

## The Meaning of Religious Practices in German Everyday Life: The Case of Turkish Students\*

### Alman Gündelik Hayatı İçinde Dini Pratiklerin Anlamı: Türkiye Kökenli Öğrenciler Örneği

Şeyma KARAMEŞE

Research Assistant, Manisa Celal Bayar University, Faculty of Science and Art, Department of Sociology,  
Manisa, Turkey

Araştırma Görevlisi, Manisa Celal Bayar Üniversitesi, Fen- Edebiyat Fakültesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü, Manisa  
(seykaramese@hotmail.com)

#### Makale Bilgisi / Article Information

**Makale Türü / Article Types** : Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article  
**Geliş Tarihi / Received** : 11 Mayıs / May 2018  
**Kabul Tarihi / Accepted** : 09 Haziran / June 2018  
**Yayın Tarihi / Published** : 15 Haziran / June 2018  
**Yayın Sezonu / Pub Date Season** : Haziran / June  
**Cilt / Volume: 5 • Sayı / Issue: 1 • Sayfa / Pages:** 35-48

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**Abstract:** *Because of its long historical background, labour migration from Turkey to Germany has many implications within everyday life. With its huge potential migration is transforming both residents and migrants at the same time. Religion has an important function in this transformation because it is embedded in all sphere of life. In this study, different from other researches, it is focused on migration and religion with the perspective of everyday life sociology. This is because everyday life sociology makes easy to recognize the routines in and of social relations and practices. In doing so, it both gives importance to the ordinary and sees ordinary as a category of analysis. Religion as tactic and resistance mechanism of ordinary people- Turkish origin pupils- against the strategy of German education system stands at the center. The article finds that both within the school and outside of the school, religion has a crucial function for the continuity of Turkish identity. Students define themselves together with cultural and religious codes. These two codes could not be separated and the interpretation of these codes both different from as in Turkey and Germany.*

**Keywords:** *Everyday Life Sociology, Tactic, Strategy, Religion, Migration*

\* This paper is based on the author's unpublished Master study titled "Tactics and Everyday Resistance of Turkish Origin Pupils In German Schools".

**Öz:** Türkiye'den Almanya'ya doğru gerçekleşen işçi göçünün uzun tarihsel geçmişi bugün gündelik hayatın içinde birçok etkisi olan bir sürece yol açmıştır. Göç kendi içinde taşıdığı geniş potansiyelle hem yerli halkı hem de göçmenleri eş zamanlı dönüştürmektedir. Din bu dönüşümde hayati bir fonksiyona sahiptir, çünkü hayatın her alanıyla ilişkilidir. Bu çalışma diğer çalışmalardan farklı olarak göçe ve dine gündelik hayat sosyolojisi perspektifinde bakmaktadır. Gündelik hayat sosyolojisi sosyal ilişkileri kendi rutini içinde ve dışında anlayarak sıradan insanı araştırmanın merkezi yaparak görünenin ardında görünmeyeni anlamaya çalışır. Bu noktada din gündelik hayatta sıradan insanın taktik ve direniş biçimi olarak Alman eğitim sisteminin stratejilerine karşı merkeze oturmaktadır. Makalede hem okul içinde hem de okul dışında dinin Türk kimliğinin devamını sağlayan kritik bir rolü olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Öğrenciler kendilerini hem kültürel hem de dini kodlarla tanımlamakta ve bu iki kodlamanın birbirinden ayıramayacak kadar içiçe oldukları anlaşılmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Gündelik Hayat Sosyolojisi, Taktik, Strateji, Din, Göç

## INTRODUCTION

Migration, the crucial social phenomena in 21<sup>st</sup> Century has started to stand at the center of social discussions. With the construction of national states, the effect of globalization and industrialization, and the collapse of welfare state with the liberal policies, human mobility has been increasing day by day. All these variables make more visible to understand the dominant place of migration studies in 21<sup>st</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the importance of migration for economic and political perspectives, from the sociological standpoint, it is known that migration and ethnic diversity are the most sensitive subjects not only for origin but also receiving societies. This is because, it has social, cultural, religious, economic and political implications all together in the longer run<sup>2</sup>. It does not only transform immigrants but also changes the perspectives of residents.

