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İNGİLTERE ÇOKKÜLTÜRCÜLÜK POLİTİKALARI VE ANADOLU ALEVİLERİ

MULTICULTURALISM AND ANATOLIAN ALEVISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

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ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'den İngiltere'ye göç etmiş olan Alevilerle ilgilidir. Temel amacımız, Birleşik Krallık'taki Alevilerin durumunu özellikle çokkültürlü politika bağlamında değerlendirmektir. Tarihsel olarak Alevilik, Türk kültürü ve İslami uygulama geleneğinin bir karışımı olarak bilinir. Alanyazında Alevilikle ilgili çalışmalarda bu fikrin yoğunlukta olduğu söylenebilir. Buna rağmen Alevilerin yoğunluklu şekilde kendi kültürlerinden uzaklaşmak istedikleri de bir gerçektir. Bu durumu İngiltere'deki Aleviler üzerinden Çokkültürlülük bağlamında anlamaya ve açıklığa kavuşturmaya çalışacağız. Araştırma, İngiltere'de Ağustos 2017 ile Ağustos 2018 arasında yürütülmüştür. Çalışma nitel araştırma deseninde tasarlanmıştır. Bulgular, İngiltere'nin göçmen politikasında çokkültürcü duyarlılığa sahip olduğunu gösterdi. Ayrıca, Alevilerin inanç ve kültürel değerlerini İngiltere çokkültürlülük politikaları çerçevesinde bulabildikleri söylenebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çokkültürcülük, Alevilik, Anadolu Aleviliği, İngiltere

ABSTRACT

This study offers empirical conclusions of exists of Britain's Alevi. Also it presents to discover the motives of Alevi immigration from Turkey to the UK. Our main purpose is to discover what the situation of Alevism in the UK is exclusively multicultural policy. Traditionally Alevism is known as a mixture of Turkish culture and Islamic practice tradition which means it is a heritage of the Turkish culture and Islamic tradition. Then why do Alevi want to escape from their country and their culture to another country? We do they try to comprehend and clarify this situation within the context of multiculturalism. This research was conducted between August 2017 and August 2018 in the UK. Semi-structured technique was used in this study. The findings indicated the UK has immigrant policy by 'multicultural sensibility'. Besides, Alevi can find their faith and cultural acceptance within a multicultural concept in the UK.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Alevism, Anatolian Alevism, United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION

Rights, demands and statements are varied and differentiated as much as the alterations which happened because of globalization, transnational corporations and the development of democratization. The foundations of social life is formed about the uniformity between human communities in accordance with enlightenment are Universalist paradigm; yet, nowadays the emphasis has been gradually focused on differences. Enlightenment's scheme has found a place for itself based on the modern nation-state and these modern societies have produced policies. Produced policies intended to create a homogeneous race, language, religion, and culture. As a result of these policies imposed on society, "others" are created, and this triggered problems in which the nation-state will not be able to overwhelmed.

There are main three responses to 'difference': Assimilation, Integration, and multiculturalism (Modood, 2013: 151). Today all kinds of motives assimilation have proved an unrealistic goal (Parekh, 2006: 186). Plus Integration has failed in the European country because the main community declines to accept the minority as equal. And they decline to accept their minority demands within the context of Integration.

The demands of the communities formed before nation-states unlike from modern society's demands. It can be said that in the modern societies the most vital demand is chiefly identity oriented. The policies sat in line with identity have been multiculturalism. While modernization project forced a monotype culture, cultural diversity carried on its existence. At this point, the government's new policies have been multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism that cultures, races, and ethnicities, mostly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgment of their differences within a foremost political culture. In the simplest form of multicultural society contains two or more communities (Parekh, 2002: 7). More specifically, multicultural society contains different language, race, color, and culture. But a particular approach to understanding and defending multiculturalism has not been sufficiently recognised (Levey, 2018: 2).

