institutional structure of male domination. (Rowbotham, 1981). Walby also sees patriarchy as a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. He stresses the term "social structure" in his definition since it clearly implies rejection of both biological determinisms, and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every individual woman in a subordinate one (Walby, 1989). Similar to Walby, Kandiyoti does not limit patriarchy as a pressure or a dominance on a particular gender by the other gender. In contrast to the common belief in the social sciences, a woman can put pressure on another. An example of this, she mentions is that under classic patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all the men but

also to the more by senior women, especially, their mother-in-law. Thus, Kandiyoti says that patriarchy is a system in which is not only practiced by men, but also women can be included in the system.

As we have seen, patriarchy can be conceptualized in different ways with different viewpoints. In my field, women make a different conceptualization within their meaning worlds. They prefer to ignore patriarchy's existence. Or even if they accept that there is a patriarchal relation between them and men, they attribute it to the rules of women-men relations in Islamic understanding. Women, however, have different mechanisms to maintain communication. For Kandiyoti, these strategies and coping mechanisms are seen as a type of bargain and they provide us with the understanding of the nature of the patriarchal system. They also reveal how men and women resist, accommodate, adapt, and conflict with each other over all their actions (Kandiyoti, 1988). In my field, I witnessed that patriarchy was redefined through Islam. I understood that women are struggling with patriarchy by ignoring it in social life. Instead of admitting its existence clearly, they prefer to say that due to the fact that they are not working together, they did not face any difficulties which were caused by men. By saying this, they transformed the reality into another mechanism, like a mechanism driven by a silent struggle. Especially when it comes to domestic relations, although the problems arising from patriarchal approaches are felt, respondents do not express this clearly. Here again, it is seen that the approach brought by Islam has been practiced. Because Islam considers peer-to-peer relationships as private and does not allow them to be shared with others. For this reason, during my fieldwork, I did not receive clear answers about domestic patriarchal conditions from the respondents. When I asked Türkan Kumru, the president of the Idealist Women's Association, about their relationship with men, she said:

Our association's activities were generally carried out by our Muslim brothers around us. Some are brothers, some are nephews or any man we know. This is the man; this is the woman... I don't know what happened after the 80s or the 90s. The women's movement, the woman is important, it is impossible without saying "woman" ... woman... woman... I don't know... You can call me backward. Do I misunderstand the society? I am absolutely against this separation of women and men. And when our Muslim women use the language that differentiates, I get angry with them. She has a brother; her husband is a man as well. He has a nephew. When you say "men", you shouldn't see men as a mob that you will shake your finger at and bring into line them. They had no negative effects on us. It never happened. They helped all our works. They took us if somewhere to go. They carried heavy things. For example, let's say our association will move from one place to another, they carried it. We are never "aa these are men ... Aaa these are women, but look, she successes this and that". There

was no such understanding. Whoever wants what man or woman does. I am really annoyed that this polarization is so advanced in society now.<sup>27</sup>

Although Türkan's positive approaches about relations between men and women in social life, in terms of a comparison, I observed a different approach from Muslim women who were active in social life, after the 90s. This is both about family and social relations with men. Although not the main subject of my work, due to the fact that I aim to show the differences in both groups, I will mention about approaches of Muslim women engaged in social activities after the 90s. As far as I observe, they were more open in talking about men both in familial and social relationships. At the same time, they set sharp boundaries when talking about these topics. In my fieldwork, one of the respondents said, "I stand behind my husband only in prayer, I am responsible for all other social responsibilities under equal conditions with him." Another said, "My husband did not interfere with my works. I chose him in accordance with my conditions in social life". About social relations with men one respondent says that "in our activities, men take our energy" while another respondent mentions that men do not invite women to the meetings of the foundation, and she wants to attend the meetings very insistently. This shows that the relations with patriarchy are at a different level between women who were active in social life in the 70s and those who were active in the next period. They both do not solve their problems with men through the "silent struggle", nor do they hesitate to share with me the existence of these problems and their sharp boundaries. Their approaches are the same in both family and social relationships. However, also in the approaches of these women, religious sensitivity exists. Because it is a religious requirement for women to stand behind men in prayers. Again, it is religiously significant for the second respondent to choose her husband as someone who will not interfere with her works in social lives. Because in

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<sup>27</sup> Bizim derneğimizin faaliyetlerini genelde çevremizdeki Müslüman kardeşlerimiz, erkek kardeşlerimiz yürütürdü. Kiminin erkek kardeşi, kiminin yeğeni, kimimizin tanıdığı herhangi bir erkek. Biz öyle bu erkekmiş bu kadınmış... bu 80ler mi, 90lardan sonra mı çıktı ortaya ne oldu bilmiyorum. İşte kadın hareketi, kadın önemli, kadın demese olmaz... kadın... kadın... bilmiyorum... biz mi... bana geri kafalı diyebilirsiniz. Ben mi yanlış algılıyorum toplumu. Ben bu kadın erkek ayrışmasına kesinlikle karşıyım. Ve ayrıştıran dili bizim Müslüman kadınlar kullandığı zaman onlara da kızıyorum. Erkek kardeşi var, kocası bir defa erkek. Yeğeni var. Siz erkekler dediğiniz zaman şöyle parmağımızı sallayıp hizaya getireceğiniz bir grup olarak görmemelisiniz erkekleri. Bize hiç negatif etkileri olmadı. Hiç olmadı. Yapılacak bütün çalışmalarımıza yardımcı oldular. Bir yere gidilecekse götürdüler. Ağır şeyleri taşıdılar. Mesela diyelim derneğimiz bir yerden bir yere taşınacak, taşıdılar. Biz hiç aa bunlar erkek... aaa bunlar kadın ama bak şunları başarıyor, öyle bir anlayış yoktu yani. Erkek veya kadın kim ne isterse onu yapar. Ben bu kutuplaşmanın şu anda toplumda bu kadar önde olmasından rahatsızım gerçekten. (Interview conducted on 17/5/2020)

Islam, a husband can interfere with some of the choices of his wife to some extent. While the respondent chose her spouse as someone who would not interfere with her works, she made a choice that was not contrary to religion, and that was appropriate for her own wishes.

On the other hand, when the activity areas of the women in the 70s is compared with the activity areas of the women after the 90s, there are significant differences. In the 70s, women perform activities such as educational, sportive and artistic activities, providing scholarships to students, helping the poor in their own institutions, and in the 2000s women were leading positions in international organizations and this comparison reveals the reasons of the difference in approaches. The increase in the dimensions of the work of the Muslim women, the increase in specialization, the fact that women have important duties in the areas where women and men work together caused this difference.

In academic studies, Muslim women are mostly evaluated through the male authority (Göle 2016; Yılmaz 2010; Dursun 2019). On the one hand, although they accept the changing and transforming power of Muslim women, the general thesis is the claim that Muslim activist women are subordinated by men. In my opinion, the reason for this is that they tend to explain the agency and subjectivity of the Muslim women not from their own internal dynamics, but from limited theoretical frameworks. I also argue that an action that can be understood in feminist theory as a type of obedience, might be a religious obligation that is commanded by Allah for my respondent. Hence actually she does not obey men's dominance but Allah's command as a task of servanthood.