In this study, despite the different migration waves in the history, I am going to understand the effects of labour migration, from Turkey to Germany which began with the sign of labor recruitment agreement in 1961 between two countries<sup>3</sup>. The numbers of Turkish migrants have reached from few thousands to 2.7 million people today<sup>4</sup>. Turkish workers who defined as guest worker in the beginning, have an important effect not only in the economy of Germany but also all sphere of everyday life. In that sense, dissimilar to other studies, I am going to analyze the effect of migration on new generation different from their parents. Turkish

1 Ahmet İçduygu & Kristen Biehl, "Türkiye'ye Yönelik Göçün Değişen Yörüngesi". *Kentler ve Göç. Türkiye, İtalya, İspanya* içinde, edited by Ahmet İçduygu, (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012), 9-73.

2 Stephen Castles, Hein de Miller and Mark J. Miller, *The Age Of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1.

3 Nermin Abadan-Unat, *Bitmeyen Göç Konuk İşçilikten Ulus-ötesi Yurttaşlığa* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2017).

4 Faruk Şen, "Almanya'daki Türkler – Entegrasyon veya Gettolaşma". [www.konrad.org.tr/Medya/%20Mercek/13faruk.pdf](http://www.konrad.org.tr/Medya/%20Mercek/13faruk.pdf), 2005 (24.05.2018).

origin students, maintain the school actively today are unit of analyze in this article. Today, this generation whose expectations different from old generations is under the effect of two cultures more than ever. They know more German language, they maintain German schools, they have German friends and many of them feel themselves both German and Turkish together so their practices and tactics in German daily life should be researched through considering with the values coming from their families and Turkish culture. Although two cultures seem contradictory to some extent, everyday life sociology makes meaningful to overcome this problem by showing new way of cultures, produced within daily routine.

After the researches, two years in Germany, it is observed that still religious practices have dominant place in the meaning world of children during the process of identity construction. Between two cultures, two religious and two values, these students construct new form of identity different from German and Turkish society. During the field, it is understood that religious practices which are interviewed with cultural values give clues about the life of immigrants and their children.

In German Society, not only for many migrants but also for many pupils, religion and culture are same things and religion is main dynamic to regulate routine of daily life both outside of school and within the borders of school. In the school activities and lessons, beliefs are very dominant to distinguish way of acting and responses towards practices. Moreover, eating practices are main indicator for where boundaries start and end between two cultures. For instance, pork is main border between being Turk and German. Sensitivity against pork can only be clear with explanation religious based tactics without separating it from culture. Despite the different sins in Islam, extreme sensitivity to pork cannot be explained only with religious identities. Turkish identity, being Muslim, being different from Non- Muslim people altogether explain the construction of sensitivity in daily life. Depending on this discussion, "What is the the meaning of religious practices in German everyday life for Turkish pupils? " is the main research question in this paper.

To answer the question, it should be focused on mainly Turkish origin students' education processes by considering their relationship between their routine life and school life because every day, these students struggle with power, discipline mechanisms and German cultural values different from the codes coming from their homes and families. As values of German culture and Turkish culture sometimes transmit contradictory practices to these pupils, to overcome this dual life style, they produce tactics and practices within schools and everyday life with the aid of their families.

After understanding the place of contradictory values in their life, I theorized the discussion with the concepts of everyday life sociology. This approach is different from the existing literature. As different from classical migration studies, instead of seeing Turkish people victims of education system in Germany, I conceptualize them active individuals who create tactics in daily life against the strategies of dominant values. Tactic, strategy and resistance are main concepts, used in the article to make issue clear with the perspective of everyday life sociology.

I conducted the research in Tubingen education region where I was appointed as a teacher because field is very familiar to me. Participant observation with 200 different students in two years and in- depth interview was with 20 students from three different school types are main research techniques in the study.