In the West Multiculturalism entered public discourses in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Triandafylidou at all, 2006: 4), after the migration from non-white and non-Christian country to Western country (Özbudun, 2006: 102; Rattansi, 2011: 7; Modood, 2013: 2). Theoretically Multiculturalism represents a characteristic model for the management of cultural diversity (Bousetta & Jacobs, 2006: 26).

Nonetheless ‘multicultural’ term covers many different forms of cultural pluralism. Consequently, many countries (USA, UK, other parts of Europe) recognize different things from this (Kymlicka, 1995: 10, 17-18; Benet-Martinez, 2012: 5; Modood, 2013: 2).

Voluminous Western countries are multinational (Kymlicka, 1995: 11). I can say, at the beginning of the reasons for the policies of multiculturalism are globalization, migration mobility and transnational formations (Kymlicka, 1995; Vatandaş, 2002; Şan, 2006; Doytceheva, 2009). Specifically the immigration is from outside Europe, of non-white peoples into predominantly white countries (Modood, 2013: 2).

However multinationalism is not a new condition. There have been many multicultural societies in the past (Vatandaş, 2001: 345; Vatandaş, 2002: XV; Anık, 2012a: 79; Hazır, 2012; Modood, 2013: 5). Particularly out of Europe for instance Ottoman Empire, where the levels of religious tolerance and accommodation were much greater than in Europe till modern times (Modood, 2013: 5). On the other hand in the recent minorities demands have changed and many governments would admit their differences. Thus, at the beginning of Canada, Australia, USA, and many other Western countries faced this realm and they changed their minority policies. Subsequently, the migrants should be able to retain their distinct cultures whereas they adapted to living in their new ‘home’ (Modood, 2013: 3).

Heritage of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey was littered with this situation as well, but not entirely. As known empires have had to accommodate many groups, different societies, different religions, and racial groups. For this reason Turkey covers varies of religions, faiths, languages, and cultures and Alevi is one of them.

1. ALEVIS IN TURKEY

In Turkey, the majority of people belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, but it is estimated that about 20 percent belong to the minority sect of Islam called Alevi (Shindeldecker, 2001: 11; Shankland, 2006: 20; Arslan, 2016: 343). Alevi concept is an Arabic word, which means belonging to ‘Ali’, ‘Ali supporter’, ‘Ali lovers’, and ‘Ali of Ali’s descendants’, being from Ali’s house (Eröz, 1976: 19; Zelyut, 1998: 19; Bozkurt, 2000: 7; Kutlu, 2003: 31; Melikoff, 2011: 33, 51, 96; Türk and Kala, 2014: 48).¹ An Alevi follows the faith of Alevism. The concept of Alevism is a broad concept covers various ethno-cultural communities who have their own communal names such as Alevi, Bektashi, Kızılbaş, Tahtacı, Nusayri and Abdal. These groups are labeled in general with the concept of “Alevi”.

The definition of Alevism is a controversial subject and also there has not single identification about Alevi (Bilecen, 2016: 376). There is a lot of different identification by writers and spokespersons about Alevi. And there are many different groups are frequently counted among the “Alevi” living in the Balkans, the Middle East and in different parts of Asia (Arslan, 2016: 343). Commonly, Alevi term has used in order to Anatolian Alevi. The central Anatolian Alevi groups are the Turkish and Kurdish in Turkey (Bruinessen, 1996: 3). Anatolian Alevi differs from the other Alevi.

The Anatolian Alevi originally from the different cities for example Corum, Amasya, Tokat, Yozgat, Cankırı, Sivas, Elazığ, Malatya, Adıyaman, Bingöl, Muş, Tunceli and Kars, but nowadays they generally live in urban areas in Turkey.

Alevi is a blanket term for a large number of different heterodox and syncretic communities, whose a quite significant minority, actual beliefs, and ritual practices differ much, various beliefs of pre-Islamic Turkish, ancient Iranian religion, Buddhism and Mazdeism (Bruinessen, 1992: 36; Ocak,

1 Ali was the cousin and the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad.

1999b: 30-31; Melikoff, 2011: 111; Ocak, 2013: 16). The Alevi have no church, no established doctrine and no shared liturgy (Bruinessen, 1992: 4; Bruinessen, 1996: 7; Shankland, 2006). But then largely, Alevism is a known sort of Islam.