I have never forgotten that I am a mother and a wife. I did not dress our children with an unironed undershirt. So they don't get an infection. If I cause problems to the fathers of my children, he will not be able to go to that work, and when he cannot, I will. What he does is mine, I have to make it easy.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ben hiçbir zaman anne olduğumu eş olduğumu unutmadım. Çocuklarımıza ütüsüz fanila giydirmedim. Mikrop kapmamaları vs için. Ben çocuklarımın babalarına problem çıkarırsam o kürsüye gidemeyecek vazifesini yapmayacak, o yapamayınca ben yapacağım. Onun yaptığı benim, benim işi kolaylaştırmam gerekir. (Interview conducted on 7/16/2019)

These words belong to Mevlüde Uçar whose husband was doing religious activities in the 1970s in order to raise Islamic consciousness in society. At that time, Timurtaş Uçar, her husband, was a famous religious official and had been imprisoned many times for his speeches. His wife Mevlüde Uçar sees it as a religious duty to help him in her narrative. Because, according to her, if her husband tries to explain religion, her responsibility is also met. During our conversation I observed that when she was talking about herself and her husband, she used the word “we”. Sometimes I had to clarify whether she was the owner of the action or her husband. It is clear that her approach is also structured by religious motivations.

Zehra Yılmaz (2011), in her article, which discusses women’s new ways of representation in the global Islamic movement, attributes the participation of Muslim women to civil society organizations to two factors. According to her, women who cannot find a place in politics, capital and finance can only represent themselves in the public sphere with civil society organizations. According to her, the second factor for Muslim women to be in this field is that men allow them on this issue. In Turkey the number of civil society organizations increased after 1980 but these associations have roots in the associations which were established after 1960s. This includes the organizations Muslim women established or were in. HEKVA, which Yılmaz mentioned in her article, is such an institution. The women I interviewed for my research were some of the women who were doing public professions such as doctor, lawyer and pharmacy at that time. Although it is clear that they do not work in the fields of politics, capital and finance, I disagree with the idea that their activities are carried out with the permission of men. Also, in my research, I did not observe that their aim was to exist only in the public sphere and to make themselves visible. I observed that these women intend transforming society by education people in society. When I asked pharmacist Fevziye Nuroğlu's student Betül Sıcakyüzlü why they opened a large number of kindergartens, she said that they thought that the society should be raised from childhood and therefore the idea of opening kindergartens emerged. One of my interviewees Aynur Mısıroğlu who is lawyer explained to me that they would send letters to women in Anatolia and they were trying to inform people on religious and scientific subjects. Providing scholarships to university students, organizing trips and trainings to children in orphanages were among the works that set out their goals. Mevlüde Uçar and Aynur Mısıroğlu stated that they received ideas

from their husbands in their activities but I did not observe that my interlocutors made any implications about whether men would allow them or not.

While finishing this chapter, as I said at the beginning, I argue that the relations of Muslim women with men are shaped by religious references. Although interpretations attributed to these references vary according to time and circumstances, the main motivation is again related to religious orders. In this respect, I argue that the internal dynamics of religion should be taken into account when considering the relations of Muslim women with men.

## CHAPTER IV

### MUSLIM WOMEN IN TURKEY IN THE CONTEXT OF RELIGION-BASED EMOTION

“Access to guidance started with emotions two years ago. After a period that I could not practice, my true guidance was definitely given in 1965, with the deeds” (Marangoz and Tozkoparan 1988, 42). These words belong to Şule Yüksel Şenler, one of the pioneers of Muslim women in the 1960s. She is known from her articles, books and conferences that she held throughout Turkey as a “Muslim woman”. She also had struggled for veiling in Turkey and promoted that women be veiled. She was an activist trying to increase the knowledge of people on Islamic issues through her writings and conferences. Şenler was also one of the pioneers of *İdealist Hanımlar Derneği* that I mentioned before. Müzeyyen Taşçı, whom I interviewed for my study, had a very close relationship with Şenler and she called her “Mom Şule/Şule Anne”. While I was in field, I couldn't make interview with Şenler because she was too sick to speak. However, while listening to Müzeyyen, I observed how much Şenler influenced women with her works and ideas. Müzeyyen is also a person who was involved in the institutionalization process of the women's branches of IHH that I mentioned earlier, and she was the head of the women's branches of IHH while I was working on my thesis. Müzeyyen was inspired by Şenler and took active roles in politics and civil society organizations. Müzeyyen, in 1999, was the press adviser of Merve Kavakci who was the first woman elected as a deputy wearing a headscarf. These activities of Müzeyyen in politics and civil society organizations are good examples in order to understand how Şenler and other Muslim women inspired generations after them, and how their activity areas expanded and diversified.

Şenler said the sentences I quoted at the beginning as an answer to the question of “how did you access to guidance? /*Nasıl hidayete erdiniz?*” and these remarks have important clues for my work. The expression that I translated as “access to guidance” is expressed in Turkish as *hidayete ermek*. We can express this with the word *convert*,

but this is not exactly what Şenler meant. Because while this word expresses the transition from a different religion or unbelief to Islam, what Şenler means here is the practice of the orders of the religion. *Hidayete ermek* is used both for converted ones and for people who do not follow the orders of the religion, even if they are Muslim, to start practicing their religious lives. In these sentences, Şenler says that her *hidayet* starts with emotions. She adds that although she experienced some emotions during the two-year period, she was unable to practice her beliefs. She states that after this period, she reached true *hidayet* with deeds. In her narrative, it is possible to see how emotions and belief are related, and how practicing religious orders feeds on emotional motivations. In this respect, I argue that religious practice has a strong relationship with emotions, and I claim that emotions have a great influence in guiding human action. On the other hand, in my field experience, I have observed that when these emotions are fed with beliefs, their power of influence increases. For this reason, I think it is important to reveal the relationship between practicing beliefs and emotions. In this chapter, I will analyze Muslim women's motivations that they experienced in the institutionalization process in the context of religious beliefs and emotions. During my fieldwork, I noticed that respondents had a great desire to support my work. This was due not only to the desire to explain their own work, but also to support an academic study, and to want to share their knowledge and experience because of the fact that they feel the responsibility for the next generations. Because they thought that transferring their work was a kind of service to humanity. At this point, I argue that their purpose in serving humanity is to fulfill their religious responsibilities. In my fieldwork experience, one of my respondents, Aynur Mısıroğlu, when we visit her in her house with my supervisor and a friend, as soon as we started to ask her activities in the past, she says:

I want to talk as a service, otherwise, you know ... "We are so old that there is no interest, but we don't need attention anyway. (*Köhne mizacız revacımız yoktur/Gerçi ihtiyacımız yoktur*)<sup>29</sup>". We do not need such a thing, oh Lord, not to praise ourselves. But there is also something called *ucub* (hidden arrogance) in Islam. I'm very afraid of *ucub*. It is worse than arrogance. Imam Gazali says that both arrogance and *ucub* are illness. I'm afraid of it too. Islam is always looking for a balance between these two extremes.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Eđerçi köhne metaız, revacımız yoktur/Revaca da ol kadar ihtiyacımız yoktur.-Nabi "Öyle eskimişiz ki, ilgi gösteren yok, ama bizim de ilgiye ihtiyacımız yok zaten" We are so old that there is no interest, but we don't need attention anyway.

<sup>30</sup> Ben hizmet olarak konuşmak istiyorum, yoksa bizim hani, köhne mizacız revacımız yoktur, gerçi ihtiyacımız yoktur, diyor ya hani, bizim öyle bir şeye ihtiyacımız yok, Allah'ım, konuşmak, kendimizi methetmek gibi olmasın. Ama bir de ucub diye birşey var İslamiyette. Ucubtan da çok korkuyorum.