As a result, as qualitative research methods, participant observation and in-depth interview were used to understand deeply the meaning of religious practices in the construction of Turkish identity. This article mainly tries to analyze the relation between Turkish culture and religious practices and then, it looks for against the dominant German society how Turkish pupils construct new way of life, not totally German and Turkish. These pupils with the help of their families, creating new hybrid identities which can be also defined as "Euro-Turks". The concept, used for challenge against stereotypes of the representations of both in Turkey and host country and issues about religiosity, citizenship, ethnicity and globalization<sup>5</sup>.

## **ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY**

### **Analytical Framework**

Instead of classical migration theories and macro studies giving priority the structure instead of agents, this research is focused on micro relations to see how ordinary people also determine the structure in daily life during the article. From this perspective, micro resistance should be understood through analysing everyday life in where practices and tactics are produced and/or reproduced.

With the perspective of everyday life Sociology, without organizing or using force, resistance within everyday life is possible. This approach is very useful for social science because over emphasis on social structure in social sciences, the daily life of ordinary people or everything related to everyday life is underestimated. In that sense, micro studies which combine different disciplines in social sciences have expanded our point of view. Especially migration and ethnic studies which focus on the people out of the system is the study area of

<sup>5</sup> Ayhan Kaya and Ferhat Kentel, *Euro-Türkler, Türkiye ile Avrupa Birliği Arasında Köprü Mü, Engel Mi?* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2005), 3-4 .

everyday life sociology. From this perspective, since we have seen Turkish origin students as minority under the system of power, with its arguments, everyday life sociology becomes a theoretical standpoint for this research.

Henry Lefebvre and Michel De Certeau, the most important scholars with their concepts open big space to us in our theorization. In the first step, Lefebvre opens a place about the meaning of everyday relations. He starts with the question that "what is everyday life?" According to him, answering this question is not easy because everyday life is the most difficult sphere to frame and confused area to make clear and visible for research. Moreover, he sees everyday life both the place of repetitive actions but also production and reproduction. It has a creative character, it is structured and also it is experienced. Although it seems very familiar, it is more difficult to understand the exact meaning of routinized practices. In other words, everyday life is the place for organized relations of the human life but also the place of roles masking this organization. Lefebvre explains this dichotomy with this example;

In everyday life or in the full glare of the theatre footlights, human beings always behave like mystifies, who manage to 'play a role' precisely by exaggerating their own importance. Sometimes the acting is crude, sometimes extremely subtle; and more over the actor becomes committed, compromised; it is a serious business. The parts must be acted out until the end; they are not pure roles, which an actor can give up when he is tired or when he feels he is acting badly. They extend reality, and are equally as real; acting explores what is possible; in the abstract, play-acting does not exclude sincerity; on the contrary, it implies it, while at the same time adding something extra - something real: the knowledge of a situation, an action, a result to be obtained<sup>6</sup>.

Michel de Certeau, through giving big place to agencies stands at the center in our discussion. Against the strategy of power, he argues that ordinary people have their own tactics. Practices and resistance mechanisms are reproduced against the system<sup>7</sup>. In doing so, it both gives importance to the ordinary and sees ordinary as a category of analysis. This argument is vital because our attempt is to understand everyday life of ordinary people. Against the institutionalized strategies of German education system, as unit of analysis, Turkish students have their own tactics and resistance mechanism which is the hearth of our research.

De Certeau operationalized his theory with the main concepts strategy and tactic. Strategy is the action of dominant groups. Strategy has space and power to dominate ordinary people. However, to manipulate this hegemonic relation, ordinary people produce tactics against the strategies. In that sense, tactic is the possible in the place of dominant and it seeks its own interests. By using tactics,

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6 Henry Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life: From Modernity to Modernism* (Volume 3). (London: Verso, 2005), 1

7 Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Volume 1). (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

weak one is always in struggle to have opportunity against power groups<sup>8</sup>. These tactics are used to manipulate social order of power. Against the planned order, weak groups produce their own way of life cleverly by existing within the system. In other words, by manipulating system, they still exist within the system.