The Alevism varies considerably from Sunni Islam that has five pillars are acknowledge the one God, Prayer (namaz), the fast in Ramadan, pay alms (zakat), and perform the pilgrimage (the hajj). These are unfamiliar practices to most Alevi communities and determine them to 'Alevi condition of Islam'. This determination has some idea: 'Be master of your hands, tongue, and loins! (Eline, diline, beline sahip ol!) And they have their own religious ceremonies (cem), officiated by 'holy men' (dede) belonging to a hereditary priestly caste. The holy men perform some religious poems (nefes) in Turkish at this time some (in some communities at least) men and women carry out ritual dances (semah) (Bruinessen, 1996: 7; Shankland, 2006: 78).

Escape from various reasons to their homeland, the Alevi exodus occurred in the late 1980s and they arrived to UK. Large numbers migrated to the UK in the late 1980s and early 1990s as asylum-seekers from the areas most affected by the "massacres" of Alevi. Their claims for haven were based primarily on religious grounds as Alevi who had been denied their right to practice their faith (Jenkins and Cettin, 2018: 107). Hence, they don't want to be assimilated by the "Sunni" government.

This exodus encloses different explanations that are religion, economy and politics. Nevertheless I can say that political motives play important role in relocation from Turkey to the UK (Bilecen, 2016: 372). Whatever reason, it might be, frequently they are united around same politic drives. In this regard, Britain Alevi Federation (BAF) and Cemevi are the ones that have taken up the mission of being the bridges among the communities. Most of the tens of thousands of Alevi applied for asylum in Europe are ordinarily supposed of as refugees, not fleeing political persecution but seeking economic improvement. They have shown Kurds or Alevi as an excuse. One respondent (ex-manager of Cemevi) said that "*ninety-nine percent Alevi came here for economic conditions*".²

Therefore, in the last 30 years, Alevi people have moved from Turkey to the Western (including the UK). Approximately two million Alevi live in the Europe (Arslan, 2016: 343). As a consequence of some worse circumstances especially in Turkey (the 1978 Maras, the 1980 Corum, 1993 Sivas and the 1995 Gazi incidents), Alevi movement had risen in 1980-1995 both in Turkey and Europe. They have organized where they emigrated and nowadays there are approximately 300 Alevi Cultural Centres and Cemevis in Europe. They have organized under the umbrella of European Confederation of Alevi Associations.

It is now estimated that 5 percent of Turkey's native population lives abroad (generally in Europe) (Caglar 2006, 7). This population is diverse in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation and level of education reflecting Turkey's diversity (Akdemir, 2016: 11). However the majority of the migrants are Alevi and Kurds. In the United Kingdom, since the migration sourced from cities such as Maraş, Sivas, Kayseri, and Malatya in which Alevi highly reside, especially London began to host a significant Alevi community (Bilecen, 2016: 373). This community is one of constituting a multicultural society of the UK.

2. MULTICULTURAL POLICY IN THE UK

Britain consists of four countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. That is, it consists of identities of English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. So it does not have a single nation and race.

2 "Economic refugees" term is used by Bruinessen for Turkish Kurds (Bruinessen, 1992).

Similarly, it includes much immigration from different countries like Pakistan, India, Somalia, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Bangladesh, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Namely, different nation, race, culture, religion, and color lives together in Britain. Therefore, we can say Britain has faced cultural diversity and has historically perceived itself as a multicultural country.

There is no central or official law stating the core principles upon which multiculturalism in the UK. Nonetheless, it seems undeniable that Britain's contemporaneous political landscape is characterized by a 'multicultural sensibility' (Tolley, 2011: 100-104; Mathieu, 2018: 46).

