

The Journal of Theologic Academy

year: 2016 issue: 4 a bi-annual international journal of academic research

"MIGRATION AND RELIGION"

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ISSN: 2149-3979



ilahiyat akademi

yl: 2016 sayı: 4 altı aylık uluslararası akademik araştırma dergisi

Gaziantep Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Resmi Dergisi | The Official Journal of the Faculty of Divinity
Gaziantep University

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Faculty of Divinity, Gaziantep University, Şehitkâmil/Gaziantep, TURKEY

Baskı | Printing by

Gaziantep University Press

Baskı Yeri ve Tarihi | Publication Place and Date

Gaziantep; 2016

Yazışma Adresi | Contact Adress

Faculty of Divinity, Gaziantep University (Journal), Şehitkâmil/Gaziantep, TURKEY

Tel: +90 342 360 69 65; Fax: +90 342 360 21 36

E-mail: ilahiyatakademi@gantep.edu.tr; Web: <http://ilahiyat.gantep.edu.tr/dergi>

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Publication Principles

Editörden/ Editorial

Dear readers, here we are with another issue of The Journal of Theological Academia, the Official Journal of the Faculty of Divinity, Gaziantep University. This issue focused on the relationship between migration and religion, and the subject of the fourth issue has been determined as "Migration and Religion".

History of humanity also reflects a history of migration. Migrations that sometimes take place optionally or compulsorily mean the replacement regarding the socio-cultural habitus of different human groups. The issue of migration is in the agenda of Turkey due to the current state in Syria. The mass movements in the Middle East, which are called as Arab Spring and which have significantly changed the political and social pattern of many countries, have also affected Syria. The safety of life and property disappeared after the reactions against the oppressive regime in Syria reached another level with revolts and conflicts in 2011, which forced people to migrate to other countries. These migration activities also affected Turkey, with which Syria has important historical, cultural, and social ties. These migration waves which have started suddenly and have been increasing every passing day have brought millions of people in years. According to the data of the Directorate General of Migration Management, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey was 2,814,613 as of December 2016.

The provinces affected by the migration the most are those close to the border of Syria. Cities such as Kilis, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, and Hatay are the provinces that have been demographically, socially, financially, religiously, and politically affected the most. Therefore, it is clear that the residence of Syrian refugees in Turkey causes multi-dimensional experiences and actions for both the domestic people and refugees. One of these experiences between these people is certainly based on the interaction between the religious concepts and religious lifestyles. Efforts have been made through the studies and interviews with Syrian and Turkish people to present the approaches of Syrian refugees in Turkey, who have been living in the country for more than five years, toward the religious concepts in Turkey, and the points where these people go along or differ from one another. These interviews are important as they directly provide us data regarding the migration and religious literature. Syrian refugees' social and economic experiences are among the subjects examined in the journal. Moreover, book reviews are the other sections enriching this issue. I hope these studies contribute to the relevant literature.

Once again, I would like to extend my gratitude to the editorial board, publishing advisory board, authors and reviewers of articles, and the crews of publication, publishing, and distribution for their great support in forming and publishing this issue.

Sincerely yours.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Mahmut KAYA
Department of Sociology, Faculty of
Science and Letters, Harran University
Issue Editor

Syrian Refugees and Religious Life: Compliance, Encounter, Similitude: The Case of Gaziantep*

Erol ERKAN**

Abstract

In this article an assessment was made on the religious life of Syrian refugees whose number increases everyday in Turkey. A comparison has been made on religious perceptions of Syrian refugees, religious life, and religious perceptions in Turkey and Syria. Religious life in Turkey in terms of its differences and similarities with their religious life, post migration interactions and refugees' integration processes are questioned. In this study it is aimed to determine similarities and differences of religious life and the role of religion during the integration process of two different societies sharing mutual beliefs. The article is important in order to emerge the role and impact of religion for social integration, to observe different interpretations of religion in different societies, and to form a better communication between two societies. Qualitative methodology and interview method are used in this study. In that sense, data of the study came from interviews held with Syrian refugees and their micro-sociological level experiences. It is concluded that religion is differentiated among different societies in terms of meaning and practice.

Keywords: Syria, refugees, Syrian immigrants, religious life, piety

Suriyeli Göçmenler ve Dini Hayat: Uyum, Karşılaşma, Benzeşme: Gaziantep Örneği

Özet

Bu makalede Türkiye'de sayıları her geçen gün artan Suriyeli sığınmacılarla dini hayat üzerine bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır. Suriyeli göçmenlerin din algısı, Suriye'deki dini hayat ile Türkiye'de din ve dindarlık yorumu, dini yaşantı arasında bir karşılaştırmaya girilmiştir. Türkiye'deki dini hayat ile onların dini hayatı arasındaki farklılıklar,

* This study is the revised version of the article previously published in the May-August issues of *Din Bilimleri Dergisi* (Journal of Religious Studies) in 2016.

This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Suriyeli Göçmenler ve Dini Hayat: Uyum, Karşılaşma, Benzeşme: Gaziantep Örneği" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademisi*. (Erol ERKAN, "Suriyeli Göçmenler ve Dini Hayat: Uyum, Karşılaşma, Benzeşme: Gaziantep Örneği", *İlahiyat Akademisi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 1-36.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

**Asst. Prof. Gaziantep University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Religious Sociology, academic member, erkanerol27@hotmail.com

benzerlikler, göç sonrası ortaya çıkan etkileşim ve göçmenlerin uyum süreci üzerinde sorgulamalar yapılmıştır. Ortak inanca sahip iki farklı toplumun dini hayatlarındaki benzerliklerin, farklılıkların ve iki toplumun uyum sürecinde dinin rolünün tespit edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Dinin toplumlara göre farklı tezahürlerinin, toplumsal bütünleşmedeki rolünün ve etkisinin görülebilmesi, her iki toplumun daha sağlıklı iletişim ve birbirleri hakkında daha doğru değerlendirme yapabilmeleri açısından makale önem arz etmektedir. Çalışmada nitel yöntem tercih edilmiş ve mülakat tekniği kullanılmıştır. Dolayısıyla araştırmanın verileri Suriyeli göçmenlerle yapılan mülakatlardan, onların mikro-sosyolojik düzeyde yaşadıkları deneyimlerinden elde edilmiştir. Araştırmada, dinin, gerek şekilsel gerekse anlam düzeyinde toplumlara göre farklılaştığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriye, mülteciler, Suriyeli göçmenler, dini hayat, dindarlık

Introduction

The public of Syria organized mass protests and demanded reforms from Ba'ath regime upon the public movements started in the Arabic world in 2011. Syrian people demanded that the authoritarianism in the country be terminated, personal rights be expanded, justice in income distribution be ensured, and the authority of the Ba'ath Party be limited. Al-Asad's regime performed certain legal revisions and aimed to suppress the collective protests of people using armed forces instead of conducting an extensive reform that would end the monopoly of the Ba'ath Party,¹ which caused a civil war between the Asad's regime and opposition in the country. Millions of Syrian people had to take refuge in neighboring countries due to the civil war. This crisis affected Syria from many aspects and caused problems and disputes on a regional and global scale. It also directly affected Turkey, particularly in terms of issues regarding the asylum-seekers. Millions of Syrians passed the borders of Turkey, which caused severe problems for the Turkish society and political authority.

The latest refugee-related data reported by the High Commissioner of United Nations (UN) indicate that approximately 7,600,000 Syrians had to abandon their homes and escape to another domestic region due to the civil war in the country. The same commissioner also reported that more than 4,185,000 people left Syria in this period. Syrian people fled their country and took refuge in neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq or even the Europe. There are 1,078,000 Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Syria's neighbor on the south, while Jordan has more than 628,000. However, the country that has the highest number of refugees is Turkey.² The Directorate General of Migration Management (Ministry of Interior) reported that the number of registered Syrians in Turkey was 2,255,299 as

¹ (Prepared by) Atilla Sandıklı, Ali Semir, *Bütün Boyutlarıyla Suriye Krizi ve Türkiye (Bilge Adamlar Kurulu Raporu)*, Bilgesam Yayınları, İstanbul 2012, p.1.

² <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/suriyeli-multecilerin-sayisi-4-milyon-185-bine-ulasti>, (date accessed: 20.03.2016). See also: <http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-korumamiz-altindaki-suriyeliler-409-558-560-icerik>

of January of 2016, and 279,574 of them stayed in camps UN data indicated that European countries host 813,599 Syrians. The Turkish cities hosting the highest number of Syrians are Şanlıurfa, Hatay, İstanbul and Gaziantep.³ According to the official data, Turkey hosts more than 2,5 million Syrian refugees, and it meets their humanitarian needs such as accommodation, food, health, safety, education, communication, and banking with the coordination of Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD). According to AFAD's statement made in 14 March 2016, the number of Syrians in sheltering centers such as tent cities and container cities in various Turkish cities like Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Şanlıurfa, and Kahramanmaraş was 272,013.⁴ Gaziantep hosts 49,905 of these asylum-seekers.⁵ In addition to these asylum-seekers, hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees live in the city. The number of Syrian asylum-seekers in Şanlıurfa is 356.390 while it is 341,174 for Hatay and 305,067 for İstanbul. Following these cities, Gaziantep is the city with the highest number of asylum-seekers (277,905).⁶

Syrian asylum-seekers who have been living in Turkey for more than five years and Gaziantep hosting more than 270,000 Syrian migrants draw attention to this issue. Syrian migrants have been the focus of researchers from many aspects. Religious perceptions and livings of Syrian migrants, the differences and similarities between the religious life in Syria and Turkey, interactions emerging after migration, and the role of religion in migrants' adaptations are another interesting topics.⁷ This study questions these topics. The population of the study included the Syrian Sunni Muslim asylum-seekers in Gaziantep. The reason why Sunni Muslims were preferred among the Syrian refugees is that Sunnis constitute the majority of Syrian people. The main religious groups in Syria before the civil war are as follows: 74% Sunni, 12% Nusayri, 10% Christian, 3% Druze⁸ These figures indicate that the majority of Syrian people are Sunni Muslims.

This study aimed to answer questions such as *'are there any differences in the religious perceptions and living of two Islamic nations?'*, *'if any, where are the differences seen?'*, *'do the religious livings of these people become similar in five years?'*, *'do the differences cause any sorts of issues between the nations?'*, *'do migrants face any sorts of problems in their religious lives?'* Another aim of this study was to indicate the different aspects between the perceptions and experiences of two different cultures

³ <http://www.posta.com.tr/turkiye/HaberDetay/Iste-Turkiye-deki-son-kayitli-Suriyeli-sayisi--Ocak-2016-.htm?ArticleID=321871>, (date accessed: 20.03.2016)

⁴ <https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848>, (date accessed: 20.03.2016)

⁵ <https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848>, (date accessed: 20.03.2016)

⁶ <http://www.sondevir.com/rapor-arastirma/456276/turkiyede-hangi-sehirde-kac-suriyeli-multeci-yasiyor>, (date accessed: 20.03.2016)

⁷ Religion is a "tie between the believers and believed (Günay, 1999: p.70)" while religiousness "is the degree of focusing and being busy with the beliefs, prayers and symbols of the followed religion (Kurt, 2009: 2)". A religious life consists of religious reflections over the people and society.

⁸ Birol Akgün, *Suriye Krizi'nde Bölgesel ve Küresel Aktörler (Perspektifler, Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri)*, Institute of Sociological Thinking Analysis, June 2012, p. 4.

regarding their common beliefs, and to reveal the role of religion in the adaptation between two nations. This study is expected to contribute to the evaluations regarding the religious lives of Syrian migrants. Therefore, it can help establish a better relationship with the Syrian migrants. The data were obtained from the interviews made with the Syrian refugees and from their micro-sociologic experiences. Qualitative methods were preferred, and interviewing method was used in this study. Data sets were formed after a literature review was performed and in depth interviews were performed with 12 Syrian asylum-seekers directly or with the help of an interpreter using the semi-structured interview form* in March and April 2016, and the results were analyzed later. As the results repeated, there was no need to interview more people. Syrian lecturers serving in the Faculty of Divinity at Gaziantep University and Syrian students studying in the same faculty, all of whom were expected to contribute for better evaluations regarding religious life, were interviewed. Moreover, the authorities of associations founded by Syrian refugees and people randomly selected from the public were interviewed. In addition to the interviews made with the Syrian migrants, conversations were made with the Turkish people who can observe Syrians' religious lives closely.

