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THE SOCIAL COSNTRUCTION OF IDENTITY AND REALITY: THE CASE OF KUŞÇUOĞLU*

*Özcan GÜNGÖR**

ABSTRACT

Sociology does not address society as a sum of individuals; because society consists of ways of how people gathers around each other. But at this point, nature of the structure of society, becomes a problem for sociology and the case of actor or structure, appears as a main topic on researching social life. (Walsh, 2012: 23) This topic at some point, also present the debate among sociologists about how people envision the motivations to act in the social world. (Jenks, 2012: 358) But, both surrendering to a reality that is only the production of society and giving meaning to everything by himself is not expositional for this authenticity thats man. At this context man has an identity and a personality regardless of the determinant one. While constructing this identity, it is also known that there is an effect of an individual or a society.

As individuals construct their realities, they experience multiple identification phases influenced both by constructing and constructed concepts. This statement is a response given by Berger and Luckmann to an ancient debate of sociologists. Berger and Luckmann's theory, which argues that the influence of people, institutions, values and significant others shape the socializer's sense of reality substantially, mutuality is an eminent synthesis theory in modern sociology. In this theory that argues both in actor-structure dichotomy; their claim that the meaningful relations, which individuals encounter in externalization phase, are constructed by them is the practice of our research. Our goal in this research; the affects to his life and teachings, of the reality that Hacı Galip Kuşçuoğlu of Çorum constructed for himself and to show how much this reality have been affected by Çorum's environment. In this sense, this research which Kuşçuoğlu's teachings are being tested with

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Berger and Luckmann's theory, is based on a qualitative design and leaning on the postulation that on the ancient debate of individual-society.

STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

The problem of this research, is in the context of Berger and Luckmanns base theory, which the individual constructs reality with the mutual interaction of actor and structure centered approach, being explicated with G. Kuşcuoğlu.

In this frame of reference, identities as the process of constructing the reality in individual base, with a) how and where they are being produced, b) what effects does the produced identities have on individuals social and religious mentality, c) how this identity that is for the perception of reality justified in social base, d) in the process of constructing the identity, interpreting how Berger-Luckmanns constructing process applies to Mutasavvıf Galip Kuşcuoğlu of Çorum, sociologically revealing the levels of structure-actor dichotomy are the goals of this research.

In this study, problems like Kuşcuoğlu's life and his views religion based estimation, determining his position in tasavvuf and religious orders relation context, evaluation of his teachings with other teachings like his, are not in our interest. But as it is needed, to form a basis and to clarify the subject, his life and some views are to be contacted. In order to be discussed in sociological platforms, data of the field will be utilized in the context of our subject.

In the process of constructing the individual, this trait of identity, seems to be concerned about new experiences and interactions. This process is, both actual and structural, renewing every moment. This continuous constructing state which also is to be found in Yunus's expression as "We are reborn each tick, whom will be weary of us." with new fragments of reality and with the legacy of the past, shows the impressions of the yesteryears on the individual.

This condition by Berger and Luckmann is expressed as the thought as; reality is constructed socially, objective truth is learned in socialization phase and is internalized as subjective reality (Berger-Luckmann, 1991: 149). The individual lives in itself, an active identification with, from one side remembrance, from the other omission, and from another side perception. The memories and remembrances are at mostly influential at construction and revealance of the reality. With this regard, the choosingly remembered significant actions, stories, experiences, witnessings and narrations of the past, gives meaning to the individuals perception of identity and truth, dignifies his and enables the recognition of others of him.

Three Cyclical Pillars of the Process of Construction

It can be observed that Berger and Luckmann tell of three important circulations on the process of construction of reality.

Externalization: As the individual exhibit what they did and witnessed as actions, and as this externalization is repeated frequently, meaning too as a production, is institutionalized in historic process. In

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other words externalization, is the individuals profanation with both physical and mental operations.

Objectivation: It is observed as the individuals institutionalized actions, in different ways, become justified manners as they are perpetuated/accepted. These externalized actions and process, which is known by the society as different justification devices, are denoted as objectivation. Here as actor the individuals externalized action that he helped construct at the same time, becomes a reality without him and in fact “dehumanize”s and becomes as a law over the individual as to be presented as a law. In other words, it is an extent only reached in the wake of (again both physically and mentally) output of the reality that meets his own constructions as an extraverted facticity.

Internalization: The objectified values and actions, are internalized by the new generations that are in the socialization phase. This new generation with their actions and the roles they play, externalize what was objectified. This cycle, is the cycle of the reality of daily life. Although sometimes different realities enter this cycle, change is terribly slow. (Berger-Luckmann, 1991: 149) In other words internalization, is how the subject reality while transferring itself from the structures of objective world to the structures of subjective conscious, again getting installed into men by men. In this context socialization, rises from the dialectic relation of the individual and society, more precisely the relation itself gives us socialization (Berger 1967: 5).