I can say that British multicultural policy consists of multiple public programs and regulations that emphasize the recognition of newcomers as ethnic and racial minorities, for which the state arranges specific treatment, allowing immigrants exercise their rights as British citizens without discrimination (Mathieu, 2018: 46-47). The UK allows people from different cultures to live in the UK whilst continuing to practice their own cultural traditions rather than expecting them to adapt to, so-called: "British" way. I cannot say there is no discrimination, and then we can say there is no categorical discrimination in the UK. Some respondents have experienced discrimination to do with their race or religions or cultural background.

Although Britain includes a lot of different cultural diversity before 1997, it has a distinctive history, political culture; The UK's multicultural policy has been started in 1997. At begging of the election campaign in 1997, Tony Blair's party told the British people that 'every color is a good color' and celebrated the 'Cool Britannia' (Modood, 2013: 9; Mathieu, 2018: 44). But this positive representation of multiculturalism was short-lived; in 2001-2002 it was lost its positive aspects. Therefore, in 2011 Prime Minister David Cameron declared that multiculturalism was a failure, like Angela Merkel Prime Minister of Germany.

Of course, there were some reasons for this. Following the 2001 riots in some Northern England Cities, the 2005 London bombings or other international ones: the 9/11 New York attacks, the 2004 murder of Theo van Gogh in Holland, the 2004 Madrid train bombings, and, leading to the 2015 Charlie Hebdo shooting and the State de France explosion in Paris- UK political discourse was, as of then, increasingly less favorable toward the promotion of multiculturalism (Modood, 2006: 37; Mathieu, 2018: 44).

After that, multiculturalism is in crisis (Modood, 2013: 9-13; Preffer, 2015: 1). Also, seven European Premiers declare to multiculturalism is a failure in late 2010 and early 2011, for instance France. After some situations, as it known, multiculturalism is understood about Islam in the West.

After France and Germany, Britain become home to the greatest number of Muslims in an EU country. Following 1950, male labor immigration from South Asian, Pakistan, India (Kucukcan, 1999: 7) and political refugees from, Somalia, Bosnia, Afghanistan, Iraq, East Africa to Britain especially London have formed a multicultural country. Therefore, anti-discrimination laws and policies began to put into place from the 1960s (Modood and May 2001; Modood, 2006: 37-38).

Most important events that the UK faced about multiculturalism are the satanic verses. It was about Islam. But generally, racism is about ethnic groups such as Black-white or anti-Semitism. It is not about anti-Muslimism. So, the anti-discrimination policy cannot solve the Muslim problem in the UK. Because the courts did not accept that Muslims are an ethnic group (Modood, 2006: 38). In this sense, Muslims have become central to these agendas (Modood, 2006: 37).³

3 When we joined Centre of Ethnicity and Citizenship Seminar Series 22nd March 2018 in Bristol, Will Kymlicka talked about 'The near death of multiculturalism in Canada' and he highlighted "Islamophobic multiculturalism" has increase in Canada.

Britain truly is seen as a multicultural country. But surprisingly little is known about many of Britain's smaller minority communities (Enneli et al, 2005: vii). It contains different culture, ethnicity, and religion. Alevism is one of them. We can say Alevism is a sort of Muslim. As I mentioned before, all attempts to define Alevism have related to it Islam. The UK contains approximately 300 thousand Alevism. This Alevism population mainly has composed of immigrants from Turkey to Britain. We know that there are seventeen Alevi Cultural Centres and Cemevis (place of worship) serving to people in the UK.

These centers are settled in London, Glasgow, Leicester, Croydon, Northamptonshire, York, Coventry, Croydon, Harrow, Bournemouth, Nottingham, Doncaster, Hull, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Manchester, and Newport. Likewise, the new cultural center has opened on 7th January 2018 in London. This means Alevism people have prearranged very well in the UK. The existence of Cemevis and cultural centers in many cities may mean that Alevism people can find their faith and cultural acceptance within a multicultural concept of the UK. You can see about ranking immigrant multicultural policy of UK from 2000 to 2015, Tables 1 and 2 follow:

Table 1. The UK's immigrant multicultural policy in 2000, 2010 and 2015.