According to the official data, Syrian people whose number is exceeding 2.5 million need to adapt to Turkish society and its culture and lifestyle while attempting to solve the problems they face every day. Collective living of both nations in harmony and without any issues is of great importance for both publics and for the operations and safety of the Republic of Turkey.

A. Theoretical Frame

1. Culture and Religion

There are many definitions of culture. For example, Zygmunt Bauman defines culture as *"organizing and maintaining an order, and fighting against anything chaotic for this order"*⁹ and implies the organizing aspect of culture for the society. Moreover, culture can be defined as *"the unity of practices, beliefs, and material-spiritual elements which we learn in a social process and which determine the structure (relationships) of our presence"* or *"a complicated unit that covers the information, artistic elements, traditions-customs and similar skills and habits learned (gained) by people as a member of society"*¹⁰. Johann Gottfried Herder reviews culture as a factor *"uniting the group members in harmonious societies with common and separate lifestyles"*¹¹. The interesting aspect of these definitions is the social characteristics of culture. These characteristics make culture an element that can be realized among the societies.

* The interview form was added to the end of the study.

⁹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Sosyolojik Düşünmek*, trans. Abdullah Yılmaz, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, p.161.

¹⁰ Bozkurt Güvenç, *İnsan ve Kültür*, Remzi Kitabevi, Ankara 2005, p.100, 101.

¹¹ Watt Waggoner, "Kültür ve Din", trans. Mustafa Arslan, in: *Din Sosyolojisi Kuram ve Yöntem*, compiled by: Peter B. Clarke, Ankara 2012, p. 341.

Social conditions play a key role in the formation of culture. However, culture is not the sole result of material lifestyles. One of the significant elements determining culture is the material approaches or the beliefs of a society because religion is effective on both personal and social levels. Religion is the means of making the self-presence and universe more meaningful and displaying submission in the inner world, and it is an important factor in shaping the social relationships and behaviors on a social level, and in the emergence of institutions in this regard. Therefore, religion affects and shapes the society where it is present. Changes in the religious field also causes changes in other fields of culture.¹² Max Weber reflects the role of religion in the emergence of capitalist economy and states that religious values may be the important factors for social life and cultural changes.¹³

Religion shows itself in various forms. The theoretical aspect of religion is shown with beliefs while the practical and sociological aspects are seen through prayers and religious congregations. A religion or belief can continue existing only when it establishes and develops social relationships, or else this religion or belief¹⁴ becomes extinct in time. Religion is an important concept affecting the social life as it establishes and develops social relationships.

A religion has various functions in a society. It provides a conceptual perspective that will enable the people to view the material world through special "glasses", and it serves to maintain the components of the social life.¹⁵ Religion catches attention as a factor impactful for personal and social lives with its various functions and dimensions. Religious impacts over societies can be found on different dimensions and levels. A closer look at the lives of people and society indicates that people's transitional periods are surrounded with religious beliefs and practices. Birth and death are among the most important concepts in this regard. The names given to the newborns and the way these names are given are affected by religion. Religious factor becomes more remarkable in this practice named as the name culture.¹⁶

Religion can be effective in significant transitional periods. Moreover, the effects of religion can be observed in our daily lives. The facts or actions affected by religion range from ordinary behaviors such as eating to financial activities, from the decisions regarding which professions or political approaches are preferred to organizing our working conditions, and from our daily language to literature and art.

¹² Mümtaz Turhan, *Kültür Değişimleri (Sosyal Psikoloji Bakımından Bir Tetkik)*, Çamlıca Yayınları, İstanbul 2002, p. 86.

¹³ Max Weber, *Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhu*, trans. Zeynep Gürata, Ayraç Yayınları, Ankara 2005.

¹⁴ Joachim Wach, *Din Sosyolojisi*, trans. Ünver Günay, Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul 1995, p. 54.

¹⁵ Şerif Mardin, *Din ve İdeoloji*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2004, p. 66.

¹⁶ Vejdi Bilgin, "Din ve Kültür", in: *Din Sosyolojisi*, editor: Mehmet Bayyığıt, Palet Yayınları, Konya 2013, p. 109.

Religious effects over the societies can be seen in many levels. Religions caused great changes and developments with their orders. Many cultural institutions emerged as a result of the efforts to live in line with religions. These efforts also developed architecture, literature, music, and similar arts. Some religious data served as hypothesis for the development of science. For example, the obligation of executing religious ceremonies at certain times necessitated the use of calendars, which promoted observing the celestial bodies.¹⁷

Regardless of the people or society, a mutual interaction between religion and culture is inevitable when new religious information is found. When religion and culture meets or when religion is included in a culture, it aims to transform, revise, and reform culture based on its own values and teachings. However, as each person and society has their own cultural structure, differences between people and societies inevitable occur when religion and culture meet. The difference of religion by people or societies is related to religious understanding, perception, and integrity because each person or society makes an effort to understand and practice religion by their own cultural structures. Acceptance of religious meaning and importance affects the commitment to religion. An interaction occurs when religion and society meet. This interaction changes within the religious teachings and characteristics of cultural structure rather than serving as a single-dimensional, monotonous relationship. Therefore, religious practices of every society differ by their own members and differ when compared to other societies.¹⁸

The mutual relationships between religion and culture can be clearly seen in daily life. Religion affects and transform culture while culture influences the religion that emerges or is practiced in that culture. However, a misunderstanding that religion is totally a result of culture or totally transform culture should not happen here. Religion is functional with its protective, legal, transformative, and innovative aspects for protecting culture, passing it down to generations, and giving it a new shape. Culture, on the other hand, is effective for perceiving, interpreting, experiencing, and practicing religion, and making religion a belief and understanding and making sure it is commonly practiced by the public.¹⁹

As religion is affected by the cultural pattern of a society, the same religion may have different forms specific to different societies. For example, Islam may differ for Umayyad or Abbasid states, Muslim Barbary states of Northern Africa, Sudan Kingdom, Ottoman Empire, Syria and Egypt of the modern times, Afghanistan and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, or for the countries and periods when

¹⁷ Mustafa Aydın, *Sistematik Din Sosyolojisi*, Açılımkitap Pınar Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, p. 122.

¹⁸ Ali Akdoğan, "Kültür ve Din", in: *Din Sosyolojisi El Kitabı*, editors: Niyazi Akyüz, İhsan Çapcıoğlu, Grafiker Yayınları, Ankara 2012, p. 448.

¹⁹ Ejder Okumuş, "Toplum Bağlamında Din-Kültür Etkileşimi", *Turkish Studies*, Volume 11/7 Spring, Ankara 2016, p. 275.

religion emerged in its purest form and for the minorities or publics where religion emerged in a complicated way.²⁰

No religion can maintain the perceptions and manifestations of the era from which it emerged. Reflections of religions differ as socio-cultural conditions change in time. A similar case is present for Islam. The religious-cultural differentiations in Iran, Africa, Turkic states, India, and the Far East, which arise from the fact that Islam passes the borders of the society where it is born, can be regarded as the reflections of this case in Islamic world. For instance, people make comments indicating that Islam has been reinterpreted under the influence of local African culture and traditions.²¹ It is fair to state that culture has a significant impact over the perception and interpretation of religion in various ways. Culture significantly impacts the emergence of different religious interpretations, sects, congregations, groups, and classes in a religion. Therefore, the fact that Islam as a historical and socio-cultural phenomenon is perceived and practiced as various sects, classes, groups, congregations, and cults reflect the impact of Islam over the cultures of societies.²² Karbala ceremonies can be among the different perceptions and interpretations within Islam. While Karbala ceremonies are not executed in the Sunni world, they are commonly held in Shia states. The social aspects of a religion may differ not only by the societies and cultures, but also by different residential areas, professions, and economic statuses.²³

Religion cannot be reviewed separately from any socio-cultural structures where it was born or adopted later. Religion is affected by the environmental conditions when it is born or developed. Any religions practiced today cannot be regarded as the same when they emerged with the guidance of their Prophets because differences regarding the interpretations of religious texts and practices of a religion may exist for different eras. However, religions adapt to these conditions to bring solutions to different environmental conditions and problems.²⁴

2. Migration and Religion

Migration is the obligatory movement of people or societies from the places they voluntarily live in to another geography, or it is the change of environment in this regard. People can migrate domestically or to other countries. Moreover, migration can be permanent, long-term or temporary.²⁵ The interesting aspect of migration is that it is not a simple action of moving; instead, it has a socio-cultural

²⁰ Aydın, *Sistematik Din Sosyolojisi*, p. 129.

²¹ Arif Korkmaz, "Göç ve Din", in: *Din Sosyolojisi*, editor: Mehmet Bayyığıt, Palet Yayınları, Konya 2013, p. 355.

²² Okumuş, "Toplum Bağlamında Din-Kültür Etkileşimi", p. 277.

²³ Max Weber, *Din Sosyolojisi*, trans. Latif Boyacı, Yarı Yayınları, İstanbul 2012.

²⁴ Bilgin, "Din ve Kültür", p. 125.

²⁵ Cemal Yalçın, *Göç Sosyolojisi*, Anı Yayıncılık, Ankara 2004.

meaning and it causes effects in the life of people and societies. Migration changes the social worlds of both people and society.

The concept of migration causes certain social, economic and political issues as a social change process before anything else. Although migrants migrate for reaching a better tomorrow or achieving better life standards, they still face certain problems. Migration is essentially the solution for the problems related to the previous places of residence. However, this solution may cause new problems regarding the new place. Communicational, accommodation-related and professional issues occur due to the obligatory and collective migration to other countries. Meeting the educational needs of migrants in the following periods requires meeting the cultural adaptation problem arising from the meeting of two different societies. Thus, migration is a highly problematic topic that should be carefully considered.

It is not the populational movement solely. It is the movement of lifestyles, beliefs and practices to new places. Therefore, every culture meets new conditions when they go beyond the borders of the countries where they emerged and developed. While efforts are made to maintain the previous lifestyle under new conditions on one hand, new conditions are to be adopted on the other hand. Accordingly, migration emerges as an important factor of social change. It is inevitable for the people and society to change during migration.

While the social change arising due to migration is regarded as an inevitable process, it may arise from the criticism of people toward their own cultures. Cultural meetings as some of the results of migration mostly include the process of cultural criticism. People and societies facing different cultures, traditions, beliefs, and 'rights' and 'wrongs' may display rather critical and questioning attitudes toward their own cultures. Many details that are not internally criticized in a homogeneous society become interesting when this society becomes rather heterogeneous, or they may be just recognized after this transition. However, this interesting process of recognition may turn into the process of questioning, and oppositions and conflicts may be experienced with traditional orientations and forms accordingly. In conclusion, a case that cannot not regarded as 'positive' for 'old' cultures and beliefs emerge.²⁶

Changes and differences emerge in the socio-cultural life upon the mindsets and behaviors of people during the migration period. An interaction, adaptation and conflicts between the cultures of new places and migrants' previous environments occur. Migration is not just a spatial population movement. It is also a social movement covering the cultural interactions of people who change their residential areas. Migrating people or societies also experience an interaction and transition between the psycho-social and cultural worlds. When migrants form a

²⁶ Korkmaz, "Göç ve Din", p. 367, 368.

broad mass, both migrants and the social environment hosting them are mutually affected. The interaction of migration in the personal and social lives is interesting in this regard.²⁷ Another interesting aspect of this process is religion. Religiousness of migrants may change during the process of migration. The new aspects of change arising from this process may be positive or negative, and religion may play a key role in protecting the general personal and social structures and mitigating the tension in the society.

After migrants face a new society following migration, religion emerges as a response to the reference loss in this period and preserves the social ties. It draws attention to the protection of an ethnic culture at a difficult position in a foreign society, and it almost becomes a cooperation center with the structure of congregation it creates. Therefore, religion establishes a cultural pattern based on the sense of belonging, traditions, and values to ensure that migrants have a place and maintain it in a new society. Certain migrant societies facing the disruptive effects of migration make efforts to overcome these effects by embracing the connective characteristics of religion.²⁸ Termination of distrusts, uncertainties and risks migrants have never faced can be possible through the alternative interpretations and congregation provided by the religion. Religion as a source of security and meaning system creates a sacred, protected area against the problems migrants face in their new environments.²⁹ Therefore, religion serves as a significant reference for migrants' efforts to adapt to their new environments following the migration process. It is also an effective factor for uniting the spread people or societies.

