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Book Review

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Werner Schiffauer, **Nach dem Islamismus: Eine Ethnographie der Islamischen Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş,** Suhrkamp Verlag, Berlin, 2010, pp. 393, ISBN 978-3-518-12570-0

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Werner Schiffauer's book, After Islamism: An Ethnography of The Milli Görüş Islamic Community (IGMG), was first published by Suhrkamp Verlag in 2010 and translated to Turkish in 2021. The book consists of seven chapters and aims to give an inside view of experiences and contribute to the ethnography of Islam in Germany. The author conducted several interviews with leading actors and members of the post-Islamist generation, participated in IGMG events, and carried out long-term research between 2000 and 2009. In addition, many documents such as newspapers, interviews, police transcripts, court records, parliamentary minutes, and reports from the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (*Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*) are used as objects of analysis.

Religion, as a social phenomenon, plays an essential role in migration studies with debates on belonging, identity building, everyday life practices, political engagement, and interactions with the majority society. We cannot evaluate these dimensions independently of migrants' cultural, social, political, and religious backgrounds from their country of origin and their encounters in receiving societies. Schiffauer's books (1983, 1987, 1991, 1997, 2000) provide examples that shed light on the experience of the Turkish minority in Germany, its internal debates, and transnational historical processes. By demonstrating how Muslims are established as others, he also exposes governmentality and the reproduction mechanisms of dominant discourse. Therefore, his works provide alternative framing for Germany's dominant view of Islam and Muslim communities[1]. Migration is a phenomenon that can be understood by analyzing layered processes and social interactions. However, one should examine a social group's internal dynamics, routines, technics, meaning-making and "ways of doings" in ev-

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[1] For instance, his 2008 book *Parallelgesellschaften* is an invitation to overcome the obstacles of living together. At the same time, it is also an introduction to discussions that constitute the infrastructure of the post-Islamist intellectual generation that Schiffauer underlines in *After Islamism*.

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eryday life (p. 26). In this sense, Schiffauer successfully reflects his critical anthropo-logical perspective, in which he discusses reconciliation and conflict, social exchange and struggle, and power relations. *After Islamism*, like his other works, introduces the reader to a forceful methodology for critically analyzing complex relationships and social interactions, using ethnography in migration studies effectively.

First, Schiffauer makes an ethnographic description of a small mosque in Kreuz-berg and illustrates this prayer room as a heterotopic space. He describes the Islam-ic ideal of the first constitutive generation and the social environment in which the post-Islamist generation grew up. This analysis lays the foundation for understanding two generations of the IGMG in Germany, whose experiences differ from each other. Schiffauer then explains why a rooted post-Islamist movement arose from IGMG in the first chapter. The second chapter, entitled "Popular Islamism: On the Genealogy of a Transnational Movement," deals with the ideology of Milli Görüş and its social dy-namism in connection with the community's historical and sociological transnational development. In the third chapter, he examines a collective biography of the post-Is-lamist generation, which provides the basis for understanding the unique experience of the IGMG in Germany. The fourth chapter demonstrates that the community and its political responsibilities were evaluated into a new religious understanding. Schif-fauer shows how the interplay between religious identity and opposition constituting post-Islamism is determined. Chapter 5 deals with the struggles for the right to be different and discusses legal, political, and media issues. He precisely analyzes post-Is-lamic responses to civic society from the rule of law to the difficulties encountered in everyday life, including swimming, religion lessons, veiling, and citizenship applica-tions. Chapter 6 focuses on the relationships and interactions between local groups and communities, and the book concludes with a chapter that describes the diasporic identity developed by post-Islamist generations.

By examining the conditions of diasporic experience, which establish a transna-tionality that encompasses religion and society, Schiffauer highlights the institution-alization of religion, the importance of transnational networks for migrants, and how IGMG transformed with the post-Islamist generation in Germany. He points out the importance of considering migration in Germany and various contexts in terms of political, historical, cultural, and religious practices in the previous experiences in Tur-key. The differing experience of Milli Görüş in Turkey and Germany constitutes one of the focal points of this study. In this context, he describes in detail the political history of Turkey (p. 64) and the comparative presence of Islamism and conflict fields in the two countries (Chapter 2). The central part of the movement in Germany was the mosque, not the party. Thus, citizens formed a large number of mosque communities. The mosque was a space of religious practice and had various meanings for social life and commercial transactions (p. 107). An actual example of the role of mosques in

regulating social relations is the experience of women (p. 51). According to the author, women have been the dynamic force in the community from the beginning. Their involvement in social life through participation in organizational works in mosques empowered the women in the first generation. In addition to the struggle for acceptance by majority society and family members, the new post-Islamist women also struggle to be recognized by male community members (p. 196). In my opinion, this situation underlines the intersectional experience of religious migrant women.

The book reveals the development of the IGMG in Germany by touching upon changing political atmosphere and everyday life aspects shaped by the center-periphery dichotomy in Turkey (p. 72). On one hand, the organization in Turkey claimed to be the voice of the "silent majority" that struggles against an elitist view in Turkey. On the other hand, IGMG means to preserve the religious and national identity of the Turkish minority in Germany (p. 76). Schiffauer mentions that with the strengthening of the Welfare Party in Turkey, the primary purpose of first generation migrants in Germany was a return to the homeland with victory (p. 102). Nevertheless, the subsequent political transformation in Turkey dampened these hopes, and the post-Islamist generation became a determining factor in the agenda of the IGMG in Germany. This process cannot be considered independently from migrant psychology. The transnational loyalty to Turkey and the defensive attitude of first generation migrants against the majority society also had significant effects on the institutional dimension of religious life and the polarization in everyday life. On the other side, the post-Islamist generation has a partial break from these loyalties and leads the transformation within the community because the dogmatic confrontation of the West and Islam did not fit with the life experiences of the new generation.