Indicator	2015	2000	2010
1. Affirmation	0	0	0
2. School Curriculum	1	0.5	0.5
3. Media	1	1	1
4. Exemptions	1	1	1
5. Dual Citizenship	1	1	1
6. Funding Immigrant	1	1	1
7. Bilingual Education	0	0	0.5
8. Affirmative Action	1	1	1
Total Score	6	5,5	6

(Mathieu, 2018: 57)

1. Affirmation, Constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism.
2. School Curriculum: the adoption of multiculturalism in the school curriculum.
3. Media: the inclusion of ethnic representation in the mandate of public media or media licensing.
4. Exemptions: exemptions from dress codes.
5. Dual Citizenship. Permitting dual citizenship.
6. Funding ethnic groups. The funding of ethnic group organizations or activities.
7. Bilingual Education. The funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction.
8. Affirmative Action. Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups.

Table 2. Multiculturalism Policy Index for Immigrant Minorities, by Country, 1980–2010

	Affirmation			School Curriculum			Media			Exemptions			Dual Citizenship			Funding Ethnic Groups			Bilingual Education			Affirmative Action			TOTAL SCORE		
	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010	1980	2000	2010
United Kingdom	0	0	0	0	1	0.5	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	1	2.5	5.5	5.5	
United States	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.5	1	1	1	3	3	3

(Tolley, 2011: 3)

Although Britain constitution has not multiculturalism, Tolley and Mathieu have shown that Britain has a multicultural sensibility.

Answer:

Yes: 1

Partially: 0.5

No: 0

Yes: Country has affirmed multiculturalism *and* has an implementing body.

Partly (Limited): Country has not affirmed multiculturalism explicitly, but has a relevant body; multiculturalism may also have been affirmed in some municipalities, but not nationally.

No: Country has not affirmed multiculturalism and does not have an implementing body.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study prepared in a qualitative pattern will use semi-structured interview technique, a branch of qualitative methodology. Qualitative methods are used to understand a social phenomenon from the standpoint of those involved, and describe the world in relation to the location and the people involved. The ontology of qualitative methods reflects the conceptualization that reality is socially constructed complex and ever-changing (Patton, 2002; Patten, 2005; Marshall and Rossman, 2006). This study focuses only the Alevi's community migrated to the UK from Turkey. But they will not have been separated as race.⁴ The study was carried out between July 29st 2017 and July 27st 2018. The group of participants were selected by random sampling technique.

The Turkish was used during of the interviews as a mother tongue. All interviews were directed by a researcher. And then interviews translated into English by researcher. Our general areas were "Britain Alevi Federation and Cemevi" in London and "Newport Alevi Cultural Centre and Cemevi".

The main purpose is to explore what the situation of Alevism in the UK is especially multicultural policy. While the Current world has had to face more diversity and differences, UK's approach toward multiculturalism differs from many countries. Understanding the causes of these different approaches and purposes represents the problem of this study. Could the policies put forward against the cultural diversity in the UK be considered in the context of multiculturalism?

Especially with an old civilization, the United Kingdom, due to the nature of many different languages, is an ancient imperial that incorporates the rights of religions and cultures. In modern times,

4 Zaza is a "race" in Turkey, different from Turkish and Kurdish. Zaza is in the North West, in large area north and west of Diyarbakir. Zaza in the north west, in a large area north and west of Diyarbakir Zaza in the north west, in a large area north and west of Diyarbakir Zaza in the north west, in a large area north and west of Diyarbakir Zaza in the north west, in a large area north and west of Diyarbakir

globalization, as a result of migration and international organizations said to be more differentiated. I will try to understand, the problem of Alevi in the UK and how the UK government approaches to solve these problems. Government's attitudes will be initially assessed in the context of multiculturalism.