Religion remains as one of the most important sources for reproducing migrant groups' ethno-religious identities in new environments and helping them adapt to their new, difficult, and mostly threatening environment.³⁰ Moreover, certain changes can be seen in the religious perceptions and practices of migrant group. Religious migrants transfer their religious beliefs and practices from their previous places of residence to their new environments, and their beliefs and practices are affected by the current state of living in a new place, and therefore, migrants' religious characteristics gain a local form.³¹

The concept of migration causes people to face an extensive interaction with a broad context ranging from personal mindsets, attitudes, and behaviors to

²⁷ Celaledin Çelik, "Göç, Kentleşme ve Din", in: *Din Sosyolojisi El Kitabı*, editors: Niyazi Akyüz, İhsan Çapcıoğlu, Grafik Yayınları, Ankara 2012, p. 298.

²⁸ Korkmaz, "Göç ve Din", p. 355, 360.

²⁹ Çelik, "Göç, Kentleşme ve Din", p. 305, 306.

³⁰ Fenggang Yang, Helen Rose Ebaugh (2009), "Yeni Göçmen Dinlerindeki Değişimler ve Küresel Etkileri", trans. İhsan Çapcıoğlu in: *Din Sosyolojisi (Klasik Ve Çağdaş Yaklaşımlar)*, editor: Bünyamin Solmaz, İhsan Çapcıoğlu, Çizgi Kitabevi, Konya 2009, p. 125.

³¹ Caroline Plüss (2012), "Göç ve Küreselleşen Din", trans. İlkay Şahin, in: *Din Sosyolojisi (Yaşadığımız Dünya)*, compiled by: Peter B Clarke, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara 2012, p. 305.

people's cultural lives. Another concept including the effects of change is the perception of religion and religiousness. Religiousness changes with the change of cultural environment. Religiousness and religious living is open to social interactions. In other words, interpretation of religion and religiousness changes based on socio-cultural relationships and processes.³²

The basic reality covering all possible options regarding the quality and quantity of migration along with the positive and negative aspects of the interaction between migration and religion/religiousness is the concept of 'change' because the dynamic characteristics of migration reflect a multi-dimensional change. Therefore, this dynamism affects the characteristics and content of migration, institutional religion and religiousness, and it can be regarded as 'changing these actions and facts' in a sense. Religion, religious people, and religiousness become different following the migration. These migration-related changes occasionally increase and decrease the religiousness. Transition from a traditional living universe to a secular social context most probably results in increasing the secularism and decreasing the religiousness.³³

3. Cultural Adaptation and Conflicts

Social life is based on the concept of collective living. People have to gather, form groups and live as societies due to their needs. A society is a unit of people with communication and interaction. Accordingly, people from that society depend on and relate to one another. Mutual contact, communication, and interaction are important for both the individuals and groups. People and groups may develop many sorts of relationships with each other. Society is a broad and complicated pattern of social relationships. Interactions emerge in this pattern. We may consider social relationships as personal ties. However, relationship and interaction may also occur between the groups. Isolation from concrete human relationships should be performed to analyze these social relationships. It becomes clear later that people and groups are integrated with the status, role, and process realities.³⁴

One of the interaction forms of society, which can be regarded as a complicated pattern of relationships, is social relationships. Joseph Fichter describes social processes as forms of social interaction that can be typified and encompass all the many social roles people play. According to him, these processes always cover the behaviors shared between two or more people, and the basic social processes include cooperation, adaptation, internalization, conflict, opposition, and

³² Çelik, "Göç, Kentleşme ve Din", p. 298, 300.

³³ Korkmaz, "Göç ve Din", 2013.

³⁴ Joseph Fichter, *Sosyoloji Nedir?*, trans. Nilgün Çelebi, Anı Yayıncılık, Ankara 2004, p. 123.

competition. These behavioral manners are the stereotyped relationships in a society.³⁵

Fichter states that the most general categories of social processes are formed by the members of both sides. These are the combining and separating processes. The former reflects cooperation, adaptation, and internalization while the latter indicates conflicts, opposition, and competition. Binding or combining processes are the interaction patterns in which people are brought together and made more unified. Separating or disruptive processes reflect the environments where people are separated and thus forced to cooperate and unite less. Fichter states that combining processes always reflect the merits regarding rights and love, while separating them means social flaws regarding injustice and hatred.³⁶

Similitude is the establishment and continuation of the relationship between people with different ethnical backgrounds, as if they were the members of the same group, without any sort of pressure or compulsion. It is also the action of becoming a new culture, but this process cannot be regarded as certain because some ethnical groups maintain their own cultural characteristics in their new groups.³⁷

Different ideas and cultural elements should be respectful toward the values of the dominant culture to ensure that social differences can be and stay as variety. In other words, differences exist by reflecting themselves, but they have to be in harmony and accordance with the essential and specific values of the main culture because common values are always needed for different members of a society to live in peace and safety. The main culture or dominant culture is the main reference that will provide these common values.³⁸ Accordingly, rules of a society reflect the main values of the same society. Existing in a society without conflicting with other members necessitate adapting to the basic values and rules of that society, i.e. the normative integration.

Normative integration is the organization of the actions and behaviors in line with the norms of the society. Norms ensure agreement on ideas and values because rules constitute a significant portion of the culture in a society.³⁹ Therefore, the provision of social integrity necessitates adapting to the rules valid for everybody in a certain environment, which prevents the emergence of social issues. However, integrity does not only take place within certain rules. Moreover, it should be noted that absolute integrity cannot be present in any societies.

³⁵ Fichter, *Sosyoloji Nedir?*, p. 124, 126.

³⁶ Fichter, *Sosyoloji Nedir?*, p. 127-128.

³⁷ İbrahim Arslanlıoğlu, *Genel Sosyoloji*, Gazi Kitabevi, Ankara 2012, p. 101.

³⁸ Mimar Türkkahraman, Hüseyin Tutar, "Sosyal Değişme, Bütünleşme ve Çözümle Bağlamında Toplumda Farklı Kültür ve Anlayışların Yeri ve Önemi", *Uluslararası Alanya İşletme Fakültesi Dergisi*, volume: 1, issue: 1, 2009, p. 11.

³⁹ Arslanlıoğlu, *Genel Sosyoloji*, p. 101.

Spiritual elements such as religion, along with the social rules, clearly affect the internal integrity of a society and integrity of two different societies. Accordingly, one of the significant elements for social integrity is the spiritual integrity among the members of the society. An important condition of spiritual integrity is that people living in various regions should be aware that they constitute a nation in terms of time, date, culture, and spiritual values. Customs, habits, traditions, folk songs, games, handicrafts, and even the languages of people living collectively may differ.⁴⁰ However, spiritual integrity can take place if they have the awareness that they collectively constitute a nation. Spiritual integrity is the best of social integrity forms, and it is an obligation for social integrity. Religion plays a key role in this regard because religions' effects and importance for the societies, cultures, and civilizations are quite significant.

Social ties are the connections established through common values. Thus, closeness, common values, unity, and solidarity, rather than the differences, are quite important for the presence and continuation of a society. Different actors of a society should be aware that they are actually the parts of a unity. Smaller social sub-groups in a society should revise their values and targets in accordance with the values and final objective of the larger group (society) that covers the smaller groups. If this revision and harmony are absent, the members of the society cannot maintain their presence in peace, and the targets in this regard cannot be achieved.⁴¹ Therefore, sub-groups should learn the cultures and language of the larger group, i.e. the society. Otherwise, problems would occur both for themselves and for the general society. It is obligatory for a person as a social creature to know the culture of the society and social responsibilities of people, to act accordingly, and to establish proper communications for preventing social conflicts.

Results

I. Reasons Why Syrian Migrants Preferred Turkey

Syrian asylum-seekers living in camps stated that Turkey's conditions were better compared to Lebanon and Jordan in a study conducted with Syrian migrants. The results of the questionnaire administered to 935 asylum-seekers in the container and tent cities set in Harran and Akçakale, Şanlıurfa, Turkey, reflect their desires of residing in Turkey. The primary reason Syrian asylum-seekers preferred Turkey is the trust-sympathy felt toward Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the president of Turkey (33.4%), followed by the closeness of Turkey to the borders of Syria (31.0%), and considering the Turkish people as close to them and Turkish people's family ties which are similar to those of Syrians. The study entitled *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler:*

⁴⁰ Arslanlioğlu, *Genel Sosyoloji*, p. 101-103.

⁴¹ Türk kahraman, Tutar, "Sosyal Değişme, Bütünleşme ve Çözümle Bağlamında Toplumda Farklı Kültür ve Anlayışların Yeri ve Önemi", p. 2.

*Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*⁴² by Murat Erdoğan indicates that Syrians mentioned their satisfaction in living in Turkey and extended their gratitude to Turkish people in the interviews performed with 72 Syrians living outside the camps in Gaziantep, Kilis, Hatay, İstanbul, İzmir, and Mersin.⁴³

I was the one who supervised Syrians' trainings in all camps. There were also the representatives of United Nations there. They said Turkish camps looked like a five-star hotel compared to those in other countries, which makes Turkey more desirable. Governmental policy was also effective (Osman, Mohamed).*

It was related to the fact that Turkey's borders were not totally controlled at first. However, many Syrians are now officially registered (Ahmed, Behzam).

The opportunities provided by both the public and government to the Syrians were not present in any other countries (Osman, Halid Ahmed, Nahla Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

I took part in conferences in Elazığ, Malatya, İstanbul and Adana. These are the conferences named '*Syrian Night*' held by Syrians. These conferences were full of people. There were even hundreds of people waiting outside for the conference I gave in the Syrian Night occasion held in Istanbul. This just shows Turkish people's perception of Syrians as '*brothers and sisters*' (Osman).

Syria and Turkey have deep ties along with the neighboring relationship. The financial relationships between both countries have historical and cultural aspects. There are also family-based relationships between the citizens of both countries. These ties between both countries made Turkey a preferable country in this regard. Solution to migrants' basic problems such as shelter and safety is their priority. Accordingly, as a country with a safe environment, Turkey was a good option for Syrian migrants because the current government has a positive policy for the Syrian migrants, local people showed attention to migrants and helped them, and migrants considered Turkey as a gate to Europe, all of which ensured Syrians preferred Turkey.

II. Role of Religion in Migrants' Adaptation

Residence of migrants in a new environment does not mean that their problems end. Many issues regarding the new places of residence await them. One

⁴² Murat Erdoğan, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*, Hacettepe University, Migration and Politics Research Center, Ankara 2014.

⁴³ Mahmut Kaya, "Komşuda Misafirlik: Suriyeli Sığınmacılarca Kurulmuş Mülteci Derneklerinin Perspektifinden Türkiye'de Yaşamak", *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, Autumn III, 2015, p. 263-279, See also: Mehmet Güçer, Sema Karaca, O. Bahadır Dinçer, *Sınırlar Arasında Yaşam Savaşı: Suriyeli Mülteciler*, USAK Social Research Center, May 2013.

* Names in parenthesis belong to those interviewed. A table reflecting their status is presented at the end of the study.

* The first name in the parenthesis belongs to the original speaker in the interview while the other names mean similar explanations.

of these issues is the adaptation to the new society and culture and lifestyle of this society. It is highly important for two different societies to maintain their lives in peace. The presence of common values, experiences, and cultural similarities between two societies will help overcome this adaptation process more easily. The fact that the majority of Turkish and Syrian people as Muslim caused Islam to be an effective factor for the adaptation between both nations.

Syrians are religious people who are careful in their prayers and who wear clothes in accordance with the religious rules, e.g. Syrian women wearing hijab, all of which made it easier for Turkish people to accept us (Osman, Halid Ahmed, Yasmin).

There are 2,750,000 Syrians in Turkey at the moment. There are many reasons why Syrians preferred Turkey more. Turkish people considered us as muhajir. This was the case particularly when the migration started (Ahmed, Mohamed, Nahla).

We do not feel excluded in Turkey. Particularly with such religious people. However, there are also irreligious people whose political views oppose to the government, and we feel excluded around them (Ahmed, Mohamed, Osman).

After coming to Turkey, Syrians' perceptions toward the Turkish people positively changed. Islamic brotherhood developed between them. Syrians called non-Arabic people foreigners. Now they call Turkish people "our Muslim brothers" (İbrahim, Behzam).

What the Syrian people in Turkey observe is that Islam increases the connections between them. Therefore, they protect themselves and occasionally gather. Their emphasis is always on religion and Islam (İbrahim).