With this example, I want to reveal how her religious beliefs shape her behavior. As a reflex, even while sharing her memories with me, her concern about doing a behavior prohibited by religion reveals my respondent's relationship with religion. Religious orders and prohibitions are in a position that directs her behavior. Both her acceptance of sharing her memories with me for an academic study as a responsibility and her avoidance of the arrogance banned by Islam with these accounts reveal the quality of her relationship with religion. At the same time, in the interviews, I observed that the respondents experienced emotions on many issues both past and present. While I was talking about their memories, I observed that they sometimes felt fear, sometimes happiness, sometimes love and sadness. However, as can be understood from the narratives I have analyzed so far, I witnessed that the main motivation in all their work is religious responsibilities. Hence, I argue that their motivations fed by their emotions are related to their religious beliefs. This motivation can be also seen in their daily life practices. In my fieldwork experiences even while sharing their narratives with me, I witnessed that they put limitations and filters on some of their speeches and behaviors due to their religious sensitivity. For example, many respondents even stated that they do not want to take pictures due to the possibility that they might be broadcast. Again, as I discussed in the methodology section, sensitivities such as not speaking badly about someone else and not praising the good work they did are also religious behaviors. As a similar example, in one of my interviews, Mukaddes Çıtlak was talking about one of her activities in the past while chatting with me. First, she said, "I was telling the famous people of Islam (*Ben İslam meşhurlarını anlatıyordum*)."

Then she corrected this and said, "Sorry, I would say elders of Islam. There is no fame in Islam. (*Pardon, İslam büyükleri diyecektim, İslam'da şöhret olmaz*)."

In fact, although she talked about a work she did in the past, she immediately corrected her sayings due to the fact that she thought it was contrary to Islam. However, she also tried to teach something at that time by telling me why it was wrong. This behavior was an approach I had always experienced in the field. As soon as the respondents had the opportunity, they were trying to explain and teach me something. At this point, I argue that this habit and motivation from the past is a result of responsibility of Islamic belief.

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Ucub kibirden daha beter diyorlar. Imam Gazali kibir de ucub da hastalık diyor. Ondan da korkuyorum. İslam hep böyle iki uç arasında denge arıyor. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

#### **4.1. Debating Religion**

Alev Erkilet states that while studying Islamic movements, internal dynamics of Islam should also be taken into consideration. Otherwise, she says that, these movements cannot be understood.(Erkilet 2010, 21). This idea is also a point to be taken into account in my work. Following Erkilet's idea about analyzing Islamic movements, regardless of whether Muslim women's actions will be considered as a movement, I focused on the internal dynamics of Islam in order to understand the meaning that Muslim women in Turkey attach to their activities. In this context I argue that the main motivation source of this institutionalization, which has emerged as a small core established by Muslim women, is the dynamics that originate from within Islamic values. Due to the fact that they followed Islam about realization of the religious commands, they tried to realize religious aims in accordance with their responsibility that again Islam requires. Of course, this does not require us to deny that the phenomenon will take different forms as a result of its interaction with external factors (Erkilet 2010, 21). This determination also gives clues in order to understand the process of institutionalization of Muslim women's attempts in social life, which originally emerged as an association-foundation, into civil society organizations during the period. Women, who were motivated by the internal dynamics of Islam, produced activities with these motivations, taking into account external factors and using the tools they could find opportunities. In my work, I discussed theoretically and practically the elements that Muslim women use as tools. In this chapter, I concentrate on the internal dynamics of Islam.

Despite the possibility that different members of religion have different definitions of religion, I focused on Geertz's definition of religion. According to him, definition of religion "(1)a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 2004, 4). But Talal Asad criticizes Geertz's definition due to the fact that "there cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes" (Asad 1993, 29). He also sees Geertz's emphasis on

the symbolic as too abstract, as too far removed from the social, historical, and political context that gives a symbol its meaning. When the definition is evaluated in terms of my field, in the belief of Islam, the belief that religious rules are determined by God is also important. I criticize this definition due to the fact that Geertz ignores that people consider religion as divine words or commandments from God but he sees religion as a symbolic system.

If we evaluate this discussion in terms of Islam, Şentürk's approaches will be eye-opening for my work. Şentürk considers Islam as a system and religion that can be a source of civilization and give it vitality and shape (Şentürk 2018, 35). Şentürk analyzes how social problems are approached in Islamic societies using the possibilities of comparative sociology. According to him, social sciences did not exist in Islamic societies that did not experience the same conditions as in Europe because Islamic societies met this need with another science, fiqh (Şentürk 2018, 40). I think this point of view will add a different dimension to my work. At this point, Şentürk is inspired by the great scholar Ibn Khaldun and puts forward the alternative society analysis methods he put forward. Considering that Khaldun also evaluates Islamic societies from the ontological and epistemological perspective of Islam, it turns out that it is appropriate to analyze Islamic societies with this approach. The idea that Khaldun's analysis of society is an alternative to social sciences as well as a realistic analysis in the analysis of Islamic societies is defended by many experts (Aktay and Topçuoğlu 2007; Yasıçimen and Sunar 2006; Ahmad 1989; Şentürk 2019). Khaldun's methodology is multiplex and tries to understand the phenomenon he is analyzing in different and multiple layers. Şentürk, interpreting Ibn Khaldun's approach, says:

Different levels of multiplex reality are in continuous connection and interaction with each other. Human beings are interconnected with all levels of existence from material to divine. And their ties are studied by specialized disciplines ranging from the natural sciences to the social sciences, the humanities and theology (Şentürk 2019, 319).

Khaldun's interest in divine is striking at this point. Because the perception of the divine or beliefs of Muslim individuals living in Islamic societies also affects their emotions, attributing meaning and action. This reinforces the thesis that emotion guides human action, which I defended from the beginning.

To study these multiple perspectives is appropriate for my work since I analyze Muslim women raised in an Islamic society in Turkey. Because in order to analyze human action it is necessary to consider the historical experiences used in the analysis of that society. In this context, I will follow Şentürk and reveal how fiqh explains human action in Islamic societies. According to Şentürk:

Fiqh is the Islamic Civilization's tool for solving social, economic, political and legal problems at the level of individuals (the micro level) and the level of groups (macro level). Within Islamic civilization, we may consider Fiqh as the understanding of society and of normative (moral and legal) order: at the conceptual level, it directs people's view — as individuals and groups — regarding their society, phenomena, relations and institutions, while at the level of practice, it comprehensively deals with human behavior in the public sphere (Şentürk 2019, 333).

The fact that fiqh directs human action on a micro and macro scale is important in analyzing the behavior of people living in Islamic societies. Calling people both individually and as a group to the moral and legal norms of religion reveals the strong relation of fiqh with human behavior. This actually means the effect of that society on religious perception and action.

Fiqh defines the human being as a multiplex being. Man has a zāhir (apparent) and a bātin (hidden) side. The zahir is observable, but the batin cannot be observed. The zahir concerns the body and its actions, whereas the batin concerns the heart and its actions. The most important action of the heart is niyyah (intention), which is the spirit of the 'amal. The 'amal of the body is dependent on the heart — it cannot take place without it. (Şentürk 2019, 334).

The fact that fiqh perceives human action as a multiplex enriches the understanding of human action by adding new layers. The body that plays a role in the expression of the behavior and the realities that do not seem like intention, meaning, emotion, but whose effect is felt, can be revealed with this perspective. Khaldun's approach to the human soul is seminal for my study in the sense that the invisible can also be effective in human action. As I discussed in the third chapter, the relationality between emotions and actions is similar to the relationality between soul and body in Khaldun. According to Khaldun:

The human soul cannot be seen, but its influence is apparent in the body. It is as if all (the body's) parts, in combination or separately, were organs of the soul and its powers. The powers of action are touching with the hand, walking with the foot, speaking with the tongue, and the total combined motion with the body (Khaldun 1958:I, 196).