Ordinary people have many ways of playing in the games and produce resistance mechanisms within the space and order of power. Related to our research, according to de Certeau; "*The rural "believers" thus subvert the fatality of established order. And they do it by using a frame of reference which also proceeds from an external power (the religion imposed by Christian missions)*"<sup>9</sup>. Parallel to argument of de Certeau, we see that the beliefs and differences are used by Turkish minorities and especially in the schools Turkish students resist dominant Christian values and their strategies.

### **Methodology**

I worked as teacher and researcher in Tübingen region (south of Germany) under the capital of Stuttgart in the province of Baden-Württemberg so school and student samples are all from Tübingen city. Tübingen is a traditional university town and about one third of the population is student. In addition to its university identity, it is also well-known historical and touristic city.

The reason behind the samples and region is being familiar to me after my teaching experience. In Germany the transition from primary school to secondary school is differently regulated in different federal states. However, in general, especially in Baden Württemberg so in Tübingen, the secondary level basically comprises three school types. After the Grundschules (primary school between 1-4 grades), students have been sent to Hauptschules, Realschules and Gymnasiums (secondary school between 5-10) according to their capabilities and academic success. We conducted research in these three types of schools because they are more familiar to me during the field. Although there are different types of schools for also secondary education such as Gesamtschule or Werkrealschule, I have not worked intensively in these schools.

In this research, participant observation and in-depth interview were used as qualitative method with the students from different school types, *Hauptschules* (lower secondary school) *Realschule* (intermediate secondary school) or *Gymnasium* (academic secondary school). After Grandschule (primary school), students are oriented to these schools according to their academic success.

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<sup>8</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Volume 1).

<sup>9</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Volume 1), 17.

Our main method, qualitative research is used for conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to understand their perspectives on a particular issue.

In the first step, participant observation is used because "Participant observation refers to a research approach in which the major activity is characterized by a prolonged period of contact with subjects in the place in which they normally spend their time. During the encounters, data, in the form of field notes, are unobtrusively and systematically collected"<sup>10</sup>.

After participant observation, we have used in-depth interview to have detailed information about the issue. Using in depth- interview is more efficient when to more detailed information about thoughts and practices of people are expected. This is because; it gives broader and more meaningful picture about the relations in the field<sup>11</sup> Conceptualization, coding, and categorizing were main techniques to analyze the questions. After these processes, relationships were identified, and data was interpreted.

I conducted in-depth interview with 20 students from different school types and different family structures. The questions were prepared with open-ended questions and both with German and Turkish to eliminate language barrier.

Despite the planned interview with primary school and secondary school students together, questions could not be understood and they were more abstract according to primary school student's level. In that sense, although I used in-depth interview methods for only secondary school students, to analyze differences between primary and secondary school children, participant observations within the field became helpful. So 20 of them are chosen all from secondary schools; Hauptschules, Realschules and Gymnasiums. 8 students are chosen from Hauptschules, 7 of them from Realschules and 5 of them from Gymnasium. I have not categorized secondary school students according to their ages so we handled them as a different category from 5th class to 10th class. The ages of students change between 11-16. With permission from their families, I have interviewed with students. Since they have known me as their teachers, gaining confidence was not difficult. In a silent place, generally in their homes, interviews have been conducted.

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10 Robert Bogdan, *Participant Observation in Organizational Settings* (1973), 303.