Religious people helped us. However, benevolence of Turkish people does not solely arise from their religiousness. Their humanitarian and modern characteristics, and their culture are also effective. A friend of mine told me a story. A Turkish guy drinking an alcoholic beverage took a Syrian beggar to a market and bought everything that he/she needs (Nahla).

There are process-related aspects of migration which people experience in time. Migration is not just a movement from one country to another, or just the action of passing the borders of another country. Abandoning a country means abandoning daily life and habitus. Habitus as a "concrete or bodily" socialization concept is like a "house where a person resides and which is full of direct meanings and benefits".⁴⁴ Obligatory migration causes people to abandon their houses and build a new home in the new cultural environment where it is hard to find meaning and benefits. This process is also related to the case where cultural borders are passed, violated, and expanded or where daily life is reshaped, and to the obligation of reforming the social universe.⁴⁵ Religion plays a key role in this period

⁴⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, L. Wacquant, *Düşünsümsel Bir Antropoloji İçin Cevaplar*, trans. Nazlı Ökten, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2003, p. 119.

⁴⁵ Hatice Şule Oğuz, "Kültürlerarası Karşılaşmaların Uzak İhtimali: Sığınmacılık Deneyiminde Gaziantep Örneği", *Tesam Akademi Dergisi – Turkish Journal of TESAM Academy*, July 2015, 2 (2), p. 130.

when daily life is reshaped and homes are rebuilt. Religion, for the believers, is a significant dynamics of built social reality and a common experience approximating the people sharing the new universe.

The statements above indicate that religion plays a key role in the integrity between two nations. One of the most important functions of religion is social integrity. Religion plays a key role in ensuring the unity and solidarity of society because religions' effects and importance for the societies, cultures, and civilizations are quite significant. Accordingly, religion has a significant position and effect, which has already been reflected in the statements regarding the adaptation between Syrian and Turkish people. Religion mitigates the tension between them by serving as an intermediary body, and as a significant meaning and legitimacy reference, it helps the local people accept the case and provide aid and facilitation to the migrants. The field researches conducted in different cities of Turkey support this result.⁴⁶

Religion is an important option in terminating the unsafe situations and risks Syrian migrants face in Turkey. As a safety and meaning source, religion appears as a safe house for the conditions migrants face. It can be the most important reference for Syrian migrant groups' efforts to exist in a new environment where they need more trust. Therefore, both migrants and local public benefit from the connective aspect of religion to adapt to new social conditions. Syrians make efforts to overcome the problem of existing in a new environment through the reference provided by religion.

III. Other Factors Affecting the Social Integrity

People have to gather, form groups, and live as societies due to their needs. Accordingly, people from that society depend on and relate to one another. Communication and interaction take place between the people living together. Mutual communication and interaction necessitate the adaptation between people. The reflection of cooperation, adaptation, and internalization-based behavioral patterns which are called combining and connective processes by the society, emergence of these patterns, and merit-related statements are highly important. The relationship between the Syrian migrants and Turkish society indicates that cooperation and internalization-related behavioral concepts emerged between both societies, and cultural internalization and normative and spiritual integrity are effective in the process of social integrity.

⁴⁶ Hıdır Apak, *Suriyeli Göçmenlerin Uyum ve Gelecek Beklentileri: Mardin Örneği*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Mardin Artuklu University, ISS, Mardin 2014.

a. Common History

Common history and cultural similarities, along with the religious aspects, positively affect the adaptation between both nations.

My grandfather used to go to Kilis and Antep, instead of Aleppo, for shopping. Our culture was common. One of my grandfathers fell a martyr in Gallipoli. His name is shown as '*Ismael from Aleppo*' on the board with martyrs' names. Another grandfather of mine fell a martyr in Mosul as an Ottoman soldier (Osman).

There are similarities between Syrians and Turkish people in terms of culture, ideology, beliefs, and eating and dressing habits. The border regions seem as one region. They are very close to one another (Mohamed, Nahla).

Before the initiation of these incidents (before 2011), Syrian people treated a Turkish person in Syria as if they saw a brother or sister they had not seen for a long time. They showed love saying "*a Turki*". Our history and public were quite similar (Osman, Esma).

We are united brothers and sisters. We do not have differences or problems. There is a region in Damascus, Syria, called "*al-atrak*" [Turks]. There are Turkmen people, a mountain called Turkmen, and a neighborhood called Turkmens, which is a Turkish neighborhood. When I studied in Damascus in 1993, I saw old Syrian people from Turkish ancestry who did not speak Arabic (Osman).

When different nations with certain cultural differences gather, they sometimes have the awareness of constituting a nation with certain common characteristics related to history, culture, and spiritual values, which appears as an important factor for the publics' unity and solidarity. In addition to the common history between Turkish and Syrian people, both nations have a common value like the Ottoman Empire, which is one of the factors facilitating the adaptation between both publics. These two nations were living as a public with different but integrated elements in this region before World War I. The borders set following the war separated people. However, the people of this region still reflect that they have a common history and awareness that they are one nation, which positively affect the adaptation of two publics coming together once again due to migration.

b. Normative Integration

The rules of a society reflect the main values of the same society. Existing in a society with harmony obligates new residents to avoid from conflicting with the efforts and behaviors of the local people and values, social norms, and rules of that society, which can be observed in the behaviors of Syrian migrants.

We always state the following: '*We are just guests in Turkey, so we should not distort the peace here. We should respect the order, system and organization in Turkey. We should not upset anybody.*' We always talk about this issue in every social meetings or among us. We always consider this whatever we do (Ahmed, Halid Ahmed, Fatma).

Syrian migrants can establish and live proper relationships in Turkey only when they observe the rules that are valid for everyone. The abovementioned statements indicate that they are actually concerned with adapting to the society. However, their solution to this concern is '*observing the rules*'. These statements also reflect that following the rules can also suit the benefits of migrants. Interviews with migrants indicate that they are aware of their responsibilities, and they act in line with what is expected from them. However, following the rules is not sufficient for social integrity. For the society to adapt to each other and establish closer relationships, certain factors such as cultural assimilation, other than the rules, need to be employed.

c. Cultural Assimilation

Society is the unit of people who are in continuous interaction. It is a natural process for both migrants and local people to have interaction and similitude. Syrian migrants adapt to the Turkish culture to act in line with Turkish society while maintaining their own cultures without facing any oppression or obligation from the host state. Maintaining social order is related to observing the values of the dominant culture in that society, which, however, does not mean the termination of cultural differences. This is actually a case where different ethnical elements exist with their own cultural characteristics and differences, and where these elements are in accordance with the dominant culture. Members of a society can coexist only through common values. Basic or dominant cultures are the important sources providing these common values.

Syrians started to wear different clothes. We used to wear jalabiya or long clothes. Particularly the old people used to wear these. However, this totally changed after we came to Turkey. I do not recall my father wearing a suit in Syria. However, he wears one now saying "*we should adapt instead of looking different*" (Osman, Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

We organize our working life considering the Turkish people. We adapt ourselves to how they work (Halid Ahmed, Behzam).

Syrian women generally wear a single color hijab and they generally wear all black. However, Turkish women generally wear colorful clothes. Syrians in Turkey started to wear colorful clothes. Moreover, Turkish women have been recently dressing as Syrian women (Fatma, Esmā).

Syrian girls have been wearing something like a bead (meaning nose stud) on their noses. This is something I have never seen in Syria. No mother in Syria would like a girl like them for their sons (Nahla).

Social interaction does not occur unilaterally. Social relationships generate mutual interactions. Local people affect the migrants with their culture and lifestyles, and they become open to the effects of migrants.

There were many people with hijabs and tight pants in Syria. When I came to Turkey, these clothes were not that common. This has now become common among the Turks upon the effects of Syrians (Nahla).

Absolute integrity cannot take place in any societies. A complete integrity cannot be achieved between two societies. However, social ties are established through common values. Closeness, common values, unity, and solidarity, rather than the differences, are important for the continuation of the society. Having the awareness of being a part of the unity is necessary for every members of the society. Small sub-groups in the society need to determine the values and targets in accordance with the values and final objectives of the dominant culture. Members of a society cannot maintain their lives in peace and achieve their objectives without establishing the social adaptation. Uncertainties in different social encounters arise from the failure in knowing the others adequately, having bias toward one another, and inability to speak in a common language, the main element of communication. Accordingly, Syrian migrants need to learn the cultures and language of Turkish people and to adapt to Turkish culture not to have any social issues. Therefore, an interaction and cultural similitude can be found between the Syrian migrants and local people. It is clear that migrants aim to act in line with the cultures of the local people to be in harmony with them.

d. Problems of Syrian Migrants in the Adaptation Process

Obligatory migration causes people to abandon their homes, families, loved ones, daily routines, habits, and their habitus full of meanings and benefits. Accordingly, asylum-seekers make efforts to exist in an environment where they cannot set a meaning, participate in the process of generating meanings or have difficulties in finding a meaning,⁴⁷ all of which are still hard to perform because migration causes certain social, economic, and political issues as a social change. After two different nations come together, certain issues arise. Thus, there are social, political, and economic issues that the nations coming together need to overcome. One of these is the problem of cultural adaptation. Members of any society meet new conditions when they reach beyond their current states. Migrants make efforts to maintain the aspects of their previous cultures on one hand, and they need to adapt to the new conditions on the other hand. However, this may cause tension between the people and publics.

Our holiday was Friday in the past. That was our best and most special day. We miss this now. We used to have fun with kids that day. Our social life would start following the prayers. However, we work here on Friday. Turkish people have holiday on Sunday, which surprised us, and we have yet to adapt to this (Osman, Ahmed, Fehmi).

⁴⁷ Oğuz, "Kültürlerarası Karşılaşmaların Uzak İhtimali: Sığınmacılık Deneyiminde Gaziantep Örneği", P. 162.

Communicational problems prevent both nations from establishing closer relationships (Abdulaziz, Osman).

Financial problems we had in Turkey paved the way for the domestic problems. The rate of divorce increased among the Syrians due to financial problems (Ahmed).

We used to have closer relationships in Syria. However, we became more personalized here in Turkey. Financial issues and obligation of all family members to work negatively affected our social relationships. We cannot come together (Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

Turkish people are helpful, but this changes when it comes to business affairs. They just do not want to employ Syrians (Nahla).

Migration of Syrians negatively affected the occupational conditions in Turkey, which adversely affected their views toward the migrants (Abdulaziz, Behzam).

The problems of Syrians include communicational issues, unemployment, social and cultural differences, and labor exploitation.⁴⁸ In addition, educational⁴⁹ problems and these issues appear as the most important obstacles before ensuring the sense of belonging and social adaptation. Two different societies and cultures face one another after migration. Migrants and their lifestyles may be regarded as a threat to the local culture, which may cause unsafety. Thus, the meeting of two nations may turn into a problem in daily life. Meeting of two nations may also cause economic problems. Therefore, the relationships between the migrants and local people are open to various problems. This tension may result in neglection toward the migrants by the local people from time to time, avoiding from establishing relationships with them, showing resistance to interactions or displaying negative reactions to them.

Migrants may witness negative reactions from the domestic people due to cultural, financial, and communicational problems. However, new working conditions for the migrants may negatively affect their lives. Lifestyles of migrants who state that they found Turkey more secular and that Turkey has more difficult financial and occupational conditions receive new forms based on these conditions, despite being a stressful process for the migrants.

⁴⁸ Mithat Arman Karasu, "Şanlıurfa'da Yaşayan Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Kentle Uyum Sorunu", Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi, year: 2016, volume: 21, p. 1012.

⁴⁹ Ahmet Atasoy, Hasan Demir, "Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Kırıkhan'a (Hatay) Etkileri", Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, volume: 8, issue: 38, June 2015, p. 457-470.

IV. Similarities/Differences Between the Syrians and Turks in Their Religious Perceptions and Livings

a. Similarities/Differences Regarding Religious Livings

Religion is an important concept shaping the social life. It affects the cultural, financial and political aspects of a society. However, the relationship between religion and society is not unilateral. Society can also affect the perception, interpretation, and experiences regarding religion. Thus, religion can have different forms in different societies even if they have common beliefs. Therefore, every society can have religious livings and experiences specific to them.

1. Place of Religion in the Society

Religions do not have similar effects in all societies. Effects of religions vary from society to society.

Statements of religious people were more effective in Syria. However, this is not the case in Turkey. This is actually clear in shopping. For example, let's say, two merchants or industrialists have a problem in Syria. They say *"we should ask a hodja. Whatever that hodja or shariah says is approved by us"*. I had similar discussions and experiences in Turkey. But they say *"This is business. What does religion have to do with it?"* (Osman, Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

The impact of religious statements can be felt in society. When two people fought in Syria, and a third person said *"sallu alayh (greetings be upon to the Prophet)"* to them, they would stop fighting (Fehmi).