Khaldun, as I have discussed earlier in his analysis, has a multiplex and sensitive perspective, far from dichotomies. In his approach, the body, mind and soul exist in

harmony without excluding each other and complementing each other. Therefore, macro and micro analysis on human action are made by taking all this diversity into consideration.

After all these discussions, I would like to follow Ahmed to discuss how religious emotion is effective in people collectively as well as individually. Ahmed, in her analysis, draws attention to the importance of impression in emotion. “Forming an impression depends on how objects impress upon us. It can be an effect, a belief, an imitation image or a mark on the surface. ... so not only do I have an impression of others, but they also leave me with an impression; they impress me, and impress upon me” (Ahmed 2015, 6). In my field study, I argue that religious-based emotions are caused by both a strong impression, and that the individual enters emotional circulation in terms of his perception of religion as the immutable law and order of Allah, and with a strong impression. Aynur Mısıroğlu, one of the respondents, refers to women who lived in the time of the prophet, while talking about her activities. This is not only a woman seeing other women as role models. It is also a motivation for women to do what they do for religion. In the narration of Mısıroğlu, it is clearly seen how the religious emotion created an impression.

Note that the Prophet came, but our mother, Hatice, supported her with all her heart as the first Muslim. This is very important. Believing, without any doubt. It is his sister who makes a violent person like Ömer a Muslim. At a time when the Prophet was left to die, at a time when there was no companion, Nesibe protected our Prophet with her sword by injuring and after that, Ali and the Companions came. It was said that “our Prophet died”, such a state. Nesibe who did this. Why did Allah Almighty give this to Nesibe? You have to think about it. It is necessary to understand the value of the woman from this. This is a very high thing, a person who protected our Prophet. While everyone waiting for the prophet in Medina, a blind woman said “he is coming”. When she was asked “you are blind, how did you see?” She said “I feel his smell”. Allah gave it to a woman.<sup>31</sup>

With this narrative, Mısıroğlu reveals also how she is nurtured her religious motivation with historical experience. It is revealed how this tradition, which came through

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<sup>31</sup> Dikkat edin peygamber geldi ama Hz Hatice validemiz onu ilk müslüman olarak bütün gönlüyle destekledi. Bu çok mühim. Inanarak, hiç şüphe etmeyerek. Hz Ömer gibi şedit bir kimseyi müslüman yapan kızkardeşidir. Hz Nesibe peygamberin zahiren ölüme terk edildiği bir anda, hiçbir sahabenin olmadığı bir zamanda kılıçla her yerinden yaralanarak peygamberimizi korumuş ondan sonra Hz Ali ve sahabe gelip yetişiyor. Peygamberimiz öldü diye çıkarmışlar, o halde. Bunu yapan Nesibe. Cenabı Allah Hz Nesibe'ye bunu neden verdi? Bunu düşünmek lazım. Burdan da kadının kıymetini anlamak lazım. Hz Nesibe peygamberimizi korumuş bir insan bu çok yüksek birşey. Yine Medine'de peygamberimizi beklerken herkes, kör bir kadın “geliyor” diyor. Sen körsün nasıl görüyorsun deyince kokusunu aldım, diyor. Onu bile Cenabı Allah bir kadına nasip ediyor. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

discourses, influenced herself and her motivation while conveying what women did from the Prophet period as a historical event. Asad also draws attention to the analysis of the “discursive tradition” while working on Islamic societies. According to him “an anthropology of Islam will therefore seek to understand the historical conditions that enable the production and maintenance of specific discursive traditions, or their transformation -and the efforts of practitioners- to achieve coherence” (Asad 2017, 23). Also, while observing and analyzing religious experience, it is not easy to understand the essence of religious experience and the meaning attached to it when observed from the outside. In this context Abdulhamid el-Zein claims that understanding religious experience is perhaps most difficult from a scientific perspective. Because “these moments of subjective spiritual experience demand complete involvement, and therefore are never directly communicated between subjects. Rather, the immediate religious experience usually becomes translated into common sense terms. But science, as a privileged mode of interpretation, recognizes and accounts for this process of "secondary revision" and is capable of an indirect understanding of religious symbols” (el-Zein 1977, 230). Following this idea, I argue that the emotionality experienced by an individual in prayer or other religious practice is individualistic and variable. Prayer, which is ordered in the same way for everyone in a day five times, produces different emotions in every individual. The significance of this for my work is that with a religion-based emotionality a person can produce impacts that can be effective on a macro scale. In this context, Sule Yuksel Şenler's narrative is important in the sense that explains the motivation of giving conferences all over Turkey. She explains, as I told at the beginning, how her reaching *hidayet* activates her emotions and turns her into action:

My *hidayet* caused great earthquakes in me personally, in my spirit world. And in the future, it had a lot of spiritual effects on my future life I wished my other fellows also heard and knew it and I wanted that them would taste this flavor too. I wanted my fellows in Turkey even all over the world to know the truths. When I saw that there was neither movement nor light to achieve this, I called upon my Lord immediately. In my prostrating (*sajdahs*) and prayers, I said, “Oh Lord! Open doors for me so that I can be heard. Not only in Turkey, grant me opportunities to speak in the whole world” (Marangoz and Tozduman 1988, 54)<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Hidayetim şahsi olarak bende, ruh dünyamda büyük depremler meydana getirdi. Ve ileride, istikbaldeki hayatıma manevi yönden epey tesirleri oldu. Bunu diğer hemcinslerim de duysa, bilse, şu lezzeti onlar da tatsa, Türkiye'deki hatta bütün dünyadaki hemcinslerim uyansa, hakikatleri öğrense istedim. Bunu sağlayacak ne bir hareket ne de bir ışık olduğunu görünce derhal Rabbime iltica ettim. Secdelerimde, dualarımda “Ya Rabbi! Bana öyle kapılar aç ki, sesimi duyurma imkânı ver. Bütün Türkiye'ye değil, bütün dünyaya seslenebilecek şekilde bana imkanlar bahşeyle...

The narrative reveals how strong the emotions fed by belief are the driving force in the realization of the activities. It is also seen in the narrative how individual emotions evolve into collective emotions. In this context, it is also meaningful for my study that Şenler invited women to veil their heads in their conferences. I will analyze the veiling of a Muslim woman in the context of belief, emotion and social action.

Although being veiled is an individual practice, it also has a social aspect. In this case, the visibility of the Muslim women begins with a religious reason and results in a social output. Sense of faith is manifested not only in organized activities, but also in everyday practices. In this context, the role of veiling as an everyday life practice for Muslim women should be analyzed as an emotional and behavioral reality. I have observed that institutionalization has deep connections with veiling as an individual and everyday practice. Muslim women are trying to exist in social life to fulfill their religious responsibilities. However, the religion of Islam, which imposes this social responsibility, also wants it to be veiled outside the home. At this point, we cannot say that every Muslim woman is veiled because religion frees the will of women at the point of veiling. In my field, all of the respondents were covered. However, I think there were women who were not veiled in the years they did activities.

Another relation of veiling with institutionalization is the fact that it is prohibited by the state to be in certain areas with headscarves in certain periods after the republic. Women who could not receive education or do their jobs due to prohibitions started to look for alternatives both for themselves and other parts of the society. The first alternative institutions are therefore educational institutions. This is another indication of why women attach importance to institutionalization.