11 Caroline Boyce and Palena Neale, "Conducting In-Depth Interview: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input", 1. Retrieved 08.05.2018. [http://www.pathfind.org/site/DocServer/m\\_e\\_tool\\_series\\_indepth\\_interviews.pdf?docID=6301](http://www.pathfind.org/site/DocServer/m_e_tool_series_indepth_interviews.pdf?docID=6301)

## The Interview List

SEX	AGE	SCHOOL CATEGORY
FEMALE	16	REALSCHULE
MALE	11	REALSCHULE
FEMALE	16	HAUPTSCHULE
FEMALE	13	REALSCHIULE
MALE	16	REALSCHULE
FEMALE	13	GYMNASIUM
MALE	13	REALSCHULE
MALE	12	GYMNASIUM
FEMALE	14	REALSCHULE
FEMALE	11	GYMNASIUM
FEMALE	11	HAUPTSCHULE
MALE	12	GYMNASIUM
MALE	14	HAUPTSCHULE
FEMALE	15	HAUPTSCHULE
FEMALE	15	HAUPTSCHULE
MALE	13	GYMNASIUM
FEMALE	12	GYMNASIUM
MALE	14	HAUPTSCHULE
MALE	15	HAUPTSCHULE
FEMALE	14	REALSCHULE

## 2. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Religious Resistance/ Tactics	
Tactics within school	Tactics out of the school
Lesson Preferences	Domestic Resistance (Houses)
Religious Festivals	Spatial Resistance (Mosques)
Eating Habits	
Selective Appropriation of School Activities	

Religious practices with cultural codes have a crucial role in the daily life of Turkish origin students with the contribution of their families. Not only in the borders of the schools but also outside of the school and especially within the homes, religion has an important function. According to De Certeau, ordinary people have many ways of playing in the games and produce resistance mechanisms within the space and order of power<sup>12</sup>.

In the first step, I am going to discuss functions of religious codes within the borders of the school. The beliefs and differences are used by Turkish minorities and especially in the schools to resist dominant Christian values and their strategies. Since German education is a way of teaching rules and expectations in daily life and work life<sup>13</sup>, schools are also first places where tactics and resistance mechanisms are produced and created by minority groups.

During the in-depth interview, with different questions, I tried to understand differences between German and Turkish students in terms of preferences of eating habits, school activities, weekend choices, friend relations and clothing.

“What distinguishes you from German friends?” is answered over religious differences. Since students do not see cultural and religious practices different from each other, “I am Muslim” is a common answer given by Turkish students. In other words, they read their differences in daily life over their religious background. Sometimes, they answered this question as I am Muslim, I am Turkish and my color is different from them all together.

After this answer, eating habits, clothing style, attitudes towards lessons are answered over religious sensitiveness. Tactics, created in lessons are related to this standpoint. For instance, swimming is seen as the most problematic lesson because this lesson crosses their borders. After the lesson they should take a shower naked and wear in the same rooms with their classmates. Many students complain about this problem. In depth interview, when we asked that “how do you cope with this problem?”, we see how they create tactics against the rules of swimming lesson that “Everyone changes clothes together in the same room. I am ashamed, so I dress up after my friends left or I cover myself with towel to wear” (10, boy, Realschule). One of the student adds that “Swimming lessons are mixed boys and girls. I continued until 5. Class. Then, my father wrote a letter to my teacher to give information about leaving swimming lesson” (16, girl, Realschule).

Ramadan and Muslim Festivals are also crucial part of their school life. For many students, fasting and festivals are very valuable. These practices are seen

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12 De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Volume 1), 17.

13 Fernandez Kelly, “The Unequal Structure of the German Education System: Structural Reasons for Educational Failures of Turkish Youth in Germany”. *Spaces Flows*, 2(2012): 93-112.

as a sign of being Muslim and different from others that "I do not have many Turkish friends in the school, so I like being together with Arab students. They are fasting like me in Ramadan and Muslim like me" (13, Boy, Gymnasium). Today, German schools give permission for first day to Muslim students on religious festivals. In the past, since Turkish students did not come to school on festivals, school managements have started to give permissions. Absence on festival days is read by us as tactic and resistance to system who do not see its differences and religious practices within school life. This is a good example how resistance of ordinary people become successful. It shows how tactics get into the sphere of power and convert to strategy. In other words, powerful who underestimates the practices of weak feels itself forced to change its own strategies with "*the art of weak*".