THE LIFE OF HACI HASAN GALİP KUŞÇUOĞLU

Although Kuşçuoğlu is born in 1919, according to register office, he was born in 1921 in Çorum/Uçutlar neighborhood. He claims that he is an ancestor of Astronomy Scholar Ali Kuşçu. His family was a conservative family with close relations with religious orders environments. He lived in Çorum until 1948 and after that he did not break his connections with Çorum. Kuşçuoğlu’s sheikh was Hacı Mustafa Yardımedici of Maraş. He cohered to his sheikh in 1949. In 1956 he was declared a sheikh by his own sheikh. And in 1993 from Kadirilik and Rufailik, a new religious orders was born with the name of “Galibilik” (Özdemir, 2002). Kuşçuoğlu passed away in October 15 2013 in Antalya and was buried to his own dergah in İstanbul.

His mother and father being “derviş” who are cohered with , His uncle Hacı Bekir Kuşçuoğlu’s relations with Nakşis and Mevlevis, and his father-in-law’s ratifications from different religious orders; shows us that Galip Kuşçuoğlu was raised in a religious family where tasavvuf and religious orders cultures were dominant. (Kuşçuoğlu, 1998: 140; 282)

CONCLUSION

People are born into social structures that are not made by them. They are limited by norms, traditions and laws that directs them with generalized other. (Voser, 1997: 317) The individual, by considering others actions, he at the same time tries to integrate the social process. About the society the individual raised in and the manners shared in this society, shows the “standard view point” that is a part of every individuals identity (Vail, 2007: 1899).

Berger expresses that social life is constructed by individuals and in this construction a cycle, that consists of three phases, is experienced.

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These are; externalization, objectivation, and internalization phases. These phases are adaptable to a prophets religion experiences and may consist of the steps of nebevi social construction.

Kuşçuoğlu's more surrounding/integrating approach to social parts that are more flexible and may be seen as "other" is in some way like the general character of sufis. Therefore we are not concerned in verifying this theory because of this thoughts. But in the case of relation to the theory, the construction of identity and reality that are constructed with the same symbols, meaning worlds and generalized other effects are normal to resemble each other. There is a general recognition that the sufis are in a more positive attitude towards religions other religions more than the non-sufi muslims. In this sense it is possible to give many examples such as: Ibn Arabi's "belief that all religions main ingredients are one"; Mevlana's "the lamps are different but the light is the same" thought; Yunus Emre's "the source of religions are like water flowing out of one fountain". (Yaran, 2001: 326 His positive and tolerating attitude towards Armanians, Alavis and Ahli Kitab, are indissociable with Çorum's cultural, politic and religious atmosphere which he was born, raised and experienced his base socialization. The stories told and the socio-economic structure of Çorum, seems to be influenced this configuration.

Finally as a sufi person, towards Kuşçuoğlu's discourse about "other" are not prioritized on the normative patterns and responsibilities, but on the side of communal living and social tolerance. This way he, instead of giving certain emphasis on Islamic worshipping, valued the "meaning" that makes communal living possible and used his discourse, which he inherited from his personal identity, to construct social identity.

Keywords: Peter Berger-Thomas Luckmann, Social Construction of Reality, Identity, H. G. Kuşçuoğlu, Generalized Other, Religious Orders

KİMLİK VE GERÇEKLİĞİN SOSYAL İNŞASI: KUŞÇUOĞLU ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Sosyolojinin toplumu sadece bireylerin toplamı olarak ele alması mümkün değildir; çünkü toplum, insanların bir insanlar topluluğu şeklinde bir araya toplanmasına ilişkin yollardan oluşmaktadır. Ancak bu noktada toplumsal yapının içeriğinin doğası sosyoloji için bir sorun haline gelir ve yapı mı aktör mü konusu toplumsal hayatın araştırılmasında merkezi bir konu olarak ortaya çıkar. Bu konu bir yönüyle de toplumsal dünyada eylemde bulunmaya motive eden şeyi insanları nasıl tasavvur ettikleri hakkında sosyologlar arasında var olan tartışmayı sunacaktır. Ancak insan denen gerçeğin sadece toplumun ürünü bir gerçekliğe teslim oluşu da her şeye kendi başına bir varlık olarak gerçeklik katışı da açıklayıcı olamamaktadır. Bu bağlamda hangisi etken olursa olsun insanın sahip olduğu bir kimlik ve kişilik vardır. Bu kimlik inşa edilirken birey veya toplumun etkisinin var olduğu da bilinmektedir.

Bireyler kendi gerçekliklerini inşa ederken hem üreten ve hem de üretilen anlamlardan etkilenecek çoklu bir kimlik edinme süreçleri yaşamaktadır. Bu ifade sosyologların kadim bir tartışmasına Berger ve