## **4.2. Veiling as Embodiment of the Belief and Emotion**

One of the reflections of Islam's orders for human life for women is veiling. In the Qur'an, Muslim women are ordered to be veiled.<sup>33</sup> There are different forms and

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<sup>33</sup> The necessity of veiling for women in Islam is explained by the following verse in the holy book Qur'an. "And tell the believing women that they (also) should restrain their gaze (from looking at the men whom it is lawful for them to marry, and from others' private parts), and guard their private parts, and that they should not display their charms except that which is revealed of itself; and let them draw their veils over their bosoms, and (tell them) not to display their charms to any save their husbands, or their fathers (and grandfathers, and both paternal and maternal uncles), or the fathers of their husbands,

definitions of veiling. Covering, veiling, wearing headscarf (*başörtülü olmak*) are some of these expressions. Secor ve Gökariksel consider veiling as a term that “to refer to women’s modest dress according to Islam” and the headscarf as that “plays a unique role” in veiling practice (Gökariksel and Secor 2014, 330). Headscarf is a term that refers to covering the hair. However, Secor and Gökariksel state that in Islam, since the necessity of covering is not limited to the hair, they use the term veiling, which refers to the modest closure of the body (Gökariksel and Secor 2014, 338). As a bodily practice, among Muslim women the forms of veiling vary. Some Muslim women prefer to cover their faces and whole bodies, while others do not. The shape, color, and even dimensions of the headscarf can vary. And different religious, political, and communal meanings can be attributed to all of these uses. I will not dwell on these meanings as these discussions go beyond the subject of my work. However, in my work, following Secor and Gökariksel, I will use the term veiling, which expresses the act of veiling in a general way, taking into account different types of veiling.

As the veiling is a visible practice, it makes the Muslim women noticed in the society. In practice, this leads to a sign that distinguishes it from other women. Although veiling appears to be an everyday practice, when it is practiced with faith-based emotion motivation, the meaning attributed to it deepens. When we look at the act of veiling from a multiplex perspective, we see that this action that concerns the body actually has an emotional dimension. Because since veiling is a religious practice, the emotion fed by belief is expected to be effective in this action.

When it is viewed from the outside, veiling is a bodily act that implies becoming a Muslim on the other hand it also has deep meanings for Muslim women who practice it. Gülden, telling how she decided to veil her head after graduating from university, she directly associates her emotion with Allah. When I asked her how she decided this despite her family have not any religious knowledge about veiling she said:

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or their sons, or the sons of their husbands (both their own and step-sons and grandsons), or their brothers (and foster- and step-brothers), or the sons of their brothers, or the sons of their sisters, or the Muslim women and the women of good conduct with whom they associate, or those (slave-girls) their right hands possess, or the male attendants in their service free of sexual desire, or children that are as yet unaware of femininity. Nor should they stamp their feet (i. e. act in such a manner as to) draw attention to their charms (and arouse the passion of men). And, O believers, turn to God all together in repentance that you may attain true prosperity.” (The Quran 33: 31)

This is about the inner world. About Allah. I always knew I had to do it. It was a period in which I focused a lot on this. As of now, I listened to Ömer Karaoğlu's song "to live for His name" one night and I said that night, okay, the decision is today. That moment was the moment. I said to my husband, I will veil my head, I will not open it again. "Are you sure?" I said, I'm sure. I veil. But the moment I made that decision was like this, I wouldn't give up if the whole world was pointing the gun at me. I was so strong. I was covered with such a soul. With such preparation.<sup>34</sup>

The song *Gülden* mentioned was one of the most famous religious songs at that time. It is a point to be analyzed that the words of the song are in a content that will strengthen the motivation of *Gülden*'s veiling.

Covering with the garment of Faith  
A decision it is to submit to His path  
A fear it is fed by its hope  
A longing it is to meet by His name<sup>35</sup>

It is meaningful to use the word "kuşanmak/covering" together with the "garment of faith". With the word "kuşanmak" is not meant to only be covered, in fact, also the meaning of "equip" is meant by implying its protection. In this context, it can be observed that veiling brings with itself feelings such as strengthening and a kind of protection. With this example, it is also seen how the dimensions of how practicing religious orders in the body affects human emotions.

In another example about embodiment of veiling, in Turkey, in 1999, the first veiled female deputy entered the Turkey Grand National Assembly. Years after, in a television program, *Basın Kulübü*, Merve Kavakçı who entered the Turkey Grand National Assembly as the first veiled women in 1999, was asked the question "If you were an unveiled MP.../Siz başı açık bir milletvekili olsaydınız..." She had a hard time answering the question, and then said, "I cannot think of myself even hypothetically without a headscarf/*Ben kendimi varsayımsal olarak bile başörtüsüz olarak düşünemiyorum*" (Karaca et al. 2012). In the same period with her, Nesrin Ünal, was elected as a veiled deputy, but she entered the parliament by uncovering her head

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<sup>34</sup> Bu iç dünyayla ilgili bir şey. Allah'la ilgili. Yapmam gerektiğini hep biliyordum zaten. Dönem itibarıyla buna çok odaklandığım bir dönemdi. An itibarıyla de Ömer Karaoğlu'nun *Adı İçin Yaşamak* ezgisini dinledim bir gece ve o gece dedim ki, tamam yani, karar bugün. An itibarıyla o andı. Eşime dedim, ben örtüneceğim, bir daha da açmayacağım. Emin misin, şöyle mi, böyle mi, dedim ki, eminim. Örtündüm. Ama o kararı verdiğim an şöyleydi, bütün dünya bana silah doğrultsa vazgeçmezdim. O kadar güçlüyümdü yani. Öyle bir ruhla örtündüm. Öyle bir hazırlıkla. (Interview conducted on 7/3/2019)

<sup>35</sup> Kuşanmak örtüsüyle imanın  
Karardır, yoluna gönül vermek  
Korkudur umuduyla beslenen  
Özlemdir, adı için kavuşmak

although she veils it in her daily life. After she entered the parliament by uncovering, she stated that “I felt myself as if I was naked/*Kendimi çıplakmışım gibi hissettim*” while expressing her feelings in the parliament (Kavakçı 2004, 74). These examples reveal the layered relationship between the Muslim women and the veiling she practiced in her body. However, since the headscarf was banned at certain times in Turkey, covered bodies have experienced different emotions in these processes. The body, covered with an emotion brought on by belief, experiences another affect with the marginalization brought about by the prohibition.