Related to religious practices, eating habits and practices are the most visible sign of being Turkish and different from Germans. Pork is a border between being German and Turkish. According to the study of Yılmaz, Turkish people believes that not consuming pork is a sign that you are not a German<sup>14</sup>. During in-depth interview, many students have constructed direct relation between being Muslim and not consuming pork. Since German teachers and students know this sensitivity, they behave according to this border. For example, even if, they get candies with gelatin, they also get alternative productions suitable for Turkish students. I have observed that if there is a barbecue party in schools, there are two stands. One of them is for pork, the other one is for meats bought from Turkish markets for Turkish students.

As a result, although drinking alcohol is also banned in Islam, over sensitivity to pig can be explained with how cultural and religious codes are embedded. By perceiving pig as a red line, cultural code constructs a distinct identity. In other words, eating like Turkish means also behaving like Muslim and being different from Germans and their dominant culture. Barbecues with Turkish meats, candies without gelatin and sensitivities in parties are main indicators how dominant culture accept the existence of Turkish students and regulates their strategies in the schools and outside activities. This is a resistance which manipulates the strategies of powerful and open sphere for their own cultural practices.

In addition to eating habits, it should be focused on school activities because with the selective appropriation of the activities, Turkish students are successful about being part of school by protecting their borders. In other words, students by protecting their own cultural values and religious boundaries try to socialize as much as possible.

14 Gaye Gökalp Yılmaz, "Almanya'da Yaşayan Türkiyelilerin Gündelik Hayat Pratikleri ve Taktikleri; Almanya Aachen Örneği". (Doktora Tezi, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü/Sosyoloji Bölümü/Sosyoloji Anabilim Dalı, Muğla, 2015), 161.

Under the part of "Usage, or Consumption", de Certeau by giving the example of Spanish colonizers with the relation of indigenous Indians, shows how Indians manipulate the laws imposed by colonizers and escape without leaving it. In other words, "they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept"<sup>15</sup>.

It is a reality that in the German schools many holidays and school activities are regulated according to important days of Christianity such as Weihnachtstag (Christmas Day), Fasting (Carnival) and Ostern. Especially "Weihnachtsten" is very remarkable in terms of the rituals of Christianity. Giving gifts to classmates and going to church are the continuity of rituals of Christianity, applied also in the schools. With observations and interviews, we have seen that Turkish students are very sensitive to protect their religious borders against Christianity. Despite the participation to gift activity with their own friends, they do not go to church with classmates. Even if they prefer to go, they emphasize that they protect their own religious practices in the churches with these words that "While my Christian friends are joining their hands to pray God, I am opening my hands to Allah as a Muslim in the Church." (Girl, 11, Gymnasium). Also, that "My mother advices me that you can go to Church to learn our religion better. Go and behave like a Muslim" (11, boy, Gymnasium).

Similar to the behaviors of Turkish-Muslim students which make possible living together, Nilüfer Göle argues that it is tried to be understood perceptions about the issues, headscarf, burka, halal foods, relation between Jewish, sharia, art, mosques and cartoons, discussed mainly in European public sphere. Muslims especially youths regulate their modern daily life practices according to Islamic values and this regulation is embedded with the values of European cultural values. This new hybrid culture creates the possibility of living together.<sup>16</sup>

In the second step, in this paper, it will be discussed the functions of religious and cultural codes outside of the school. Vassaf has a leading role in the literature by focusing on the issue of Turkish migrant workers' children over the relation between structure and agent. According to him, by transforming Turkey to Germany, they live in Germany within the mind of their Turkey. The quotation from his work with the words of Turkish migrant; "In the past, we have said that we were in abroad, but today Turkey is here", is a good example of this mutual relation<sup>17</sup>. Houses are the first places where religious and culture codes are transformed from Turkey to Germany. I have observed that the sensitiveness about halal productions, gender roles and any other values are directly transformed by parents with daily relations in houses. Since still Turkish

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15 De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Volume 1), 13.

16 Nilüfer, Göle. *Gündelik Yaşamda Avrupalı Müslümanlar* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2015), 280.