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Luckmann'ın verdiği bir cevaptır. Burada bireyin yaşadığı asli sosyalleşme hayatında etkili olan kişi, kurum, dinleti, değer ve “anlamli öteki”lerin onun gerçeklik algısını büyük oranda şekillendirdiğini iddia eden Berger ve Luckmann'ın teorisi modern sosyolojide önemli bir sentez teoridir. Yapı-aktör dikotomisinde ikisinin de birbiriyle karşılıklığını savunan bu teori; bireyin dışsallaştırma aşamasında muhatap olduğu anlamli ilişkileri ileride kendisinin ürettiğini iddia etmeleri bizim çalışmamızın pratiğini oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada amacımız; Çorumlu Hacı Galip Kuşcuoğlu'nun kendisi için geliştirdiği gerçekliğin hayatına, öğretisine etkileri ve bu gerçekliğin Çorum ortamından ne kadar etkilendiğinin ortaya konması oluşturmaktadır. Bu anlamda Kuşcuoğlu'nun anlatılarının Berger ve Luckmann'ın teorisiyle sınırlanmaya çalışıldığı bu çalışma nitel bir dizaynı esas almış ve kadim birey-toplum tartışmasında İslam'ın da karşılıklılık temelli özne merkezli bir ilişki üzerinde durduğu ön kabulüne yaslanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Peter Berger-Thomas Luckmann, Gerçekliğin Sosyal İnşası, Kimlik, H. G. Kuşcuoğlu, Genelleştirilmiş Öteki, Tarikat

INTRODUCTION

There is an ancient debate among sociologists. This debate resolves around the question: is it structure (functionalists) that designates the individual; in other words, does the individual passively play his given role with society? Or is the actor (interpretivism) as an active agent, contributing to its formation and shaping the society? (Wallace-Wolf, 2004: 3-16; Çelik, 2009: 206; Bodur, 2006: 77; Collins, 2010: 1; Çiftçi, 2003: 93) This question has sound arguments in both sides.

Sociology does not address society as a sum of individuals; because society consists of ways of how people gathers around each other. But at this point, nature of the structure of society, becomes a problem for sociology and the case of actor or structure, appears as a main topic on researching social life. (Walsh, 2012: 23) This topic at some point, also present the debate among sociologists about how people envision the motivations to act in the social world. (Jenks, 2012: 358) But, both surrendering to a reality that is only the production of society and giving meaning to everything by himself is not expository for this authenticity that man. At this context man has an identity and a personality regardless of the determinant one. While constructing this identity, it is also known that there is an effect of an individual or a society.

With this aspect identity, is the consciousness to know and the indication to be known in relation with how man is seen and how he sees himself. The concepts, to know and to be known, shapes in relation with resemblance-distinctness. Recognizing the resemblance and distinctness, is through confrontation of individuals in social life. Confrontation, reveals itself as consolidation and confliction in different relations with different states. In this day and age, the confliction we see in multiple areas of social life, happens especially through identity. As identity in today's world is perceived and presented as a value, it is seminal to determine the place of identity in political conflictions. Within this scope, these questions are to be answered: If identities are produced; in what basis, how, by whom, and why they are produced?

When considering the production of identity within dialectic, in people whom were raised in 1920s and 1930s Turkey along with the individual-society relations, it is conspicuous that there is a crisis among objectified knowledge and identity, and objective knowledge in social life areas. Because in Turkey, especially between the years 1925-1950, Republican revolution laws were enforced harshly. In this phase the “Religious Orders” whose tekkes, türbes, dergahs, and so on

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were legally conjured away, tenaciously and more often secretly, preserved their existence in private venues or mosques etc. and in sociologically severe circumstances. This way the continuity in the culture of religious orders were established and sheiks delivered their messages to their disciples in some way. In this period, for the most part invidiously, oppressions, banishments, and the sheiks attitudes on allegations of inhumanity on opinion leaders, raised their charismas. (Günay-Ecer, 1999: 241-45) In this stage public patronage on tekke and religious orders members can be explained with embracing religion, standing against oppression, civil disobedience, persisting on religion, and not restraining the bonds of soul.

Starting from 1950s Turkey entered into a swift process of socio-economic alteration. The rapid industrialization, commercialization, and urbanization events in this era, traditional structures started to melt down but they could not be replaced with modern structures in time. (Kıray, 1999: 7) Alienation in accelerated urbanization (rural-urban migration with industrial, commercial activities) process, the towns own dereliction/rootlessness and with cold apathy appearing, people among crowds started to experience severe loneliness. (Bauman, 2002: 65 vd.) Especially the distress on public, the pressure against public religious thoughts and sense of religious orders in the name of laicism, caused the people to have belief and emotion based concerns about losing religion and cultural codes being resolved. As the people and the state were distant in all areas, people starkly felt the severe loneliness, and started having thoughts about the persistence of the process. Instead of the tradition that brings the social solidarity forward, new political views and life styles appeared that feeds dissolution and alienation.

The nimble social and cultural reformations that the country experienced caused many traumas especially in the religious area, so the people saw religion as a peaceful haven, a source for solidarity and a solid symbol of identity. In this ambience in Çorum, in the last years of Ottoman Dynasty, represented by Ali Sezai Kurtaran and after him Mustafa Yardımedici, and lead by Galip Kuşçuoğlu whom described himself as Kadiri and Rufai, it is observed that the religious orders of Galibilik, choose new areas of expression in troubled times like those. The environment that the leaders of the religious orders experienced identification and socialization (Çorum), the people (A. Sezai Kurtaran-M. Yardımedici) and the socio-cultural world, the setting which he built his reality is to be seen eminent.

The problem of this research, is in the context of Berger and Luckmanns base theory, which the individual constructs reality with the mutual interaction of actor and structure centered approach, being exemplified with G. Kuşçuoğlu.