4. RESEARCH RESULTS

There's a very good solidarity between the Alevi. Solidarity has come from the past with common suffering. Although those problems, I can say that they "rediscovery" themselves in the UK. Because, they probably one of the most self-sufficient (self-contained) community in UK. They don't want to be assimilated whether their custom transition from Turkey to the UK. In Ottoman Empire, the Alevi were often persecuted, both for their heterodoxy and because they were suspected of pro-Iranian sympathies. This is the reason why many Alevi communities chose to live in inaccessible mountain villages, relatively isolated from their Sunni neighbors until 1950 (Bruinessen, 1992: 37). So, they have protected their custom. Also, migrants do not necessarily cut off all contact with the native country and assimilate entirely to the receiving state but continue their relations with the homeland through the religious practices.⁵

There are a lot of Alevi people that come from different parts of Turkey and they are very organized in the UK. I can say that they have some "minority" rights such as Cemevi, education, gained cultural rights and public visibility. They can teach their faith to their children in some of the school. Since 2009 they have begun work on curriculum development to start classes as a Britain Alevi Federation with Westminster University, Prince of Wales first school and Highbury Grove middle school. Starting from 2011, Alevism classes launched at Prince of Wales primary school (Jenkins and Cetin, 2018). At the moment, there are 12 schools have Alevi course in school curriculums (Manager of Britain Alevi Federation).

Alevi communities have courses in the school curriculums of European countries for example Germany, Denmark, Netherlands and some other countries in Europe (Bilecen, 2016: 378). The first Alevi lessons in the world were introduced in German schools in 2002 (Jenkins and Cetin, 2018: 113). The initiation of the Alevi are a reaction to the increasingly religious Sunni events and partly an attribute in Germany (Bruinessen, 2013: 108), like a movement of Alevism policy. It is clear that the Movement of Alevism policy developed as a reaction to the rise of Sunni Islamism in the world (Çakır, 1998: 75; Şimşek, 2004: 127; Vorhoff, 2010: 49; Massicard, 2013a: 76; Aydın, 2013: 283).

Sometimes this situation can interpret Alevism is a belief system in itself. Some European government has accepted Alevism has authentic religious practices and ritual system also a place of worship (Kenanoğlu, 2016: 3). Moreover, I can say that Alevism was recognized as a "distinct faith" by England and Wales Endowment Commission in October 2015 (Bilecen, 2016: 378).

In the UK, Religious Education is a compulsory legal requirement in schools, but the curriculum is agreed at the local level. Alevi Education within the Religious Education or PSHCE (Personal, Social, Health and Citizenship Education) lesson in London.

5 "A Kurdish taxi driver informed us that, in his opinion, North London was not a part of Britain: he felt himself 'in Britain, only when he left North London and visited other places. In North London, he believed that Turkish people have everything they might expect to find in Turkey, apart from some family members.'" (Enneli et al, 2005: 2).

Table 3: Curriculum of Prince of Wales Primary School in London

01-Sep-17		R.E RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
YEAR 1	AUTUMN	Harvest Festival Harvest at POW Christmas: KS1 Nativity
	SPRING	Growing up in a Muslim family Growing up in a Jewish family Asure-Alevism
	SUMMER	Holi & stores of Krishna
YEAR 2	AUTUMN	Festivals of Light Diwali, Hannukah
	SPRING	Easter Growing up in a Christian family Alevism and the home-side
	SUMMER	Ramadan and Id-ul-Fitr
YEAR 3	AUTUMN	Hindu and Sikh Divali The Christian Bible and stories of Jesus
	SPRING	Living as a Muslim Alevism-visit to Cemevi
	SUMMER	The Torah and stories of the Jewish people Places of worship in the local area-sdu
YEAR 4	AUTUMN	Sukkot & exploring Judaism through the synagogue The Qu-ran & the prophet Muhammed(PBUH)
	SPRING	Living as a Hindu The Church-a Christian community
	SUMMER	Guru Nanak Sbu-Religious buildings in the local area
YEAR 5	AUTUMN	The Buddha and his teachings Pesach Holocaust Survivor visitor
	SPRING	The Muslim community & the Mosque
	SUMMER	Exploring Christian values in the world.
YEAR 6	AUTUMN	Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur Shabbat and the Jewish home The Buddhist community
	SPRING	Hajj and Id-ul-Adha Lent and Easter
	SUMMER	The Hindu community and the Mandir visit