According to Schiffauer, aspects of Islamic life in Europe and relationships with other institutions are as important as in Muslim-majority societies. In this way, it will be possible to understand how Islamic thought relates itself to post-Islamism as a differentiated phenomenon in the state politics-everyday life equation in Europe (p. 29). Schiffauer defines the process of confrontation with Islamism in the Muslim world, which started in the 90s with IGMG, as post-Islamism. According to the author, this concept can express the lifeworld (*lebenswelt*) of the new generation, which distinguishes itself from classical Islamism[2] (p. 11). He discusses the historical dynamics of post-Islamism and defines post-Islamism as an intellectual effort to find answers that do not confront the West as the constitutive other (p. 15). Thus, Schiffauer questions

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[2]   The detailed ethnographic analysis of the *Gottesmänner* Kaplan community (2000) formed an essential basis for *After Islamism* (2010) Since there was an organic relationship between the Kaplan Community and Milli Görüş for a while, they remain common in the first generation and have a similar view of classical Islamism. Remarkably, he expresses how IGMG lost power with the separation of the Kaplan Group but gained strength by building a new identity (p. 84).

how the post-Islamist movement has penetrated into the practice of everyday life and the leading role of post-Islamists organic intellectuals[3] in the rationalization process of Islamism as a revolutionary movement and internal debates of the IGMG (p. 30-33). In this sense, "post-Islamism is an attempt to relate Islam to the individual rights, majority and multivocality, openness rather than closure, and future instead of past" (p. 17) and tries to produce alternative modernism. Schiffauer examines the development of the post-Islamist intellectual layer in IGMG and presents a collective biography (Chapter 3).

At this point, Schiffauer emphasizes the position of the new generation in society as a translator. The post-Islamist generation socialized in the triangle of the conservative family house, school, and mosque.[4] Because of the German education system, this generation has a different capital than the first generation (p. 172-178). The constitutive first generation did not have the social and cultural capital to socialize in German circles, so the responsibilities of post-Islamist intellectuals in their inner circles require such competence (p. 366). This elite group, capable of acting in German society, demands the recognition of the right to be different within the intellectual and legal framework (p. 110). They have been successful in school life and brought two worlds together. Therefore, they could represent the IGMG effectively outside the community (p. 174). The communication and organizational skills they developed in the community also supported them in activities at school. Schiffauer claims that post-Islamist intellectuals are "ambassadors of the community within society and ambassadors of society within their community" (p. 223). They are positioned as mediators with their in-between identity in conflictual fields. According to the author, in this diasporic experience you have a home in both places, but you also do not have a home in two places alone. So, he borrows the concept of third space from Bhabha to express the intertwined experiences and diasporic in-between identity constructions of post-Islamists intellectuals. The prominent critic of intellectuals is the first generation's Turkey-oriented "mental ghetto life" (p. 179). It means the life established with the reference of Turkey and an understanding focused on returning to Turkey. The new post-Islamist generation kept their distance from the first generation and argued, "If we live in Germany, we have to think about the issues there" (p. 180). The most significant difference in the post-Islamist generation is a vision and expression gained through education (p. 184).

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[3] Schiffauer defines post-Islamic intellectuals with the concept of organic intellectuals (*Gramsci*), who are a part of the community, belong to the educated elite class, accept the improvement of the community as their responsibility, and are aware of their role in the community. (p. 159; p.327).

[4] In his 2015 book titled, *School, Mosque, Family House*, Schiffauer focuses on new generations' differentiated social positions and experiences. The book presents a critical perspective on their challenges and strategies in this triangle.

Schiffauer states that the new attitudes of the post-Islamist generation, both in the majority society and in the community, are religion-based. This Islamic context has opened up a third space outside the community. Their religious understanding that was developed in this space differs from classical Islamism adopted by the first generation. Intellectuals viewed both sides critically, transforming a dualist reductionism and polarizing language with an intellectual neo-orthodox attitude (p. 228 & p. 368). This attitude should not be confused with the understanding of anything goes in religious matters. The new post-Islamist generation with a religious understanding that supports civil society, was able to criticize the double moral attitude against minorities that embrace the German language and the governing principles of the West (p. 371). This situation manifests itself in their legal struggle with the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, sometimes in their legal battles with the media, and sometimes in their legitimate political alliances. Schiffauer analyzes the Protection of the Constitution reports and the court records and reveals the dominance of institutional racism and the anti-Muslim discourse at state level in Germany (Chapter 5). Although it progresses along a post-Islamic line with the new generations, the IGMG organization is still defined the classical political Islamist line. Thus, it is stigmatized as a threat to liberal democracy and secularism in Germany.

To conclude, academic and advocacy positions are a new stance of the second and third generations in the diaspora. Despite the first generation's Turkey-based overseas perception, these new generations have built a diasporic identity in Germany (p. 359). The struggles of post-Islamist intellectuals include removing Islam from being the religion of guest workers to ensure that it is a recognized religion in Germany. On one hand, they followed the transnational debates in the Islamic world and Turkey. On the other hand, they took it as a matter to find solutions within the internal dynamics of German society. The effort of the German-educated post-Islamist generation is an attempt to overcome the contradiction through the rule of law and intellectual vision emphasizing the contrast between Islam and the West. From my point of view, Schiffauer directs an ethnographical view of the historical development and the recent formation of the IGMG expertly. This stunning book, which makes a novel argument for understanding power relations between the state and the religious minority, is one of the most notable examples of Schiffauer's works in his long career in ethnography and migration studies.

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