Sara Ahmed deepens emotion and body relationality with a striking point of view by relating it with “othering” in society. “Emotions become attributes of bodies as a way of transforming what is ‘lower’ or ‘higher’ into bodily traits. So emotionality as a claim about a subject or a collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which endow ‘others’ with meaning and value” (Ahmed 2015, 4). In this context, the emotion of religious origin turns into a practice emerging in the body with veiling. While this visibility is the practice of a religious emotion for the Muslim woman, it paves the way being “other” in power relations. This is because in the new republic I discussed before, the ideal female image was promoted as “unveiled”. While this separates the veiled woman from the other women of the society, at the same time it causes a collective soul in themselves. The following narratives reveal what kind of a collective spirit created by the Muslim women who left the “other” part of society with veiling. “When my children were young, if a veiled woman passed, they would say, “Mom, your friend is passing.” So there wasn't much. There was in Fatih, but not in Beşiktaş. We were like the offscourings of Beşiktaş.”<sup>36</sup> (Aynur Mısıroğlu) “The characteristic of our generation is to meet and introduce. You can even meet and get an address on the bus. When you meet, you get stronger.”<sup>37</sup> (Reyhan Çıtlak)

When we were student, even going by bus, if we saw the person who was wearing a headscarf and we likened to the student, we greeted the person, we would communicate immediately, we had such a network. Because we needed something like that. We were both very few and had a *dava*. At that time, we came together and made readings with friends from different places without being under the umbrella of an institution. Sayyid Kutup, Hasan el Benna, etc bi-

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<sup>36</sup> Çocuklarım küçükken örtülü biri geçse “anne arkadaşın geçiyor” derlerdi. Çok yoktu yani. Fatih’te vardı ama Beşiktaş’ta yoktu. Biz zaten Beşiktaş’ın yüzkarası gibiydik. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

<sup>37</sup> Bizim neslin özelliği tanışmak ve tanıştırmaktır. Otobüste bile tanışıp adres alırsın. Tanışınca birleşince güçlenirsin. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2019)

weekly we would come together, write, work, tell, and we would never disrupt and we would meet very well.<sup>38</sup> (Havva Sula)

As can be clearly seen from the narratives of the respondents, similar emotions produce similar actions. The repetition of the action broadens the spread of emotion. In this context Sara Ahmed argues that “Emotions shape the very surfaces of bodies which take shape through the repetition of actions over time, as well as through orientations towards and away from others” (Ahmed 2015, 4). At this point the term *surface* is very important. By saying this Ahmed states that “how the skin becomes a border that feels, about the role of the feeling in making the border. (Schmitz sy 100) Consequently, emotions are relative to our relations with *other*, with time and repetition of action, shape the surfaces of the bodies. In this process, emotion becomes intensified, and it becomes visible on the surface of the body. The skin is now a border that separates us from the *other*. In this regard, intensified accumulation of emotions of Muslim women in Turkey, both revealed the action and has been instrumental in the formation of a collective soul. The following narrative reveals how Muslim women who are in the other position because they are wearing a headscarf produce a collective soul.

In 1986, the second headscarf ban. It was a ban in the Faculty of Literature with many problems. The girls stayed away from school at that time. We know everyone, there are Nazife, there are other friends, Ayşe Böhürler. we thought “what can we do?” Let's do these girls something like school. We arranged some kind of school, my home, the house of other friends, etc. I was going to work at that time. They would come to these places as if they go to their university from their homes. We talked about political history, talked fiqh, talked about siyer, and conducted many lessons. It took a year. We did like school. Then it became a little bit more institutionalized. We started an alternative education project.<sup>39</sup> (Havva Sula)

Although veiling is a religious order, it is also a religious practice as a part of the life of a Muslim woman. In this context the ban on headscarves since the late 70s left

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<sup>38</sup> Öğrencilikte otobüsle giderken başörtülü, öğrenciye benzettiğimiz kişiye gider selam verir, hemen iletişim kurardık, böyle bir ağımız vardı. Öyle bir şeye ihtiyacımız vardı çünkü. Hem çok azdık hem bir davamız vardı. O dönemde biz biraraya gelip o farklı farklı yerlerden arkadaşlarla kendimiz bir kurum çatısı altında olmadan okumalar yapmıştık. Seyyid Kutuplar Hasan el Bennalar falan. Onbeşte bir biraraya gelir oturur yazar çalışır gelir anlatırdık ve hiç aksatmazdık ve çok güzel de buluşurduk. (Interview conducted on 9/26/2019)

<sup>39</sup>1986 falan ikinci başörtüsü yasağı. Asıl Edebiyat Fakültesinde vs çok sıkıntılı olduğu bir yasaktı. O dönem kızlar birden boşta kaldı. Herkesi de tanıyoruz, yine Nazife var, başka arkadaşlar var, Ayşe Böhürler var. Biz napalım dedik, bu kızlara okul gibi birşey yapalım. Birkaç evi bir nevi okul yaptık, benim evim, başka arkadaşların evi vs. ben o zaman işe gidiyordum. Onlar evlerinden üniversiteye gelir gibi geliyorlardı. Siyasi tarih konuştuk, fıkıh konuştuk, siyer konuştuk birçok ders yaptık. Bir sene sürdü. Okul gibi yaptık. Sonra o biraz daha kurumsallaştı. Biz alternatif bir eğitim çalışmasına başladık. (Interview conducted on 9/26/2020)

painful and great impressions in the minds of the Muslim women. Women who could study with headscarves then carried out activities for girls who could not study due to the ban. This impress left by the ban in the establishment of some alternative educational institutions has been motivating.

Fazilet Kuran Kursu (Fazilet Quran Course) founded in 1970 is an educational institution established with this motivation. These institutions are important for my study due to the fact that they were also a part of the emergence process of associations that are I have done research on. Because many of the women I encountered in the field have been in the establishment of this institution. Aynur Mısıroğlu also worked at that school as a teacher.

Fazilet Quran Course is very important, it is one of the first Quran courses to be opened. Abdullah Yazıcı opened such a course because his daughters could not study. Of course, Fevziye did all the things. Here we teach the students Imam Hatip curriculum, we put them into exams from the outside. It was Quran course. But when they control it as a Quran course, they close it. When it was said “inspector is coming” we scurried around, textbooks are being removed, the Qur'an alone. That is how it was managed. Faintheartedly.<sup>40</sup>

This course was linked to the Religious Affairs Administration (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı), not officially but practically students were also taught the Imam Hatip curriculum. Then they would take the exam and get their diplomas. Betül Sıcakyüzlü, who is one of the respondents, entered this course in 1980. She says how her teacher Fevziye Nuroğlu gave importance to educational issues.

We couldn't go to school with the headscarf. We were studying through distance learning. You will open your head if you go to normal high school, but a teenage girl who has reached adolescence does not want to open her head. As such, she wants to get her diploma by studying in a Qur'an course and finishing distance learning. She (*Fevziye Nuroğlu*) later thought about how we can transform the younger students, children, and people from this generation. She was thinking in this way: We have to take a hand in preschool in this educational business.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Fazilet Kuran Kursu çok ehemmiyetlidir şu bakımdan ilk açılan kuran kurslarından biridir. Abdullah Yazıcı kızlarını okutamadığı için böyle bir kurs açtı. Fevziye tabi yaptı bütün işi. Burada talebelere İmam Hatip derslerini okutuyoruz, dışardan imtihanlara sokuyoruz. İsmi kuran kursu. Fakat kuran kursu olarak denetledikleri zaman kapatırlar. Aman müfettiş geliyor deyince bizler çil yavrusu gibi dağılırız, ders kitapları kaldırılıyor yalnız Kuran. Böyle idare edildi yani. Korka korka. (Interview conducted on 9/17/2019)

<sup>41</sup> Biz başörtüsüyle okula gidemiyorduk. Dışardan bitiriyorduk. Normal liseye gitsen başını açacaksın ama ergenlik çağına gelmiş bir genç kız başını açmak istemiyor. Öyle olunca da böyle bir kuran kursunda eğitim alarak dışardan bitirerek diplomasını almasını istiyor. Daha sonra baktı ki, daha küçükten öğrencileri, çocukları, insanları nesli bu şekilde dönüştürebiliriz. O şekilde düşünüyordu. Anaokulu çağında el atmalıyız biz bu işe diye. (Interview conducted on 1/8/2020)

This narrative reveals how women who were otherized through prohibitions because they were veiled, seek ways to create alternatives. These searches led them to establish different institutions. So to speak, with veiling, on the one hand, veiled women encountered negative experiences such as being other but on the other hand, they provided a collective spirit and tried to institutionalize under a common roof. Additionally, after being *other*, they try to oppose every problem that is related to *otherness*. In this context, Gülden's motivation about veiling in her narrative is meaningful.