Those curriculums are a project of some academician in a school firstly. After than, some schools have requested themselves it and Alevism course is published to another school (lecturer, also a teacher of Alevism in this course). Lecturers are generally academician, Dedes (Holy man), an officer of Britain Alevi Federation and responsible for education in Britain Alevi Federation.

When I ask some students: "Have you joined this lesson?" They explain that: "No, our school doesn't have this lesson yet. But if wish it could. All religions are explained so why not Alevism".

But I can say that some of Alevis have traditionally been divergent to religion and don't interest in Alevism in the UK like in Turkey. Also, they tended to engage with left-wing politics much more (Jenkins and Cetin, 2018: 108). Some of them did not want to go Cemevi because of Cemevi's represented religion. And there are some different association from Cemevi such as Pir Sultan Abdal Association and Kurdish Community Centre. They prefer to identify themselves as their ethnicity (Kurdish) instead of Alevis. Some of Alevis prefer to call that place as a "Culture Centre" instead of Cemevi.

Similarly, first generation Alevi-Kurds were more absorbed in Kurdish politics and spent more time at the Kurdish centers. One respondent explains that: *"Initially we organized in Halk Evleri, after then we joined Kurdish politics but finally we have organized Britain Alevi Federation because of these Kurdish associations still angry with us"* (ex Halk Evleri manager). And one academician has explained that: *"After that time Alevis want to be subject of movement"*.

Despite those most Alevis have organized under the umbrella of Britain Alevi Federation (BAF) in the UK. Because religious communities make migrants feel confident like "a safe port in the storm" (Bilecen, 2016: 378). I mean we cannot talk about a unitary homogeneous community, but the Alevis of UK is mostly Kurds-Alevis.

Kurds-Alevis are originally from the east of Turkey, but at the moment most of them live in Western Turkey and Europe, including Britain, because of the war in 1985-1995. Especially after the Maras, Sivas Madimak and Ankara Gazi incidents Alevis have moved to western countries (include the UK) and organized in the umbrella of European Confederation of Alevi (umbrella of Britain Alevi Federation (BAF) in the UK.) This center set up support the settlement and adjustment of newly Alevis migrants. Also, it is serving cultural and religious functions especially funerals (Bilecen, 2016: 381; Jenkins and Cetin, 2018: 109). One respondent explains that: *"Thank God, we have Alevi Culture Centre and Cemevis and we have our funeral system. 'Yezit' can't touch our funerals"*.⁶

Alevis have serious problems in the UK. Especially they couldn't easily identify themselves. They came from Turkey but generally Kurds. And as known Turkish people generally Sunni-Muslim but they are Alevi. Especially new generation don't know that they're neither Turk nor Muslim or Alevi. But I can say that Alevis in the UK generally believe Alevism is a distinct faith, but it is not mean separate from Islam. Because new opening Cemevi name is 'Dargah'. Dargah is an important role in the Islamic cult. And although the Federation of Alevi Associations in Austria have declared "We are not Muslim" (Arslan, 2016: 351), but Britain Alevi Federation have not.

Alevis want to live in Britain. A lot of Alevis people don't want to go back to Turkey. But they afraid of assimilation within the British culture like Turkey. Some of them forced to adapt to British culture. One respondent explains that: *"We couldn't adapt here. Unfortunately, we cannot be British. And they don't accept us their culture. Even not British our class is fourth class. We can just serve them. Because of this, I have sent my big son to Turkey. And I will send another child to Turkey. Finally, I will go back to Turkey indefinite. I'm afraid of losing my children. They can use the drug and they can be alcoholic"* (43).