In this frame of reference, identities as the process of constructing the reality in individual base, with a) how and where they are being produced, b) what effects does the produced identities have on individuals social and religious mentality, c) how this identity that is for the perception of reality justified in social base, d) in the process of constructing the identity, interpreting how Berger-Luckmanns constructing process applies to Mutasavvıf Galip Kuşçuoğlu of Çorum, sociologically revealing the levels of structure-actor dichotomy are the goals of this research.

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FROM PACKAGE IDENTITY TO CONSTRUCTED IDENTITY

The acquisition and development of any kind of identity the individual has, can be explained at one side with the already existing one from society and at the other with the acknowledgement that it came to being by himself. Durkheimlike with the identity that was given, the individual is not active, it takes its form with the effect of a power that goes beyond the individual. In the process of constructing identity, the individual is shaped by the society he borns into, thus when he comes to life, he will be presented the subjective truths given by society.

In the process of constructing the individual, this trait of identity, seems to be concerned about new experiences and interactions. This process is, both actual and structural, renewing every moment. This continuous constructing state which also is to be found in Yunus's expression as "We are reborn each tick, whom will be weary of us." with new fragments of reality and with the legacy of the past, shows the impressions of the yesteryears on the individual.

This condition by Berger and Luckmann is expressed as the thought as; reality is constructed socially, objective truth is learned in socialization phase and is internalized as subjective reality (Berger-Luckmann, 1991: 149). The individual lives in itself, an active identification with, from one side remembrance, from the other omission, and from another side perception. The memories and remembrances are at mostly influential at construction and revealance of the reality. With this regard, the choosingly remembered significant actions, stories, experiences, witnessings and narrations of the past, gives meaning to the individuals perception of identity and truth, dignifies his and enables the recognition of others of him.

Especially mans, starting from his life base socialization, no atmosphere that was lived, experienced, heard, seen stays as he lived them. Some of it is expressed, some of it is forgotten, some of it is deposited and appears as experience, and finally some of it is reproduced and forms the entirety that is the subjective reality of the individual in the social life. If no condition such as this is reached, the individual cannot construct his reality and cannot examine which of the influences that affected his identity is still there or will be there. (Berger-Luckmann 1991: 149-157)

Three Cyclical Pillars of the Process of Construction

It can be observed that Berger and Luckmann tell of three important circulations on the process of construction of reality.

a) Externalization: As the individual exhibit what they did and witnessed as actions, and as this externalization is repeated frequently, meaning too as a production, is institutionalized in historic process. In other words externalization, is the individuals profanation with booth physical and mental operations.

b) Objectivation: It is observed as the individuals institutionalized actions, in different ways, become justified manners as they are perpetuated/accepted. These externalized actions and process, which is known by the society as different justification devices, are denoted as objectivation. Here as actor the individuals externalized action that he helped construct at the same time, becomes a reality without him and in fact "dehumanize"s and becomes as a law over the individual as to be presented as a law. In other words, it is an extent only reached in the wake of (again both physically and mentally) output of the reality that meets his own constructions as an extraverted facticity.

c) Internalization: The objectified values and actions, are internalized by the new generations that are in the socialization phase. This new generation with their actions and the roles they play, externalize what was objectified. This cycle, is the cycle of the reality of daily life. Although sometimes different realities enter this cycle, change is terribly slow. (Berger-Luckmann,

1991: 149) In other words internalization, is how the subject reality while transferring itself from the structures of objective world to the structures of subjective conscious, again getting installed into men by men. In this context socialization, rises from the dialectic relation of the individual and society, more precisely the relation itself gives us socialization (Berger 1967: 5).¹

Here in terms of the formation of reality, while the circulation of it successfully presents both the structure and the individual, the context of meaning that the individual is in and the relations he witnesses, the musical ambiances he feels, the values he shares, with the architectural style the types of worshipping and different forms of personal religiousness; will be the most important cultural luggage and suppression while he produces his identity based on reality.

The first thing to point out is that both the individuals reality is produced by himself and that his manners are seen as a product of this reality. Although the people cannot notice this circulation, it should not go unnoticed that the perception of reality of individuals, as it were their fate, are modes that surround them throughout their lives. Within the frame of what has been denoted, we have seen how the society objectifies as a result of the individuals actions externalization. And after this point, we will see how the individual get under the influence and how he is reshaped by the reality he produced. Undoubtedly, the most eminent concept in this process of examination is internalization, which is the individual embracing the produced reality. Men needs to get through the process of socialization as he internalizes the reality.

The first environment the individual faces with the reality of life is the primal socialization phase. In this phase the will of the individual, along with being more passive, can be referred to as semi-automatic. At the same time the meaningful manners and attitudes the familt has, also forms the most important aspect of the individuals life. This phase includes eminent data from the point of the environment the individual produces and gets influenced as he produces his own reality in the externalization.