Religious occasions, councils, and spiritual environments were more common there (İbrahim, Mohamed).

People from there attributed more attention, value and assistance to the students of religious studies (İbrahim).

Turkish people are far more concerned with what people would think of their attitudes instead of how God will judge them. Even a religious authority in Turkey smokes secretly. They do these to prevent people from saying *'Religious authorities smoke too'* (Nahla).

Official marriage is more important in Turkey. However, what we value more is the religious marriage. Women protect their rights through religious marriages. Even if couples divorce, women can get 50% of the bride wealth.

Alcohol consumption is more common in Turkey (Nahla).

Religion, according to Syrian migrants, is more effective over the society in Syria. To them, religion is less effective and determinant for the daily relationships of the people in Turkey.

2. Perception of Religion

Conditions for a society directly affect their religious perceptions. Therefore, interpretations and perceptions of a religion may differ by societies.

People were poor and had no hopes of becoming rich. Thus, they had rather submissive perceptions regarding Islam. They justified their states saying "This is the decision of God" (Fehmi).

Their mother tongue was Arabic, and they directly understood the Quran and hadiths, which caused them to be religious while observing the Quran and hadiths. They were also more alert against the abusers of religion. Religious congregations and fanaticism were not that common in Syria based on communicational differences. The authority of congregations was not as effective as it was in Turkey (Fehmi, Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

Life is less active in Syria. Objectives related to financial competition or growth is not that dominant there, which can be felt in their economic activities and relationships with their clients. Syrians are not that organized in their working environments. They open or close their shops whenever they like. They just do not pay attention to their customers like Turkish people do. This lifestyle caused Syrians to be more submissive and faithful (Ibrahim).

I saw some Turkish students in Syria saying '*My heart is pure*', and they did not perform prayer, which is much less frequent for Syrians. But I witnessed this in Turkey. They were drinking but they were not praying, and they still said "*My heart is pure*". However, in Syria, one generally prays even if they lie or drink alcoholic beverages. They do not abandon prayers. They say "*I'm going to pay what I owe to God*" (Osman).

Fanatics of sects (e.g. Shafi-Hanafi) is not as strict in Turkey. They are more flexible in that regard (Fehmi).

Most of the people in Turkey and Syria have a misperception that religious people are less modern. Only a few people determines whether one is modern or not through one's attitudes (Nahla).

Turkey, where industrialization and urbanization is more advanced and where the cities are more populous compared to Syria, has a different religious perception compared to Syria. Modern life forces people to act more rational, and accordingly, religious perceptions may become different. Religion is interpreted with a more submissive and fatalist understanding in societies where the traditional structure is more preserved, but rational approaches are employed more in the societies where modern values are more dominant.

The modernization experienced by Turkey affects religion and plays a key role in understanding and experiencing religion in various forms. Modernization aims to have a place in a religious field. Accordingly, it makes rationality and science more distinct. Therefore, effects of modernization on religion can be clearly

seen in the process of secularization,⁵⁰ which is basically the period when the social importance of religious beliefs, rituals, and institutions of modern industrialized societies becomes weaker.⁵¹ However, modernization cannot be regarded as a factor causing secularization entirely. It causes secularization in certain fields, which is clearer in certain geographies, and it is a factor that is effective in the emergence of many anti-secularism movements. The economic and secular aspects of modernization weakens the social effectiveness of a religion, and they also have the reactionary contents that will bring the same effectiveness into agenda. In other words, secularization thesis is a part of the dialectics that would activate its anti-thesis named 'de-secularization'. Accordingly, it is fair to state that there is a close but complicated relationship between religion and modernity.⁵²

3. Regarding Prayers

Reflections of religions include prayers. Prayers maintain their essential structures, but their forms may differ by societies. Moreover, people's perceptions of religiousness may determine their attitudes regarding prayers.

There were four types of religious people in Syria: 1) Apparently and spiritually religious: They were quite a few. 2) Apparently religious: They were the majority. 3) Non-religious: Their rate was approximately 40%. Some of them were those who did not pray saying '*my heart is pure*', and some had no relation with religion (Abdulaziz).

We do not observe the Sunnah when praying. However, people in Turkey, particularly Gaziantep, pay attention to the Sunnah and properness of prayers (Osman).

I can pray on any dry place without laying anything before saying "*Allahu Akbar*". If that place is clean, that is sufficient for me. However, Turkish people do not do that. I can even pray with my shoes. I sometimes do. But, Turkish people find this odd saying "*look at this guy praying with shoes*" (Osman, Fehmi, İbrahim).

Fasting on Monday and Thursday was more common in Syria, which is almost not practiced in Turkey (Osman).

Ramadan is more alive and active there (İbrahim).

Tarawih prayers are performed (as 20 rakats) more commonly in Turkey. However, in Syria, half of the people in mosques leave after the eighth rakat (Mohamed, İbrahim, Osman).

⁵⁰ M. Ali Kirman, *Din ve Sekülerleşme (Üniversite Gençliği Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma)*, Karahan Kitabevi, Adana 2005, p. 17.

⁵¹ Gordon Marshall, *Sosyoloji Sözlüğü*, trans. Osman Akınhay-Derya Kömürçü, Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları, Ankara 1999, p. 645.

⁵² Kirman, *Din ve Sekülerleşme*, p. 18.

Turkish people value the three months and blessed nights more. Many people who do not pray, still go to mosques at these nights (Mohamed, İbrahim).

People in Syria do not sleep during those nights and many people go to mosques at those times. However, *“holy birth week activities”* are not held in Syria, which are conducted in Turkey (Fehmi, Nahla, Osman).

Syrian people are more sensitive in terms of alms compared to Turkish people. Syrians say *“I will give my alms no matter how much it is”*. I have not seen such an approach in Turkey (Osman).

Religion is a concept that is constantly generated, reinterpreted, and made meaningful in relation to perceptions and lifestyles. Interpreting and practicing religion is not independent from the knowledge, experiences, backgrounds, and orientations of people and society. Economic, political, and cultural realities are the factors determining the religious perceptions and interpretations of people and societies. Thus, different forms of religious perceptions and practices can be seen on personal and social levels in different sections of a society or even different historical periods of a society.

4. Regarding Visuality and Formality

All religious groups separate themselves from other social members through certain symbols. Islam has visualities such as hijab, beard or turban. However, this may cause reducing the perceptions of religion and religiousness to certain figures and symbols and losing the essence, or it may result in a formal religious perception.

Religious apparel is important in Syria. Religious people show themselves with their beards and clothes. Accordingly, there is a formal perception of religion which is important according to Syrians. Syrian women used to cover their faces with veil more than the Turkish women. However, ethical aspects were far behind the concept of religious apparel (Fehmi, İbrahim, Abdulaziz).

In Syria, wives and daughters of religious authorities and people wear hijab, veil and other clothes to cover their bodies entirely. This is actually based on our religion rather than our traditions. However, in Turkey, daughters of religious authorities, pilgrims, hodjas or those who pray do not always wear hijab (Mohamed, Nahla, Yasmin, Abdulaziz).

Religious clothing has become a sort of social concept in Syria. Pressure from family, society and traditions can be felt in there (İbrahim, Abdulaziz, Fehmi).

Sanctuaries are more traditional in Syria. Going to mosques and praying with the entire family is now a traditional act rather than praying. In addition to this visuality, you cannot see ethics in social relationships, especially in trade (İbrahim).

Syrians do not value the Sunnah in prayers that much. However, they give importance to visual or formal Sunnah (Fehmi).

A religious authority does not take part in a TV show hosting a person without hijab. Even unreligious people would show reaction if religious people are seen in a TV show with such people.

Syrians perform their prayers. However, they were not that religious in their attitudes and ethics. There were those who wore hijab but who were not religious. Hijab was rather a tradition for them. This is not the case in Turkey. There were some who prayed without hijab (Abdulaziz, Nahla).

There are women who do not even show their faces in Syria. However, these may include those who do not pray (Nahla, Abdulaziz).

A religious authority or a person having religious conversations should have appropriate clothes in Syria. Western people with modern clothes would be a surprise if they conduct religious conversations.

Hijab is the most important indicator of religiousness for women. Religious women should wear a black hijab. People would say that if their hijabs are black, then they are religious. Therefore, visibility is more important in Syria. Turkish people value spirituality and ethics more (Nahla, Yasmin, Esmâ, Fatma).

There are visual differences between the religious lives in Turkey and Syria.

There are differences between the prayers and salawats. The tone and styles of the salawats differ. For example, takbirs and salawats are faster, more active, and enthusiastic during religious festivals in Syria. People would feel these religious days (Fehmi, Osman).

Adhan is sometimes read in chorus in certain old mosques in Syria. Moreover, muezzins would certainly read a long salawat at the end of adhans. They do these to reflect that they are not Shia members as a reaction to them (Fehmi).

The Quran is read more in Tarawih prayers. There is not a concept of prayer surah or "alam tara" and lower in their actions (Fehmi, Nahla).

The Islamic life is more modern in Turkey. People prefer more modern ways when they give alms or help others (Nahla).

They display ethical attitudes toward Islam and Islamic life. Turkish people value ethics more. In other words, there is a greater ethical organization in executing the religious traditions (Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

Different historical backgrounds and ethical and sectarian concepts of societies certainly affect their religious experiences. For instance, western modernization in Turkey affected the process of reinterpreting the Islam and caused the reflections of it in different forms and levels. Conditions and issues of a society drove people to find religious solutions when needed, which resulted in the differences in religious lives.

5. Regarding the Reflections of Islam on the Daily Life

Religions affect the lives of people and societies with the beliefs and teachings because they gain life with the claim of changing their lifestyles. However, reflections of religions on daily life are not the same. Religion and society, and religion and culture mutually affect one another.

As associations, organizations, and congregation centers are not that common in Syria, mosques are at the center of life and belong to anybody. Dhikrs were said aloud commonly in mosques. Shoes were taken off while entering the outer court. Sermons were read for four hours, and efforts were made to ensure that people outside could hear. I saw it in both Aleppo and Damascus, and this is a tradition... Licorice juice would be served to people in Mosques during tarawih prayers (Fehmi).

Imams who execute the religious wedding ceremony would ensure that couples sign an informal document, which is valid in canon cases (Fehmi).

After families agree on the marriage-related issues, certain people would go to the bride's houses with a hodja to ensure that he gives a speech and talks about untold aspects (Osman).

The groom's lineage is also important in this process. For instance, religious families prefer religious families (Nahla).

You can see weddings where women and men celebrate together. Boys older than six cannot sit next to women in wedding ceremonies. Videos cannot be recorded without the permission of anyone because women sometimes wear other clothes for wedding ceremonies (Fehmi, İbrahim, Nahla).

People of different genders pay more attention to sit separately compared to Turkey. They are more strict in female-male relationships (Fehmi, İbrahim, Nahla, Mohamed, Abdulaziz, Yasmin).

When a baby is born, people take them to a scholar without giving them anything to eat or drink. That person would suck a date and then let the baby suck it. This is actually Sunnah, and it is called "tahnik". This is popular in Syria. Moreover, male babies are circumcised in the first month after they are born (Fehmi).

Condolence visits last three days in Syria. People who lost their loved ones are not visited after the third day (İbrahim).

I witnessed people paying hodjas to read the entire Quran in Turkey. In Syria, everybody reads a fascicle of the Quran and sends it to the spirit of the dead. Conversations are performed more in our condolences. However, people in Turkey rather read Quran. I have never seen the tradition of reading tawhid after a person dies in Syria (Osman, Nahla).

Turkey only has courts serving under civil law. There are canon courts in Syria. Personal or familial cases are reviewed there (İbrahim).

White, prayer-specific clothes (a skirts and hijab) are present for female guests in Syria. Turkish people do not have such particular clothes for praying (Nahla, Esmâ, Fatma).

There was a strict relationship between Christians and Muslims. Churches were more common. People used to join Christian celebrations. Christian authorities comfortably gave speeches in mosques. I witnessed that many times in “Abu Noor” mosque in Damascus (Fehmi).

I saw people sharing ashura in Muharram for the first time in Turkey (Osman).

You do not see dogs in cities. For example, you do not see dogs in Damascus streets. Dogs are regarded dirty in Shafi sect (Fehmi).