17 Vassaf Gündüz, *Daha Sesimizi Duyurmadık* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2002), 31.

markets are main places for food consumption, Turkish cheese, olives, traditional meals, and meats are also known and liked by new generation. Turkish markets are good example for Turkey within Germany. In addition to eating practices, transformation of cultural values such as hospitality, respect to elders, meaning of festivals and neighbor relations are mainly possible with natural learning process in houses. Since socialization is first starting at home, learning religious codes within home shapes the behaviors of Turkish students within the borders of school and relations with German friends.

In addition to the effect of house, mosques still have crucial function understanding the importance of religion in the life of Turkish migrants outside of the school. We see mosques as places where resistance mechanisms exist against dominant culture because according to families, domination and impression of power cover their children in all sphere of life. As in this paper, Yılmaz discusses the meaning of mosques and religious attitudes in German everyday life. According to her, going to mosque symbolizes a strong spatial resistance in the meaning world of Turkish people. With the continuity of religious practices, they show how they are different from German people<sup>18</sup>.

Against media, school and outside activities, mosques are the spaces where identities are produced and also reproduced. Meanings are assigned and ascribed to places by people with shared values and common identity. A sense of place is not only the ability to locate things on a cognitive map, but also attribution of meaning to a built- form or natural spot<sup>19</sup> It is a reality that without shared meaning, identification or representation by people, place is not a place, so places are doubly constructed that they are not only physically carved out but also interpreted, perceived, understood and imaged. In other words; meanings and values are invested so physical stuff turns to a place with history or utopia, identity and memory<sup>20</sup>. In that sense, it can be said that different Islamic communities construct mosques over the identity of being Muslim and Turkish in the context of foreign country. Functions are crucial because it has been seen that mosques are the place of socialization. The question of "What are you doing in the weekends?" is answered related to activities within mosques. Learning Turkish and religious practices, selling in bazaars like charity organizations, competitions not only on special religious days but also national days are some of the examples. Pupils by socializing within the mosques, not only learn religious codes but also learn Turkish cultural codes at the same time. As a result, in Germany mosques are the spaces, constructed over Islamic and Turkish identities to resist against daily practices of dominant culture.

18 Gaye Gökalp Yılmaz, "Almanya'da Yaşayan Türkiyelilerin Gündelik Hayat Pratikleri ve Taktikler; Almanya Aachen Örneği", 156.

19 Herbert J. Gans, "The Sociology of Space: A Use-Centered View", *City & Community* (2010), Retrieved 08, 05.2018, <http://herbertgans.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/23-Sociology-of-SPace.pdf>.

20 Thomas F. Gieryn, "A Space for Place in Sociology", *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 463-496.

## CONCLUSION

All in all, both within the school and outside of the school, religion has a crucial function for the continuity of Turkish identity. Students define themselves together with cultural and religious codes because in their meaning world they are not separated. Being Muslim, being Turk and not eating pork is the same thing for their meaning world from the early ages. It is a red line which cannot be explained only with religious sensitiveness. Despite the other sins in Islam, over sensitivity towards pork can be explained with how cultural and religious practices embedded each other. Although religion is distinctive feature to construct identity, it cannot be explained only with Islam. The main point should be how Turkish parents and their children culturally interpret the practices of religion in daily life. As culturally in Turkey, the words, Turk and Muslim have used interchangeably<sup>21</sup>, in this study, as we have observed and analyzed that not only for Turkish origin pupils, but also for German teachers and school management, being Turk and Muslim is the same thing so to understand tactics to maintenance of existence, the place of religion is still very remarkable. For instance, going to mosques, eating practices, participation in school activities, domestic relations are directly influenced from religious identity. However, the interpretation of religion should be understood with cultural practices so in creating tactic process, the cultural interpretation of religion is dominant. However, this cultural interpretation cannot be understood as same as in Turkey. It can be argued that new hybrid culture and transnational identities create new interpretations of religious tactics and practices within daily life.

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