In a sense, in this phase which the parent acts as a filter for the child and creates his mind map step by step, the most important factor is upon, in Berger's approach, in "significant others". Because the individual codes the people and objects other than him as "others" and identificatees with them by direct or indirect ways. In this phase it is not possible for the individual to completely emerge as a product of the environment that wraps him externally and internally. (Okumuş, 2014: 437)

Along with this, the life-long socialization that is also production and participation is also called as accidental socialization. Things learned in actual socialization are more permanent in the brain and the ones achieved in accidental socialization, shapes over actual socialization. In other words, in this socialization process, the individual base reference point is the reality of actual socialization; the reality of accidental socialization, substantially, internalizes if it is not contrary to the reality of actual socialization. (Berger-Luckmann, 1991: 149-166)

THE LIFE OF HACI HASAN GALİP KUŞÇUOĞLU

Although Kuşçuoğlu is born in 1919, according to register office, he was born in 1921 in Çorum/Uçutlar neighborhood. He claims that he is an ancestor of Astronomy Scholar Ali Kuşçu. His family was a conservative family with close relations with religious orders environments. He lived in Çorum until 1948 and after that he did not break his connections with Çorum. Kuşçuoğlu's sheikh was Hacı Mustafa Yardımedici of Maraş. He cohered to his sheikh in 1949. In 1956 he was declared a sheikh by his own sheikh. And in 1993 from Kadirilik and Rufailik, a new religious orders

¹ See for a dialectical approach in this Berger (Kirman, 2015).

was born with the name of “Galibilik” (Özdemir, 2002). Kuşçuoğlu passed away in October 15 2013 in Antalya and was buried to his own dergah in İstanbul.

His mother and father being “derviş” who are cohered with , His uncle Hacı Bekir Kuşçuoğlu’s relations with Nakşis and Mevlevis, and his father-in-law’s ratifications from different religious orders; shows us that Galip Kuşçuoğlu was raised in a religious family where tasavvuf and religious orders cultures were dominant. (Kuşçuoğlu, 1998: 140; 282)

Kuşçuoğlu with the “common Islamic knowledge” (Mardin, 1992:15) of his environment, was thought to him by the constant repeating of the succinct words of the religious orders elders.

On the other hand he, until he finished his military service, perceived these words simply as words of wisdom, but he tells that once he cohered to his sheikh he realized the meaningful depth of these words. (Kuşçuoğlu, 2003, 197)

As Kuşçuoğlu states, his childhood and growth was in Çorum. In 1935 he dropped out of middle school before starting the second year. Then he worked with his father at a business called “Çorum Paşa Hamamı”. But this job bored him because it was passivating him. (Kuşçuoğlu, 2001: 44) Whereas he, with his height of 1.82 cm. has an energetic nature as he was the hitter in volleyball and playing outside right as a footballer in Çorumspor. (Kuşçuoğlu, 2003, 113) Surprising his family, he starts working as an apprentice in a carpenter. And after 3 years he became the master. (Kuşçuoğlu, 2001: 48)

In 1939 before he went to serve in the military, he married to Fatma Hanım, the only child of Hacı Mustafa Anaç Efendi of Çorum who had a strong place on religious orders tradition. With the heritage (His share) left from his family, he started a business and started doing furniture business, iron mongering and lumbering. (Kuşçuoğlu, 1998: 127)

This phase continued on for about 6 years. His sheikh, in this time taught Kuşçuoğlu tasavvuf personally. Besides, Kuşçuoğlu states that he ran Hacı Bekir Baba of Çorum , Hacı Ali Efendi, his father in-law Hacı Mustafa Anaç Efendi whom were Rufai sheiks; Hacı Sami Efendi, Sofu Ökkeş Efendi of Kahramanmaraş whom were Nakşibendi sheiks; Mithat Baba of Konya whom was a Mevlevi Sheikh close. Kuşçuoğlu also states that other that the education of the mentioned sheiks, he read numerous books about religion and tasavvuf.

By these statements, it is open that Kuşçuoğlu was raised in a conservative environment with people who were members of tasavvuf but he never had a proper academic religious education or secular school education. In these circumstances, it is seen that the symbols system he found in externalization and objectification phases and every meaningful relationship he was a part of, influenced his construction of identity.

Galibilik as a Religious Group

Galibilik, with the leadership of Galip Kuşçuoğlu, is a religious orders that was developed from 1950 and to the following years. Kuşçuoğlu whom was a sheikh in Kadirilik-Rufailik, states that the responsibility of Galibilik, which was a predecessor of these traditions, was also given to him. Galibis are carrying out their organized activity on many places of Turkey. The religious orders after the death of Kuşçuoğlu, which uses the name “Tevhid” in all its foundations, has two centers in Turkey. At the same time after the sheiks death, it also functions as two sections of the two khalifas. These are the two major complexes in İstanbul Gürpınar and Ankara Hüseyingazi. Along with those there are other mosques and foundation buildings bonded to Galibilik in cities such as İzmit, Antalya, Eskişehir, Çorum, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Adana, Konya, Bursa, Kırıkkale, Tokat, Kilis and İzmir. (Parlamış, 2012)

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Çorum's Social Structure as the "Generalized Other"