We do not throw bread to the dustbin. We put it away if we see one on the road. People seriously discussed whether bread was sacred or not in Syria (Osman, Halid Ahmed, Behzam).

Turkish people do not eat pigeon thinking it is unlawful. However, we eat pigeons in Syria. One of the animals Turkish people do not eat is fox which is eaten in Syria (Osman). Syrian people do not eat rabbit (Mohamed).

The above-mentioned statements reflect the differences based on religious perceptions and living between the Syrian and Turkish people. Religion is not perceived similarly by all people and societies. The mindset, educational status, history, and culture of people and society are determinant in people’s religious perceptions. Accordingly, religion has different effects and appearances on both personal and social levels, which is present between the Turkish and Syrian people. Therefore, religious and religiousness perceptions of people are not developed independently from social conditions. Religion and culture mutually affect one another. Thus, religions may differ by societies.

There are certain differences regarding the religious perceptions and living between the Syrian people and local people, but there are also certain common practices among them.

There are people who drink zamzam water on foot to show respect. However, drinking while sitting is more common (Osman, Nahla).

Relatives of pilgrims should definitely visit them with gifts. Pilgrims welcome their guests with gifts and desserts. Moreover, pilgrimage decorations and ornaments are attached to the ceiling of pilgrims’ houses. Pilgrims invite people for lunch or dinner for five-ten days after coming from Mecca (Nahla, Osman).

Certain changes may occur in the religious perceptions and practices of Syrian migrants. Change of cultural environment may cause changes in religious perceptions and practices, which are open to socio-cultural interaction. The concept of migration causes people to be open to an extensive interaction with a broad context ranging from personal mindsets, attitudes, and behaviors to people’s cultural lives.

Surah al-Fatihah is read after the prayers are performed at the end of consolidation meals in Syria. It is not read after every meal. However, in Turkey, we read al-Fatihah after meals (Mohamed, Abdulaziz, Osman).

The congregation here performs the fardh (obligatory) parts of prayers after the Sunnah prayer upon the relevant call. However, in Syria, we read al-Fatihah and salawat after Sunnah prayer. I realized that what Turkish people do is more appropriate for Sunnah (Osman).

I go to Syrian mosques. They used to perform the fardh prayers, and they did not use to pray with the muezzins before. But, they pray with the muezzins now just like us (İbrahim).

I started to give more importance to the Sunnah and tarawih prayer (Halid Ahmed).

Religious migrants do not just transfer their religious beliefs and practices from their previous residences. Their current beliefs and practices change as they start to live in a new environment. Local elements can be seen in migrants' religious behaviors. However, change does not occur unilaterally. Local people may be affected by the religious attitudes and behaviors of migrants.

Shafi sect is more common in Syria. Therefore, after al-Fatihah is read by imam in a mosque, people collectively say "*amin*" aloud. However, as the people in Antep were generally Hanafi, they did not do this. I see that people in certain mosques collectively and loudly say "*amin*" with the effects of Syrians (Ahmed).

Tarawih prayer is performed as 20 rakats in mosques. However, Syrian people left the mosques after the eighth rakat. Seeing us, Turkish people now leave the mosques after the eighth rakat. This is becoming common among them (Mohamed, Osman).

People bring their own lifestyles to a new environment after migration. Interaction between the culture of migrants and local people is inevitable. They mutually affect one another. Accordingly, interactions, changes, and similitude between the religious attitudes and behaviors of migrants and local people are expected.

b. Changes in Syrians' Religious Attitudes and Behaviors Following Migration

Cultural encounters are among the effective factors in the change of culture. Religious attitudes and behaviors may change in this process.⁵³ Religious attitudes and behaviors of the migrants facing new and different conditions may change. Migrants now experience a new and different world. New conditions will be effective in reshaping migrants' lives. Positive and negative changes may occur in the religious attitudes and behaviors of migrants who are now under new conditions. Although Syrian migrants migrate to a Muslim country like Turkey, the industrialization, urbanization, populous structure, change of close acquaintances such as relatives or neighbors, and facing a language they cannot speak will affect their religious living. Religious perceptions and interpretations are open to socio-cultural effects and therefore may be exposed to changes.

⁵³ Turhan, *Kültür Değişmeleri (Sosyal Psikoloji Bakımından Bir Tetkik)*, p. 84-88.

Syrians religiousness changed. However, religiousness changes by cities. In other words, the environment is the determining factor here. For example, Syrians become more religious in Konya as the people there are more religious compared to other provinces. However, Syrians are less religious in a city like Istanbul (Osman).

Communicational issues negatively affected Syrians' religiousness. Their ties with mosques are weaker because they do not understand the religious conversations. They only pray and leave (Ahmed, Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

People in Syria used to participate in religious conversations and receive religious education. For instance, social life was organized based on the Friday prayer. This is not the case in Turkey. Syrians here cannot join the religious conversations. However, some still participate in religious groups. Some Syrians approached Turkish congregations. They established relationships with the congregations of Syrian hodjas. However, an active and effective religious congregation other than them was not founded. Syrians are forming new religious groups nowadays, which naturally affected their religiousness (Osman).

Establishing a network of social relationships or joining and maintaining a present network provides a social capital to migrants. Migrants have to abandon their 'capacity to reach limited resources thanks to their membership to a cultural group, relational network or a social structure',⁵⁴ i. e. their social capitals, while leaving their counties. This also means leaving the sense of belonging, one of the determinant concepts of daily life, and the ability of 'employing limited resources when needed'⁵⁵ behind. Asylum-seekers need to regenerate their social capitals to reestablish their daily lives in their new cultures.⁵⁶ Inclusion of migrants in present religious groups or migrants' actions as a new congregation can be assessed in that regard. However, the efforts to maintain the ethical structure is regarded as an important factor.

Religiousness of Syrians was negatively affected after the impact of mosques over Syrians declined. However, young people continuing to join the congregations became more religious (Ahmed).

Religious impacts on Syrians became weaker in Turkey. The number of Syrians who fasted in the previous Ramadan period was smaller than those who did not fast, and young people started to abandon prayers more (Halid Ahmed, Mohamed).

Religious effects on Syrian girls also became weaker. They wear tight clothes and jeans despite wearing hijab. Effects of familial relation are not felt here. Turkey is a freer country. The environment is more suitable for living freely (Esmâ).

⁵⁴ Alejandro Portes, "Economic Sociology and The Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview", In *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, edited by Alejandro Portes, Russel Sage Foundation, New York 1995, p. 12.

⁵⁵ Portes, "Economic Sociology and The Sociology of Immigration: A Conceptual Overview", p. 12.

⁵⁶ Oğuz, "Kültürlerarası Karşılaşmaların Uzak İhtimali: Sığınmacılık Deneyiminde Gaziantep Örneği", P. 155.

Syrians gave more importance to praying with congregation in Syria. However, this also became weaker here (Osman).

I think Syrians' religiousness was negatively affected in Turkey. They prefer more comfortable and non-traditional clothes. Syrian girls started to shake hands with men (Nahla).

The relationships between males and females are freer in Turkey, and this affected the Syrians in Turkey. They now establish dialogue with the opposite gender more comfortably. Families can have time with males and females together (Esma, Fatma).

Secularization and freer environments negatively affected Syrians. They do not perform religious actives as common as before and they are busier with this world (Mohamed, Abdulaziz).

These statements indicate that the new environments of Syrians negatively affected their religious characteristics. Weaker congregation ties, changes in working conditions, new cultural environment, and communicational problems are believed to play a role in this regard. However, an approach that religiousness has been negatively affected is independent from the perceptions regarding religion and religiousness.

Syrians make certain attempts to meet their own spiritual and religious needs.

They now have their own religious schools and will open more. They give Arabic sermons there (Ahmed).

They called me, as the representative of Syrians, to a meeting where there were officers from the Presidency of Religious Affairs and nongovernmental organizations. They said *'We shall determine mosques where Arabic religious conversations are executed and Arabic sermons are read'* and we objected to this. We said *'We would like to adapt to this society as we are both Muslims'*. We wanted no such thing as *'This is Syrians' mosque'* or *'This is Turks' mosque'*. *'We are all Muslims. We should not pave the way for discrimination through the mosques. We should not do that.'* We said *'Tell imams to read the verses and hadiths in Arabic at least'*. (Osman)

Syrians mention that the Presidency of Religious Affairs performed certain activities to meet Syrians' religious needs:

In addition to Turkish sermons, English and Arabic sermons were added by the Presidency of Religious Affairs to their site. Now we can understand the topic of sermons by reading about them on Internet before going to Mosque (Ahmed, Osman).

Dynamic characteristics of migration result in a multidimensional change. One of the facts affected by the changes through migration is religion and religious perception and living. The effect on migration and religiousness may be both positive or negative qualitatively and quantitatively. A new situation appears following migration, and it is not possible to be as religious as before for migrants. It is clear that traditional ties will get weaker in an environment where

industrialization, urbanization, and secularization take place at a greater rate. Accordingly, religiousness can be adversely affected in this regard.

c. Questioning Their Own Culture

The relationships between culture and people are maintained as how culture is determined within the daily routines of life, but people still question certain cultural elements, codes, patterns, traditional elements, customs, and habits even within these routines.⁵⁷ These questions become clear with migration because migrants face new conditions and lifestyles through migration.

We realized that our own culture was better when we saw what was happening in Turkey. Our familial ties and relationships with our neighbors were better. Nobody visits anybody in Turkey. They do not even know their next door neighbors. However, I can say Turks are better in certain aspects (Mohamed, Abdulaziz, Osman).

All Syrians would say Turkey is cleaner and Turkish people attribute more importance to cleanliness. However, our attitudes regarding cleaning are based on our culture instead of Islam. Yours are also based on your culture. Even those that are not religious care about their cleanliness (Yasmin, Nahla).

Turkish people do not have many children. Syrians ask themselves *'why are we having so many children?'* Turkish people do better having fewer children. Particularly those who have financial difficulties say so. However, those with a good financial status but few children say they wish they had more children (Osman).

Our perceptions regarding Turkey have changed. We thought they had better living conditions. Turkish people have better financial status for sure. However, their living conditions are harder (Abdulaziz, Mohamed).

We knew Turkey through the Turkish series. We actually saw what we learnt through the series was not the case, and Turkey has been religiously getting better.

People compare their own cultures with the new culture they face when they see different societies and start to live in a new social environment under new conditions. They find positive and negative concepts while reassessing their own cultures. There are certain positives in the new culture they see, which may cause changes among them. Therefore, migration appears as a concept where it paves the way for many social changes and makes the personal and social changes inevitable. This interaction and certain changes between the Syrian migrants and Turkish society can be observed.

⁵⁷ Okumuş, "Toplum Bağlamında Din-Kültür Etkileşimi", p. 274.

Conclusion

The Arab Spring that started in 2011 caused many social and political developments and changes in many Middle East countries. Syria, one of these countries, was the most affected. The Ba'ath regime ruled by Al-Asad reacted to people's reform requests using weapons, which caused the emergence of a civil war in the country. Millions of Syrian people had to leave their houses and countries due to this war. Turkey was the first among the countries preferred by the Syrian migrants.

The positive attitude of the current government in Turkey and Turkish people's sincere attention and welcome toward the migrants Syrians' their decisions. Syrian migrants and Turkish people who had to leave collectively following the migrations had a harmony. Islam, the religion of both nations, has an obvious role in the adaptation between both societies. It is regarded as a significant reference for coexisting and collectively overcoming issues. In addition, the common values, history and cultural similarities between both societies made the adaptation process easier. Both publics observed the current laws in this process, which made it possible for them to coexist. In addition, it is clear that migrants have communicational problems and issues in terms of working conditions in Turkey. Moreover, they have various needs, such as education, and relevant problems. These issues require realistic solutions.

Interaction and assimilation occurred between the migrants and local public. Syrians migrants adapted to Turkish culture to get accustomed to Turkish society. Accordingly, certain changes took place in migrants' lives. However, it is a fact that such interaction occurred mutually. Therefore, religious perceptions and livings of both societies mutually affect one another.

The explanations of Syrian migrants regarding religious attitudes and behaviors indicate that formal and visual aspects are important in their religiousness perceptions. Evidence indicates that others and the hijab have acquired a rather traditional identity and turned into a social pressure for Syrians but the moral aspects of religion fall back the importance given to formal considerations. However, Turkish people value intentions, purity, and ethics more. Regarding the prayers, there are perceptual and formal differences based on culture between both nations.