Then, when the 28th of February<sup>42</sup> started, I had a neighbor to my office, Aydın Durmuş, may Allah bless his soul. He was one of the leading lawyers in the headscarf struggle. We all talked, what will. I said, talk is cheap, I will go, I will start to deal with the cases, files of these women. Who needs what, where; who needs what to do... I am a lawyer, at least I have a profession that can do something, I will go and meet, I will ask.<sup>43</sup>

For Gülden, a newly veiled lawyer in those years, the ban on headscarf was a driving force in the struggle for human rights. Gülden, who advocate women wearing headscarves in the courts until the lifting of the headscarf ban in Turkey in the first decade of the 2000s, as I mentioned earlier are now dealing with cases of people in the international criminal court for war victims. As in this example, in every common pain encountered after being *other*, the collective soul comes into play, the boundaries become evident, the meanings are attributed to togetherness, eventually *other* also produces an answer to protect itself.

After these discussions about the embodiment of emotion, Göle's approach to the veiled Muslim women is meaningful. Göle, referring to the Foucault's thesis that the body is the symbolic focus of power struggles as well as the struggles to resist, she indicates that the Islamist woman's veiled body symbolizes the opposition of the western civilization's dominance over the lifestyle (Göle 2016, 175). Because western modernism is built with the values of rationalism and positivism as an extension of enlightenment and industrialization (Göle 2016, 171). This made it impossible to

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<sup>42</sup> She refers to the military coup on February 28, 1997.

<sup>43</sup> Sonra 28 şubat başlayınca benim Allah rahmet eylesin bir büro komşum vardı, Aydın Durmuş. Başörtüsü mücadelesinin önde gelen avukatlarından. Biz hepimiz konuşurduk, ne olacak böyle, böyle oluyor, şöyle oluyor, ben, dedim böyle lafla konuşmakla olmaz, ben gideceğim, bu başörtülülerin davalarıyla, dosyalarıyla ilgilenmeye başlayacağım. Kimin, nerde ne ihtiyacı varsa, kime nerde ne yapmak gerekiyorsa. Avukatım, en azından bir şey yapabilecek bir mesleğim var, gidip tanışacağım, soracağım. (Interview conducted on 7/3/2019)

practice religious and traditional ties in modern life, as I discussed before. When we evaluate Ahmed's emphasis on the emotional relationality with Göle, we can clearly see where the journey of emotion in social life can go. In this context, veiling appears as a visible phenomenon in the body-emotion relationship. Mostly veiled women have a memory or a narrative about veiling, whether she covered in adolescence or at a later age. Gülay Atasoy's book titled "Nasıl Örtündüler?/How they were veiled?" includes the veiling stories of a group of leading Muslim women including my respondents as well (Atasoy 2012).

As I have discussed in this section, the veiling of faith-based emotion is important for both institutionalization and determining the direction of other activities. As the religious condition of Muslim women being visible outside the home, veiling was banned by the state in official institutions, Muslim women were pushed to the other position in social life. Women who experienced this othering have produced an emotional collective spirit among themselves. This faith-based emotional repertoire has moved them to find new places of existence. In this process, women were institutionalized as associations and foundations. In addition, the first steps of institutionalization are educational institutions, as seen in the narratives, in order to understand Muslim women's motivations.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Guys, that's it for me today. I want to speak too deeply, but believe me, my heart doesn't stand anymore, I think, because of blood pressure. My mom used to say, "my daughter, you are saying from your heart while you are telling. So, my mom wanted to mean "you are feeling what you speak". It's really something unavoidable. Like Akif says "Adam, aldırma da geç git diyemem, aldırırım".<sup>44</sup> Really the same. I cannot say without caring. My heart is burning, what should I do? I'm not acting. I hope Allah will record as worship, accept it.<sup>45</sup>

These remarks belong to the founder of HİKDE, established by Muslim women in 1973, by Mukaddes Çıtlak. When we met for the second time for my work, after speaking for 40 minutes without stopping, she told us these remarks. We also noticed that she felt tired because she spoke with great excitement throughout her speech. In fact, I experienced this situation in many of my respondents during the fieldwork. All the women I spoke to experienced emotional intensity while telling their experiences. Sadness, pain, anger, love, excitement were all felt in their conversations. They were talking with a serious responsibility while sharing their experiences with me. One of my respondents, one of the founders of HİKDE, Mevlüde Uçar, when we met in a cafe in Üsküdar, she showed me the injuries in her arms because she had fallen before, but she agreed to come with her cane and talk to me. During her hours of speech, I had to review many points to analyze her motivation. In fact, my work aims to analyze exactly this motivation.

My work focused on the analysis of the motivation of Muslim women who started to institutionalize through associations in the 1970s. Although it is planned as a historical study, the fact that these institutions are still active today has brought a new dimension to my work. Although it was defined as an association/dernek and foundation/vakıf in

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<sup>44</sup>This string is a famous one by written Mehmet Akif Ersoy who is poet of the national anthem of the Republic of Turkey. ("Never mind, don't care, pass it" I cannot say, I care.")

<sup>45</sup>Çocuklar bugün lük benden bu kadar. Ben de istiyorum ki çok derin derin konuşalım ama inan kalbim dayanmıyor artık tansiyondan mı nedir. Annem derdi ki, kızım sen anlatırken yüreğinden anlatıyorsun. Yani yaşıyorsun demek istiyordu annem. Hakikaten de elimde olan birşey değil. "Adam aldırma da geç git diyemem, aldırırım" diyor ya Akif, hakikaten aynısı. Aldırmadan söyleyemiyorum. Yüreğim yanıyor ne yapayım. Rol yapmıyorum ki. İnşallah Allah ibadet kaydetsin, kabul etsin. (Interview conducted on 2/27/2020)

the 1970s, the organizations that are the continuation of these institutions are defined as civil society organizations today. Women who founded institutions as foundations and associations in the 1970s also defined these institutions as civil society organizations after the 90s and continued their activities with this nomenclature. For this reason, I analyzed historical and theoretical civil society discussions to enrich my work from a more layered perspective. After discussing how the concept was understood in Ancient Greek and the age of enlightenment, I also discussed its historical return in the 1970s. While analyzing the dynamic nature of civil society, I recognized that its nature is also open to different interpretations throughout its history. Hence, I examined the concept in the context of Turkey about how it has been experienced and interpreted. Also, I focused on how the definition of “civil society organization” emerged both internationally and in the context of Turkey’s. In doing so, also, I have historically revealed how Muslim women are involved in this process. Because, the establishment of institutions by Muslim women in the 1970s is an important stage in their interpretation of civil society and attributing meanings to it.

After analyzing the dynamic nature civil society and changing interpretations of it I also mentioned the orientalist nature of these discussions. Because civil society was an instrument to measure the “East” and Islamic societies according to modern values and position them accordingly by “Western” scholars (Turner 1994; Aktay 2015). For this reason, I analyzed the debate about whether civil society exists in eastern or Islamic societies in terms of Foucault's knowledge-power relationality (Foucault 1977). I emphasized how the imaginary the East and the West definitions produced were strengthened through discourses with reference to Edward Said (Said 1979). Not ignoring all these discussions about civil society, nevertheless, I tried to analyze how the Muslim women made sense of civil society by following the experts who emphasized the importance of analyzing how the dynamic structure of civil society is interpreted in different societies (Aktay 2015; Lewis 2001).