Alevi community especially fears about the next generation. Next generation 18-35 years of age, there are serious suicides (Jenkins and Cetin, 2018). *"My two sons are died because of the drug. One of them 33 years old, the other is 35. After that time what is the good of it if they give the whole of Britain to me. We are like free and comfort, but we are not"* (65).

6 Yezit is recognized to all Sunni by some Alevis.

As mention before most of Alevis are refugees in the UK. Asylum seeker and refugees is a target “at risk” group (Enneli at al. 2005: vii). Some respondents have experienced discrimination to do with their refugee status.

Table 4: Experiencing discrimination by ethnicity

	Yes %	No %
Türk	27	73
Kürd	38	62

(Enneli, at all. 2005: 29).

As shown in table 3 an important part of the respondents effort discrimination. One of them mentions “*why are you here? Go back to your country. In the council, the officer told me we are taking resources from the people in this country*” (31). Especially refugees try to hide that they are a refugee because common people don’t like refugees.

And another Alevi respondent mentions even here Sunni people stay away from Alevis: “*We have a neighbor. They are Turkish, and they know we are Kurdish. But we were good neighbors until they learned that we are Alevi. They stopped their visits immediately: you know that thing that you can’t even drink glass water from the hands of an Alevi*” (Enneli at all. 2005: 31).

Regardless of those, Alevis feel protected themselves in the UK. They trust a Constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of Britain. And a recent study shows that almost half (46%) of ethnic minorities believed that the UK was a less racist country than it was two decades before (Opinium Research,2017: 5). It means unlike the views Britain multicultural policy uptrend in recent time.

In the UK, Alevis who come from Turkey are known as Sunni, they are a group of people whose beliefs are unknown, and they don’t know their own beliefs as well.⁷ But the manager of *Alevi Culture Centre and Cemevi* has explained at 8. *Alevi fest*: “*You see young people I hope that the next generation is more Alevis than us. We are doing everything for young people*”. In this sense, we can describe Alevis is an “invisible minority” group in the UK.

CONCLUSION AND COMMENTS

Although UK multicultural policy has not an official law, Britain’s contemporaneous political landscape is characterized by a ‘multicultural sensibility’ (Tolley, 2011: 100-104; Mathieu, 2018:18). As above Table 1 and 2: eight indicators that show Britain is a multicultural country. 1. Affirmation, 2. School Curriculum, 3. Media, 4. Exemptions, 5. Dual Citizenship, 6. Funding ethnic groups, 7. Bilingual education, 8. Affirmative action has shown that Britain multicultural policy more inclusive than other EU country’s multicultural policy. I can say except Affirmation and not fully Bilingual education all minorities have their “minority right” in the UK. Especially there is no controversy about exclusions from dress codes unlike France and some other country. In this sense, we can say that The Britain multicultural policy is as soon as successful at achieving accommodate than secular republicanism in the US (Meer and Modood, 2015: 526).

In recent year, the curriculum includes Alevism course in London. Alevis can teach their faith to the next generation in the school. Alevi foundations are organized under the roof of the Britain Alevi

⁷ “Most knew little about Alevism because it had been forbidden in Turkey, but now in London they could enjoy the fact that they were no longer under pressure to conceal their ethno-religious and political identity” (Jenkins and Cetin, 2018).

Federation (BAF). Alevism was recognized as a religion and faith by England and Wales Endowment Commission. In recent years, the Alevi community has gradually raised its recognition. With the increasing social awareness of Alevism, the community constituted an “All Party Parliamentary Group for Alevi” in the British parliament in December 2015.

A conclusion of this research about in the UK, Alevi try to redefine themselves and to learn the Alevism through education in school and Alevi community service. Alevi organization (Britain Alevi Federation) represents Alevi people and it is dependent on European Confederation of Alevi Associations. Consequently, I can say that Alevi have a transformation from ‘sort of Muslim’ to ‘proud to be Alevi’ in the UK. When you visit the Alevi Cultural Centre and Cemevi there are posters and so many people take on a t-shirt which asserts ‘Proud to be Alevi’.



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