In conclusion, religions have different aspects and levels for societies, which is also the case for Islam. Islamic texts can be differently interpreted and Islam considers the social conditions in this regard, which makes it possible to perceive, interpret, and experience Islam personally or socially in different ways. The previous statement can be clearly seen in the comparison between the religious perceptions of Syrian migrants and Turkish people, and religious living in Syria and Turkey.

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Annex 1: Characteristics of the Interviewed People

Name	Gender	Nationality	Age	Education	Employment in Syria	Employment in Turkey
Abdulaziz	Male	Syria	35	Bachelor's Degree/ Divinity	Academic Member	Lecturer
Ahmed	Male	Syria	43	Bachelor's Degree	Trade	Trade/Association Administrator
Behzam	Male	Syria	27	Secondary Education	Worker	Worker
Fatma	Female	Syria	22	-	Student/ Divinity	-
Fehmi*	Male	Turkey	33	Bachelor's Degree/ Divinity	Student	Lecturer
İbrahim*	Male	Turkey	28	Bachelor's Degree/ Divinity	Student	Member of a charity organisation/Research assistant
Mohamed			45	Bachelor's Degree	Teacher	Lecturer
Nahla	Female	Syria	?	Bachelor's Degree	Academic Member	Lecturer
Osman	Male	Syria	41	Bachelor's Degree/ Divinity	Teacher	Trade/Association Administrator
Esma	Female	Syria	22	-	Student/ Divinity	-
Yasmin	Female	Syria	21	-	Student/ Divinity	-
Halid Ahmed	Male	Syria	50	-	Shopkeeper	Shopkeeper

* Married to a Syrian woman Years spent in Syria 2002-2011

* Married to a Syrian woman. Years spent in Syria 2007-2012. Actively worked for Syrians at a charity organization for about two years after coming to Turkey.

Annex 2: Interview Questions

a. Role of Religion in Social Integrity

- * How do you define yourself?
- * Do you feel excluded in Turkey? Why?
- * Why do you think Turks should help or accept you? Why?

b. Cultural and Religious Differences

- * What are the different/common cultural patterns between the Turkish and Syrian people?
- * Have you observed any religious differences between you and Turkish people? What are these differences?
- * Did your religious ideas and behaviors based on cultural differences draw any reactions from Turkish people?
- * Are there any religious effects Turkish people have on you? Are there any effects of Syrians on Turkish people in terms of religious living?

c. Migration and Religion

- * Did the religious perceptions or religiousness of you or your relatives change positively or negatively after coming to Turkey?
- * Did you question your own culture and religious life after seeing the religious living in Turkey?

The Refugee System within the Confrontation of Guardianship Tradition in Islamic Law*

Hüseyin BAYSA**

Abstract

In this paper, which aims to determine the status of refugees in terms of Islamic political asylum law, the term 'refugee' has been emphasized by comparing it with the classical protection systems of Islamic law. The refugee status has been introduced as a protection system after the massive migration caused by wars that have been occurring since the beginning of the 20th Century, similar to Emania and the Muhajir in terms of those political asylum systems that exist in Islamic law. The refugee status, similar to Emania, especially in terms of the laws required and temporary rights, is different from Emania in terms of reasons for asylum and requirements related to relocation. The similarity of refugee to Muhajir is that in both of them there is a demand for asylum due to repression or persecution. However, Muhajir provides the right of citizenship on the condition that the religious affiliation of the asylum seeker and the asylum country are Islamic.

Keywords: Refugee, Emania, Muhajir, Protection Systems

İslam Hukukundaki Himaye Geleneği Müvâcehesinde Mültecilik Sistemi

Özet

Mülteci statüsünün İslâm himaye hukukundaki yerini tespit etmek amacıyla hazırlanan bu bildiri çalışmasında mültecilik, İslâm hukukundaki klasik koruma sistemleri ile karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir. XX. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren meydana gelen savaşların yol açtığı kitlesel göçler sonucunda ihdas edilmiş bir koruma sistemi olan mültecilik, İslâm hukukundaki himaye sistemleri arasında daha çok, emân ve muhacirliğe benzemektedir. Özellikle, gerektirdiği haklar ve geçici ikamet açısından emâna benzeyen

* This paper was presented in the symposium entitled International Middle East Conferences - Migration Issue in terms of the Conflicts in the Middle East - (Kilis 2016).

This paper is the English translation of the study titled "İslam Hukukundaki Himaye Geleneği Müvâcehesinde Mültecilik Sistemi" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Hüseyin BAYSA, "İslam Hukukundaki Himaye Geleneği Müvâcehesinde Mültecilik Sistemi", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 37-48.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Asst. Prof. Kilis 7 Aralık University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Islamic Law, faculty member, huseyinbaysa@kilis.edu.tr.

mülteci statüsü, sığınma saiki ve yer deęiřtirmenin gereklilięi bakımından emândan farklılık arz etmektedir. Mültecilięin muhacirlięe benzeyen yönü ise her ikisinde de baskı veya zulüm gerekçesiyle sığınma talebinin söz konusu olmasıdır. Ancak muhacirlik, sığınan kiři ile sığınılan ülkenin dinî âidiyetinin İslâm olması durumunda vatandaşlık hakkını tanırken, mültecilik statüsü sığınana böyle bir imkân vermemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Mültecilik, Emân, Muhacirlik, Koruma Sistemleri

1. Introduction

People have migrated from their residential areas to other places for different reasons such as war, pressures, natural disasters etc. throughout history. They have needed the guardianship of the authorities of the places they have migrated, to reside and maintain their lives safely. Upon this need for seeking asylum, guardianship culture, and laws have been formed in time. Refugee status is an international protection system formed in such a process.

The main frame of refugee status was determined by International Refugee Organization (IRO) founded by the United Nations (UN) in 1947. The UN General Assembly has discovered the necessity to form new regulations for refugees and thus executed the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in Geneva in 1951. This agreement was based on the definition of refugee accepted in IRO (Özcan, 2005: 8). This international regulation, also known as “1951 Geneva Convention”, has served as the source for the following regional and international agreements regarding refugees ¹ (Özcan, 2005: 1; Acer et al., 2010: 46; Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013: 1016).

The refugee system, the main structure of which has been determined with international agreements, resembles to classic guardianship institutions in Islamic law from certain aspects. However, this protection mechanism differs from other institutions essentially. This study, conducted to determine the common and different characteristics between refugee system and guardianship institutions in Islamic law, provides general information about the refugee institutions and classic protection systems, and it compares the refugee institutions with the protection systems and basic relevant characteristics in Islamic law later.

2. General Structure of Refugee System

The term multeji (refugee) is derived from the verbal base “lajaa” (لجأ), meaning taking refuge in a place or object, or leaving a society to join another (Ibn

¹ This study presents approaches regarding the status of refugees in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention and Turkish Law 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK) that suits the content of the Geneva Convention.

Manzoor, 1414 h.: I/152), and it is defined as “asylum-seeker”² in the dictionary (Turkish Language Association, 2016). The Arabic term “laji” (لاجئ) derived from another Arabic term “lajaa” (لجأ) is used to reflect the same concept (Faris, 2012: 325; Sawi, 2007: 55). Although the exact reason why the term “refugee”, which is not used in Arabic, is used in Turkish is not known, it is estimated that this term was derived from Ottoman Turkish (Durmaz, 2014: 13).

The concept of “refugee” is reflected by the international law as those who must flee their home countries for the concerns of being tormented due to the reasons related to race, religion, social group membership, and political opinion, and who are protected under the guardianship of another country (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1). Other regional agreements accordingly define refugees as the people who must flee civil war and disturbance of peace in their countries and are protected by another country due to being stateless (See. YUKK, Article 63; Acer et al., 2010:46-7).

Refugee system provides refugees the ability to benefit from basic human rights. In addition, this system aims to ensure that refugees benefit from the rights and freedom as much as the domestic citizens of that country. In case the refugees cannot benefit from the rights granted to the citizens, it is recommended that law on foreigners be applied for the refugees (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 7; Acer et al., 2010:52).

International laws indicate a certain set of conditions for achieving the status of refugee. One of these conditions that can be briefly reflected in three articles is that the person who applies for the refugee status has been tormented or oppressed or experienced such fears. As seen in the definition of refugee, for achieving the refugee status, it is necessary to suffer from these fears due to the reasons related to race, religion, social group membership, and political opinion, or due to the chaotic environment arising from the civil wars in the left country. The fear experienced due to the ordinary crime is not a valid reason for seeking refuge (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1).

The second condition for receiving refugee status is staying outside the borders of the home country due to the concerns related to fear of persecution and having no possibility or desire to return (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1). Having the possibility of benefiting from state guardianship although there is an issue of safety in the home country is accepted as an obstacle before obtaining the refugee status (YUKK, Article 78). Similarly, the change of residence in the home country or country of residence due to safety-related reasons is not regarded as a

² Asylum-seeker is used to indicate people who apply for refugee status but whose applications are yet to be accepted by the authorized bodies. (International Organization for Migration, 2009: 49).

condition requiring the refugee status.³ Similarly, it is reported that anyone under the guardianship of a safe third country cannot benefit from the international right of protection (YUKK, Article 74).

The third condition for accepting people as refugees is having no record of displaying any actions defined as war crime or crime against humanity in international documents. Similarly, conditions for a receiving refugee status include no records of acting against United Nations' goals and principles (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1).

3. Classic Guardianship Institutions in Islamic Law

Certain protection systems have been used for the people or societies demanding protection/guardianship in Islamic law. These institutions with different characteristics based on their conditions and opportunities can be classified as Emania, Zimmi and Muhajir.

3.1. Emania

Emania is derived from the Arabic base "emn" (امن) meaning being sure or trusting, and it has certain meanings such as assurance or security (Ibn Manzoor, 1414 h.: VIII/21; *al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/105; Bozkurt, 1995: XI/75). Emania, an Islamic legal term, means the promise of ensuring life and property safety of non-Muslims/military personnel who aim to live in an Islamic country (dar al-islam) or surrender to an Islamic army (*al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VI/233-4; Bozkurt, 1995: XI/75)⁴ or the promise of protecting the life and property of a Muslim who wants to pass the borders of a non-Muslim country (Mawsili, 1937: IV/135; Ibn Abidin, 1992: IV/166). Anybody demanding the status of emania is called musta'min while those who are granted the status of emania are called musta'man and who grant this status is named muammin (*Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/105; Bozkurt, 1995: XI/75). The term "emania" is sometimes reflected as "jiwar". Demanding the status of emania is indicated with the verb "istajara" (استجار) derived from the base of the term jiwar in Quran (at-Tawbah 9/6; Qurtubi, 1964: VIII/75; Razi, 1420h.: XV/531).

This definition indicates that the status of emania is basically operated in two cases. One of these is the desire of a non-Muslim from another country to pass the

³ 1951 Geneva Convention and 1967 Protocol do not regard domestic migration enough for receiving refugee status although the conditions for being a refugee are met. The only modern international document indicating that people who are internally displaced inside their country can be regarded as a refugee is the African Union Organization Convention on Internally Displaced Persons dated 23 October 2009 (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013:1022).

⁴ The Prophet's promise of life and property protection to the Quraysh people who avoided combat during the conquest of Mecca is indicated with the term emania (Shawqani, 1993: VIII/29).

borders of an Islamic country for commercial, diplomatic or similar reasons or a Muslim's desire to enter a non-Muslim country with the same purposes. The other is that non-Muslims in the places controlled by Islamic armies surrender to the Islamic authority. However, the term "emania" was also used for different practices and cases considering the lexical meaning. For example, mutual assurance of Muslims in conflictis also reflected as emania (Zaidan 1982: 52-3; Bozkurt, 1995: XI/76).

The system of emania provides non-Muslims the opportunity to temporarily live in an Islamic country with the protection of their lives and properties (Ibn Majah, "Diyat", 31; Zaidan, 1982: 46-7; *al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/106). There are different opinions regarding the dimension of this duration. According to certain opinions from Hanafi, Zaydiyya, Imamiyya and Shafi sects, the maximum duration of emania agreement is one year (Shirbini, 1994: VI/53; Ibn Qudama, 1968: IX/244; Mawsili, 1937:IV/136; *al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/125). Shafi and Hanafis stated that when business affairs are in question, the emania agreement can be renewed on the condition that musta'man returns to his/her own country. Malikis stated that the maximum duration of emania was four months if it was not determined in the agreement (Zuhaili, 1995: XI/81).