Historically the institutionalization of women's associations and foundations in Turkey is seen in traces of the *vaqf* (endowment) understanding/*vakıf kültürü*. (Başar 2019; Ataseven and Erdoğan 1999). This motivation is clear both in the narratives they shared their experiences in the 70s and in the analysis of their discourses after the 90s. Although Muslim women are inspired by this historical tradition, the basis of this

tradition is related to the belief in Islam. At this point, it is seen that both the historical heritage and beliefs have an impact on women's motivation to institutionalize.

On the other hand, the political environment in the institutionalization process also had an impact on the activities of Muslim women. The modern-looking image of women encouraged by the new republic pushed Muslim women into the periphery of society (Kavakci 2010). In this case, Muslim women, who wanted to exist in social life, tried to provide opportunities that they could not achieve in formal ways by alternative means. On the other hand, the difficulties women experienced in their past motivated them to find and expand these areas of activity. Due to the fact that the state did not provide religious education and not being able to perform their profession because they did not have modern looking, motivated Muslim women in Turkey to establish institutions in different areas.

At the heart of all these points I have discussed so far is the goal of realizing the religious beliefs of Muslim women. Due to the fact that Islam imposes responsibility on the individual, it requires Muslim women to exist in social life and to fulfill these responsibilities. To accomplish this, Muslim women first continued their activities in their home, in other areas of social life. In this context, based on their religious responsibilities, they tried to exist in social life by using historical vaqf understanding, past experiences and modern tools such as institutionalization.

By making use of the open interpretation nature of modern institutions, Muslim women used them as an opportunity to realize their religious goals. At this point, it is important to analyze what meanings women attach to these institutions and to understand their motivation. According to Robert Solomon, it is our emotions that give meaning to things (Solomon 1978, 197). Sara Ahmed also draws attention to the dimension of emotion that makes us move and feel and “holds in place and gives us a dwelling place” (Ahmed 2004b, 27). According to her, emotion is an element that is both circulating and sticking to us. Thus, emotion both moves and motivates the person, and circulates between bodies to make people with similar emotions perform similar actions. In this context, the emotionality of the Muslim women can be explained by having similar emotions, adding similar meanings to things. These emotions have directed women to find and expand different areas of activity.

In my study, I argued that the emotionality of Muslim women was related to their religious beliefs. With the belief that Islam imposes social responsibilities on both men and women, women organized these activities as religious responsibilities. Therefore, the meanings they attribute to institutions and activities are also religiously based. While doing this, they used the facilities they could use as a current instrument. State-controlled, modern institutions in the 70s were originally established to realize their religious beliefs.

I have examined the motivations of Muslim women from a multiplex perspective that will enrich my work. This method, which Şentürk (Şentürk 2019) uses inspired by Ibn Khaldun, sees body, soul and mind in interaction with human existence. Accordingly, human action is analyzed in visible (*zâhir*) and invisible (*bâtin*) dimensions. While the *zâhir* dimension is about the body, the *bâtin* dimension is the intention that gives soul to the action / body. It is important to consider the *bâtin* as well, as I analyze women's motivations in my work on the *bâtin* dimension such as emotion and belief. Because it includes emotions, intentions, interpretation, and attributing meaning to things and actions. Khaldun also examines human action by considering the relationship from material to divine. This approach is important in analyzing the beliefs and emotions of a Muslim women brought up in Islamic society. Because the meanings attributed to institutions by Muslim women in my study are related to their belief-based emotions.

The importance of religious belief in the analysis of my study is also important in understanding debates such as patriarchy and gender, which are an important dimension in women's studies. I argue that the interpretation of the relations of Muslim women with patriarchy in the context of the relationship between men and women of Islam. For this reason, respondents preferred not to talk about the patriarchal relationships within the family. As Muslim women concentrate on practicing Islamic values on a micro and macro scale, they prefer to ignore patriarchal influences within and outside the family, or to contend with them to the extent that religious orders allow. They stated that they did not see any negative effects on relationships with men in social life, outside the family. I argue that this is the case because in the 1970s women's working areas were in narrower frameworks that were not related to men. This is because Muslim women, who were active in social life after the 90s, stated that they

felt patriarchal effects in their relations with men and that they evidently struggled with them.

As a religious practice veiling brought a different dimension to my work. It is one of the most important practice of Muslim women's religious motivation, which is visible and reflected in daily life. I argue that veiling is the embodiment of faith-based emotion. The veiled Muslim women, visible in social life in the 1970s, could not actively exist in social life because the state did not see them as the ideal citizen. Veiling made women other, then this sense of “being other” produced a collective spirit in Muslim women. The motivation provided by this collective spirit brought women together and subsequently institutionalized. Courses opened for girls who are not able to study in public schools are among the first steps of institutionalization. Over time, their fields of work have diversified and expanded.

This work was inspired by the multiplicity, diversity and effectiveness of today’s civil society organizations established by Muslim women today. In this context, I tried to trace the institutions established by Muslim women after the republic. However, my main focus was on what motivations these women acted with while establishing institutions. When I deepened my research, I observed that religious beliefs, emotions, historical experiences and circumstances play important roles in these motivations. For this reason, I tried to analyze them from a multilayered perspective. My work will fill an important gap in the literature as the sources of motivation I have traced are shaped by the narratives I listen to from those who personally experience it.

### **1. Limitations of this Study and Suggestions for further Research**

My work on the activities of Muslim women in Turkey in social life is important to uncover the meanings attributed to their activities through their narratives. However, the fact that I cannot reach some interlocutors because they are old and some of them passed away is a limitation for my study. Since my thesis writing process coincides with a period, we are in quarantine due to the Covid 19 pandemic, it negatively affects both my fieldwork and resource searches, so there are limitations in both contexts. At the same time, since I am an “insider”, it can be considered as limitations in terms of both my analysis and their approaches.

My work focuses on the motivation of Muslim women who founded associations and foundations in the 70s. As a further research, I suggest that an ethnography can be conducted with men who did similar activities at that time. At the same time, I think it is important to examine the motivations of Muslim women who are active in civil society organizations today. This will allow us to compare the female motivation in both periods.

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## APPENDIX: List of Respondents

<b>Name Surname</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Education</b>
<b>Mevlüde Uçar</b>	74	High School
<b>Mukaddes Çıtlak</b>	80	High School
<b>Aynur Mısıroğlu</b>	83	University
<b>Reyhan Uzuner</b>	57	University
<b>Müzeyyen Taşçı</b>	49	University
<b>Gülden Sönmez</b>	51	University
<b>Tansu Körükçü</b>	66	Secondary School
<b>Sümeyye Nuroğlu</b>	47	University
<b>Türkan Kumru</b>	64	High School
<b>Havva Sula</b>	60	University
<b>Hülya Şekerci</b>	49	University
<b>Tuğba Albayrak</b>	56	University
<b>Halime Uyulan</b>	64	High School
<b>Gülhan Kavakçı</b>	80	University
<b>Yasemin Müftüoğlu</b>	52	University
<b>Meryem Sevim</b>	45	College Drop out
<b>Betül Sıcakyüzlü</b>	55	University
<b>Ravza Kavakçı</b>	48	University

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| 2014 – 2018 | BA in Theology, Cumhuriyet University, Türkiye                |
| 2018        | MA in Sociology, Ibn Haldun University, Türkiye               |