From the time of Fatih to the middle of 19. century all of Çorum consisted of Muslims. Çorum was shining out with its closeness to Samsun, because of the needs of more nourishment and raw material needs of the industrializing Europe. As in the 1831 population census of Çorum no non-muslims were recorded, in a jizya book of 1837 55, and 51 non-muslim merchants were recorded in a sharia registry of 1839. We can observe from the sharia registries of Çorum in the years of 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, that numerous Armenians were purchasing houses, shops, lands, fields and orchards. Thus it is open that between 1845-555, Armenians were settling in to Çorum. (Turan, 2014: 2) It is seen in the sharia registries of Çorum that Armenians had houses and were living in Pazar, Kubbeli, Sancaktar, Hacı Yusuf, Şeyh Eyüp, Atıcı Ali Evveli, Acel-i Ula, Atıcı Ali Ula, Sofular, Çakır, Umid Halife, Çakıryan, Gülabibey and Emin Halife neighborhoods. (Turan, 2014: 3) Armenians in Çorum were mostly living in Çömlekçi neighborhood. Moreover it was known as Armenian neighborhood. (Turan, 2014: 3; Korkmaz, 2003: 88)

Table 1: Movements of Muslims and non-muslims in Çorum¹

	1901 (House) ²		1902 ³ (House)		1907 (House)		1914 ⁴ (Person)		1927 (Person) ⁵	
Çorum Center	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
	16488	779	17080	842	18022	836	83150	1786	247,722	202

The people of Çorum in the national struggle and in the quelling of Çapanoğlu rebellion, took their place in the struggle of independence in/with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal and his friends. (Kodal, 2009: 235)

There is no doubt that the support given to M. Kemal was deeply accepted by the public and turned into narratives. Especially in the national struggle, against the different provocations, it can be understood that Alavis of Çorum supported M. Kemal and that there was unity in Çorum. (Şener, 2006: 66) This situation prepared grounds for them to alienate each other.

There are 199 villages bound to Çorum. While 75 of these are Alavi villages, 7 of these are Alavi Sunni mixed and 117 of these are Sunni villages. Considering Çorum's demographic structure, it is open that there is a serious population of Alavis in Çorum center from the past. (Haksever, 2008) After the urbanization of 60s in Turkey, assuming that the population of the center came from the villages, it is probable that the population proportions did not change. Besides, it is known that Alavis and Sunnis lived in the same neighborhoods and streets before the "alavi events". But after 80s, the city and the Alavi and Sunni settlements almost divided in half.

CONSTRUCTED IDENTITY: EVENTS, SYMBOLS AND NARRATIVES

Armenians

Hacı Galip Hasan Kuşçuoğlu's furniture shop is in a street where both Turk and Armenian masters reside. He, does his job with his Armenian neighbors in this street. His Armenian neighbors are Artin and Bedros masters. These people, whom Hacı Galip Hasan Kuşçuoğlu describes as "clean and creepy", has warm and sincere relations with their Turkish neighbors. When the shop owner Bekir Koç passed away, Armenian masters preformed the funeral prayer; while some of the relatives

² Distribution of non-Muslims: 608 Armenian, 135 Greek, 14 Protestants, 22 Catholic.

³ Distribution of non-Muslims: 657 Armenian, 149 Greek, 14 Protestants, 22 Catholics.

⁴ Distribution of non-Muslims: 1231 Armenian, 555 Greek.

⁵ Distribution of non-Muslims: 162 Armenian, 19 Catholick, 16 Christian.

of the departed watched without performing the funeral prayer, they performed the funeral prayer with the Turks. Kuşçuoğlu asked them how they prayed and they answer as “We performed an ablution like you and we prayed by imitating you. Why would we not pray the prayer of someone we respect.”

Kuşçuoğlu, after conversating with Master Artin about Islam, asks him: “Why don’t you embrace the prophet of the end times” and gets the answer: “In fact I do, the prophet of god is the right prophet.” And to the second question Kuşçuoğlu asked him: “then why don’t you want to live his sharia and become a Muslim?” Master Artin’s answer is as it goes: “I had only one heart, and I have bonded to Jesus’s sharia. I don’t have a second heart to give. I am pleased and satisfied of my state.” (Kuşçuoğlu, 2003: 166-69) Kuşçuoğlu, who speaks of Christian public as “Our muslim, mumin and muttaki brothers”, is especially effected by the work ethics and frankness about religion of Artin and Bedros two christian furniture masters.

These two stories that was narrated by Ethem Erkoç, whom has works on Çorum’s local history, is important for Çorum’s cultural memory and construction of identity. An Armenian tinsmith, while doing his job for a client from Çorum, the masters boy whispers to his fathers ears a couple of times. Finally it is apparent that the boy call on his dad to come home for the lunch but the Armenian tinsmith does not want to go. The client from Çorum who understands says: “go and eat at home or eat here” The master says: “No way neighbor, today is your day of fasting, I can’t disrespect you like that.” To show his respects to his fasting neighbor.

In another story an Armanian citizen is leaving a big part of his field blank. When asked why does not he cultivate the field he answers “I should not block the neighbors, animals, birds etc. to ear their days bread, thats why I don’t cultivate that field.” Both of these stories are known in Çorum and does effect the popular belief.

The People of the Book

One of the main views of Kuşçuoğlu is to the translation of the surah al-Maida’s 51. Passage “O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for friends. They are friends one to another.” However to him the translation of the word “awliya” in the passage should be like this “O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for saints. They are saints one to another.” (Kuşçuoğlu, 1998, 220) What Kuşçuoğlu want to explain her is, that the for a muslim a muslim mentor, for a judaist a judaist mentor and for a christian a christian mentor is essential.

Kuşçuoğlu in one of his talks, when touching the subject of Islam-Iman-Awliya, emphasizing on a letter from a judaist Nesim Gezici, and his sincere expression of “kiss you on your hands”, speaks of how in his understanding of religion hate between religions turn to a fellowship. (Parlamış, 2012: 130)

Alavis

In the most general meaning the people who follow Kuşçuoğlu describe themselves as “ We are Hanafi in practice, ahl-i sunnah vel cemaat Maturidi in belief, our disposition is the gateway (I am the city of knowledge, and Ali is its gate) Alavi, our tarikat is Kadiri, Rufai and the union them, we are Galibi.” The Galibis, when positioning themselves among the existing tarikats, they do it in 3 different classifications. (Kuşçuoğlu, 1998: 17; Parlamış, 89) Basically tarikats are categorised in two Alavi and Bakri: Nakşibandi tariki alone is Bakri and all the other tarikats are categorized as Alavi. (Kuşçuoğlu, Meta1, :32) According to Kuşçuoğlu: “Causing conflicts between nations and the people who believe in the same religion is opposing his sharia. Ali is the gate of knowledge. They antagonized poeple to each other as a plot of international politicians; it is ignorance to treat them as non-muslim. How can we love the people who do not like Ahli Bayt without loving Ahli Bayt. This

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is not Islam. Do you know what being an Alavi means? It is learning religion from the fountain of Ali.” (Kuşçuoğlu, 2016)

DISCUSSION

Socialization, does not only cause the individual to be real on its own; it provides such an answer that to his experiences in the world, a proper conscious that goes to this reality and emotional circumstances. The attractions that are lived/experienced, along with keeping men within the world they live in and the stream of meaning, are also important for the construction of reality that how the relation is understood and created by others. In this meaning, Mead’s approach can be expanded: the individual takes others worlds just as he takes their manners and roles. Every role appears as a manner and emotion in the ego. (Berger, 2000: 248) Every society carries a repertoire of identities that are pieces of the members “objective knowledge”.

While the individual socializes, other identities like these also internalize. These do not stay as based circumstances of an objective reality that is “outside”, that became the inevitable base structures of the individuals conscious. In a way the individual looks at life from a scope of internalized meanings and symbols, relates to it and products his “self” by creating new forms. (Berger, 200: 243) In some meaning, the individual, by realizing himself in the society, understands his identity within a scope of social terms and as long as these symbols/meaning are in the society, he turns in to reality. (Berger, 2000: 244)

The identities that people present to others, as Goffman said their performances, represents the values that the society approves. When wanted to construct and ideal identity, it should be assumed that the manner that are not compatible with this identity are being avoided or hidden. (Goffman, 2004: 29) Whereas the main socialization phase of the construction of reality, the significant others effect on ego (I), although it is not in the ideal identity envisions, may affect the individual. And this after the individual contributes to society by producing, turns in to a objectified reality between the sheikh and the disciples.

Namely the individual, while from one side gets shaped by the society, from the other side shapes the society and ensures its maintenance. Institutionalization and justification, because they construct the objective reality, are between externalization and objectivation, and their socialization phases, because they are connected to internalization in the construction subjective identity, are positioned between objectivation and internalization. And the roles and act that externalizes the internalized are between the two.

The “root paradigms” of area of Çorum which Kuşçuoğlu was born into and raised, is thought to be helped to find his way on his personality and identity. In this meaning root paradigms, by Turner’s (1974: 50-51) emphasis, are meaning clusters that work as cultural maps for individuals. The most important result from this is the opportunity for Kuşçuoğlu to express himself to his followers in daily concrete strategies and his followers’ acceptance of the discourse. In a way his success, despite the “common public knowledge” of him, seems to be about his charisma.

On the other hand the compatibility of the discourse with the common opinion of Çorum in Kuşçuoğlu’s time, shows that these manners are socially justified. It is important for the discourse of Kuşçuoğlu to be favorable by his group. Because an individual in a religious group, does not think about what they after he joins the group, and does what he is expected to do, with the help of the symbols. (Coulon, 2010: 41) Therefore in the social structure that the individual resides, the social practices based on some common symbols, are not the meaningless expressions of social community, but an inseparable part of the peoples participation. (Layder, 2010: 190) In this context, most of the manner patterns are acts that the group brings and the individuals take as they are. Here just as there

is a remark about the sides of social constructions unquestioned acceptances over practice, there is also an emphasis on the help by symbols to the individual in the construction. (Layder, 2010. 191)

An Ottoman Thinker whom was raised in a culture such as this and became a marxist afterwards expresses a memory of his about this root paradigm like this.

“As it is religion in our city Edirne, instead of being a fear or a secret, was like an order of world. Because from every hill was rising kubbes and minares one more beautiful than the other. The city was full of these as living in their shadows and knowing that every one of them was of another master, not hearing the kubbes and minares meanings, not being influenced by them, was not possible for anyone.” (Aydemir, 1967: 31)

When examined, Kuşçuoğlu’s attitude towards both to the people of the book and to Alavis; it is possible to understand it as a protest against the applications in the atmosphere, a stance against cultural and social tension. Because in turrets fast alteration, instead of the Ottoman era’s multicultural experience social lines and classes tension being increasingly visible in social areas, seems to be effected Kuşçuoğlu. Here the opposition and the spaces in the cultural alteration that is caused by the latency of turkey to enter the modernization phase cannot be denied.⁶

Kuşçuoğlu’s discourse of Armenian, Alavi and the people of the book can be read as: opposing the literal living experience, in the negative atmosphere in the social base, traditional muslim manners and personal relation type, in the passage from tradition to modernness, with industry and mass communication society widening the borders of communal living,

Actually to read the discourse of externalization of Kuşçuoğlu’s identity as theory or theology is also wrong. Because the main these here is seen as an effort to eliminate the controversies of daily life. Namely a social structures, that is polarizing and being driven to struggle rhetoric, effects of normalizing daily life, in a way, draws attention.

This way it should be seen that various meanings, values, beliefs that have operability in a certain society, are being kept “together” by an interpretation of a reality that connects mens live to the cosmos as a whole. (Mardin, 1992: 166) In other words, it does not seem to be possible to counteract the symbols of culture although some of the recess and harsh times they are in. In Turkey the reformation and the social imaging that was attempted especially in the republic period, could not completely rip off the society of its traditional codes. But it should be said that the life and planning of Islamic morality, was under pressure, and most importantly experienced the tension between men’s ego and social life. But in spite of everything, it is open that traditional symbolism and narrative was inerably present in the ego of men and an indicator of its presence is in the discourse of Kuşçuoğlu.

CONCLUSION

People are born into social structures that are not made by them. They are limited by norms, traditions and laws that directs them with generalized other. (Voser, 1997: 317) The individual, by considering others actions, he at the same time tries to integrate the social process. About the society the individual raised in and the manners shared in this society, shows the “standard view point” that is a part of every individuals identity (Vail, 2007: 1899).

Berger expresses that social life is constructed by individuals and in this construction a cycle, that consists of three phases, is experienced. These are; externalization, objectivation, and

⁶ See for the change and the transformation of religious communities in Turkey (Kirman 2004).

internalization phases. These phases are adaptable to a prophets religion experiences and may consist of the steps of nebevi social construction.

Kuşçuoğlu's more surrounding/integrating approach to social parts that are more flexible and may be seen as "other" is in some way like the general character of sufis. Therefore we are not concerned in verifying this theory because of this thoughts. But in the case of relation to the theory, the construction of identity and reality that are constructed with the same symbols, meaning worlds and generalized other effects are normal to resemble each other. There is a general recognition that the sufis are in a more positive attitude towards religions other religions more than the non-sufi muslims. In this sense it is possible to give many examples such as: Ibn Arabi's "belief that all religions main ingredients are one"; Mevlana's "the lamps are different but the light is the same" thought; Yunus Emre's "the source of religions are like water flowing out of one fountain". (Yaran, 2001: 326)

It is possible to see Berger's projections of the construction of reality in the memoirs of Kuşçuoğlu. By this it is observable that the approach that memoirs are not just a passive pile of knowledge of the past but also an active explanation output is coherent. (Turan, 2014: 12)

Considering the fact that Kuşçuoğlu was born and raised in Çorum, his discourse also was presented as a "tebliğ" to examine if the environments also has effects. Depending on the Kadiri-Rufai tradition, it is possible to see his attitudes towards Armenians and Alavis in the projection of the communal living culture in 1920s and 30s Çorum. In spite of the other religious orders sheiks of the time, his acceptance of the other religious and sufi establishments with tolerance, draws attention. In his acceptances and discourse, with the Çorum's communal living culture, his family and the traditional public beliefs and tales was also, it is thought to be, effective. This way Kuşçuoğlu, as a sufi, was both effected by the communal living culture of Çorum and expressed these effects in the future as a part of his identity. For Kuşçuoğlu never has an official religious or secular education. Therefore it is also possible to see the critics of the common intellections and acceptances with their effects. The identity types and living areas he witnessed in the externalization phase, hardened in the objectivation phase without change and finally constructed himself in the internalization phase, in total with discourse. The tolerating statements of him, about his friendships in his memoirs, shows that he was a person whom influenced society.

His positive and tolerating attitude towards Armanians, Alavis and Ahli Kitab, are indissociable with Çorum's cultural, politic and religious atmosphere which he was born, raised and experienced his base socialization. The stories told and the socio-economic structure of Çorum, seems to be influenced this configuration.

Finally as a sufi person, towards Kuşçuoğlu's discourse about "other" are not prioritized on the normative patterns and responsibilities, but on the side of communal living and social tolerance. This way he, instead of giving certain emphasis on Islamic worshipping, valued the "meaning" that makes communal living possible and used his discourse, which he inherited from his personal identity, to construct social identity.

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