The concepts of emania and emannama are replaced with certain modern, governmentally controlled practices such as passport, visa and residence permit (Zuhaili, 1995: XI/81).

3.2. Status of Zimmi

The term "zimmi" is derived from the base "zimmat" (ذمة) meaning agreement, convention (Ibn Manzoor, 1414h.:XII/221; *al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/120), any debts undertaken by a person for guardianship and protection (Fayda, 2013: XLIV/428). As a concept, the status of zimmi means granting the right to permanently and safely live in an Islamic country to a non-Muslim person against jizya fee.⁵ The person granted such right is called zimmi or ahl al-zimma (Qasani, 1986: VII/71, 110; Mawsili, 1937:IV/136; Zaidan, 1982: 22, 41). The status of zimmi was reflected clearly with the verse 29 in Surah at-Tawbah, also known as jizya verse. After the revelation of this verse, non-Muslims' lives, properties and belief-based freedoms were assured upon a zimmat agreement executed with them (Fayda, 2013: XLIV/428). In addition to citizenship right, they were granted all rights Muslims have, except serving in positions of public security and religious affairs (Zaidan, 1982: 64; Yaman, 2013: XLIV/435).

⁵ The sources of the Ottoman era indicate that certain zimmi treaties made with the non-Muslims were named emania while relevant documents were emannama. Emania was used to reflect its lexical meaning, which is that non-Muslims' basic rights and freedoms are assured (İpşirli, 1995: XI/77).

Agreements regarding the status of zimmi were mostly made with the non-Muslims living in conquered places or areas controlled after a war (Fayda, 2013: XLIV/430). However, those who entered an Islamic country and executed a zimmi status agreement or indicated that they accepted such status were also granted the right to benefit from this status. For example, the *musta'man* whose duration of residence exceeded one year and women who were war victims and married to zimmi men were granted the status of zimmi (Qasani, 1986:VII/110; Mawsili, 1937: IV/136; Zaidan,1982: 32-4; *al-Mawsuat al-Fiqhiyyat al-Kuwaytiyya*, 2007: VII/121).

Hanafi, Shafii and Hanbali law authorities believe that it is necessary for an Islamic state to accept the offer of zimmet agreement from non-Muslims. Maliki people related the acceptance of the offer regarding zimmi status to the condition of accordance with business affairs (Ibn Qudama, 1968: IX/244; Zaidan, 1982: 30-1; Özel, 1998: 221; Karaman, 1999: III/238).

There are many historical cases indicating that non-Muslims were granted the zimmi status in Islamic countries. One of them is the attitude shown to Hungarian and Polish revolutionaries taking refuge in the Ottoman Empire after getting beaten in the Battle of Debrecen fought in 1849 for the freedom of Hungary. Sultan Abdulmajid, the ruler of the era, declared that he accepted these revolutionaries as his guest despite the pressure from Russia and Austria, and he welcomed them which was appreciated by all of Europe (Nazir, 1999: 13, 353-4).

3.3 Status of Muhajir

Muhajirhood, lexically meaning the status of migrant (Turkish Linguistic Association, 2016), was derived from the Arabic term "muhajir" (مهاجر) meaning migrant. The term "muhajir" is used to reflect two meanings which are general and subjective. The subjective meaning indicates the Prophet and Muslims from Mecca who migrated to Madinah, while the general aspect indicates the Muslims who migrated from a non-Muslim country to an Islamic country (Önkal, 1998: XVII/458). Accordingly, the status of muhajir indicates the rights and authorities granted by the country hosting the migrant.

Migration can be performed in two ways. One of them is to migrate from the place of torment and oppression to a safe non-Muslim country (*darulamn*) as seen in the migration from Mecca to Ethiopia. The second form of migration is the movement from *darulharp* to *darulislam* like the migration of Muslims to Madinah after the Prophet's move there (Özel, 1998: XVII/464).⁶ The second form of migration was used in the sources of era to reflect the concept of migration (Razi, 1420h.: X/170; Qurtubi, 1964: IV/319; Shirbini, 1994: VI/54). The first form of

⁶ The migration in the hadith "There is no such thing as migration after conquest because jihad and intentions are what is left; follow the call for jihad" is used to mean the migration to *darulislam*. Tirmidhi, "Siyar", 33, (1590).

migration was considered in the definitions of migration performed later (Salkini, 2014: 28).

The Quran has both forms of the concept of migration. Many verses mention the Muslims who migrated from Mecca to Madinah⁷ and reflect the previous Prophets and their ummah who fled their countries due to oppression and torments.⁸

Status of muhajir as a protection system grants citizenship to Muslims who migrate to an Islamic country. This right is related to the evidence that Muslims are reflected as one nation in religious works (al-Anbiya 21/92; al-Mu'minun 23/52; al-Baqara 2/143; Ali 'Imran 3/110). Being a member of the ummah requires political and legal commitment to Islamic states. Accordingly, administrative divisions and presence of separate Islamic countries is not an obstacle before Muslims' authority to benefit from the citizenship of Islamic countries⁹ (Zaidan, 1982: 63; Özel, 1998: 228; Karaman, 1999: III/248). Accordingly, muhajirs were granted the status of citizenship in Seljuks and the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ However, the legal, political, and similar structures in the modern Islamic countries prevent using the system of muhajir. Muslim minorities living in a non-Muslim country or those who have just accepted Islam do not have the right to freely migrate to any Islamic countries they wish (Özel, 1998: XVII/466). However, certain religious works necessitate migration in certain cases (al-Anfal 8/72; an-Nisa 4/97-9) and state that all believers are the siblings of an ummah (Ali 'Imran 3/103; al-Hujurat 49/10; al-Anbiya 21/92), which makes it obligatory to grant citizenship to muhajirs.

⁷ The concepts of muhajir and its plural muhajirin and muhajirat forms (an-Nisa 4/100; at-Tawba 9/100, 117; an-Nur 24/22; al-Mumtahina 60/10) reflect the Muslims who migrated from Mecca to Madinah (Önkal, 1998: XVII/458).

⁸ For example, after his nation's efforts to burn him, Abraham migrated to Palestine first and Egypt later stating "To be frank, I am moving to where my God has ordered" (al-Ankabut 29/26), and he resided in Canaan later. Similarly, certain greedy members of Shuaib's nation said to Shuaib "We will surely evict you, O Shu'ayb, and those who have believed with you from our city, or you must return to our religion." (al-Araf 7/88), and they forced him and his companions to migrate. Similarly, Moses had to move out of Egypt with Israeli people due to the Pharaoh's oppression (Yunus 10/90; ash-Shuara 26/52; Önkal, 1998: XVII/458; Aldemir, 2010:252).

⁹ Both Islam and Article 23 of Bill of Rights accept this idea: "Darulislam is one. An Islamic country is the home of all Muslims. It is not appropriate to prevent or restrain the movement of Muslims in an Islamic country with geographic obstacles and political actions of asylum-seeking. Every Islamic country should welcome the Muslims entering its borders or migrating there just like how a Muslim person welcomes his/her sibling." (Akgündüz, 1997: 128).

¹⁰ Iran has not adopted this approach (Akgündüz, 1997: 48).

4. The Similar and Different Aspects Between the Refugee System and Classic Guardianship Institutions

The status of refugee guarantees the safety of life and property as seen in Islamic legal traditions. There are more similar aspects between the status of refugee and guardianship institutions. However, there are indicators showing that the status of refugee is a protection system different than guardianship institutions. The similar and different aspects between the known guardianship institutions and status of refugee can be expressed as follows:

4.1. Status of Refugee and Emania

Status of refugee was believed to resemble emania the most among the guardianship institutions. The fact that both statuses provide the guarantee of safety and opportunity of temporary residence to the people needing guardianship was considered in this belief (Sa'wi, 2007: 55; Durmaz, 2014: 51; Faris, 2012: 325). The status of refugee resembles emania in these two aspects, but it also differs from emania in the following aspects:

1. The refugee may be sent back when the circumstances upon which the refugee status has been granted no longer apply or have changed to an extent that the protection is no longer needed. (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 33; YUKK Article 85). The departure of *musta'ma* from the country depends on the duration determined in the agreement (Zukhayli, 1995: XI/81).

2. Regarding the status of refugee, one migrates from his/her home country to another (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1). The change of countries does not always take place in this system as we mentioned while explaining emania.

3. The obligation for receiving the status of refugee is to face oppression and torment or have such fears in the home country or country of residence (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 1). However, for the execution of emania agreement, such a condition is not considered. For example, a non-Muslim who is safe in his/her country can apply for the emania agreement for commercial purposes. Therefore, there is an intention and extension relationship between emania and status of refugee.

4. The basic reason for applying the status of refugee is the desire to escape from the oppression and torment in the home country or country of residence. However, regarding the emania agreement, the basic reason for applying is the concerns regarding the safety in the country to which the applier has surrendered or where the applier plans to live.

4.2. Status of Refugee and Zimmi

The differences between the status of refugee and emania are totally present between the status of refugee and zimmi. In addition to these differences, status of refugee differs from the status of zimmi regarding receiving citizenship. Although status of zimmi grants such right to the people demanding guardianship (Qasani, 1986: VI/281; Zaidan, 1982: 63), status of refugee reflects the facilitation regarding the process of granting citizenship to refugees solely (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 34).

4.3. Status of Refugee and Muhajir

As the information regarding protection system indicates, status of refugee has two aspects common with the status of muhajir. The first of these is that people with these two statuses flee their places of residence and take refuge in another country or society. The second is related to the main reason of such a displacement which is facing oppression or torment or having such fears.

However, there are also two main differences between the status of refugee and muhajir. These differences are as follows:

1. Although religious identity has no effects on receiving the refugee status (1951 Geneva Convention, Article 7), the status of muhajir can only be granted to Muslims. Non-Muslim's application to take refuge in an Islamic country is accepted but their applications are responded within the status of emania and zimmi. Accordingly, religious identity is considered in accepting the asylum-seekers as citizens, which is not the case in accepting the application of seeking refuge between two institutions.

2. Regarding the case of refugees, those taking refuge are not granted citizenship. Status of muhajir, on the other hand, provides such opportunities to those who migrate to an Islamic country.

5. Conclusion

The status of a refuge, the general structure of which was determined with common sense in the 20th century, has aspects common with the classical guardianship institutions in Islamic law. There is no difference between the status of refugee and classical guardianship institutions in terms of receiving legal protection if those applying for taking refuge have necessary qualifications. The status of refugee provides the opportunity of living in peace to the people whose applications have been accepted, which is also the case for other guardianship mechanisms. In addition to these common aspects, there are other similar concepts and points between the system of refugees and each classical guardianship institution.

There are also certain structural differences between the status of refugee and other institutions. The system of refugees has a different structure than the status of emania and zimmi regarding the basic reasons of applying for guardianship. On one hand, the status of refugee differs from other protection systems in terms of granting citizenship to appliers and considering religious identities while granting citizenship. On the other hand, the system of refugees does not promise granting citizenship to any refugees, and guardianship institutions in Islamic law provides the opportunity to benefit from citizenship considering the religious identities of those applying for taking refuge. Any Muslims taking refuge are granted citizenship while any non-Muslims are given the chance of preferring the status of emania or zimmi, and those selecting zimmi status are accepted as a citizen.

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The Concept of Controversy in the Quran and Using Islamic References in terms of Migration*

Halil ALDEMİR**

Abstract

Difference, described inclusively as one's being different from another in terms of speech and manner, reveals itself in various stages of human life. Based on human nature and sociological entity of human, this phenomenon surfaces in several dimensions. In today's world we experience many wars, conflicts, disagreements, exile, migration, war, etc. The Syrian crisis, one of the world's worst disasters happening across the south eastern border of Turkey, is the result of the phenomenon of difference. The concepts of migration, refugee, and migrant and asylum seeker are associated concepts within the Quran and thereby leading aid campaigns to refer to these principles on the issue.

Key words: Quran, difference, migration, hijra, ansar

Kur'ân'a Göre İhtilaf Olgusu ve İslamî Referansların Göç Bağlamında Kullanılması

Özet

Bir insanın diğerinden söz ve davranış bakımından farklı olması şeklinde kapsamlı biçimde tarif edilen ihtilaf, hayatın birçok safhasında kendini göstermektedir. Temeli insanın fıtratına ve sosyolojik varlık olmasına dayanan bu olgu, birçok boyutta karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bugün dünya üzerinde birçok çatışma, ayrışma, tecrit, sürgün, hicret, savaş ve benzeri süreçler yaşanmaktadır. Ülkemizin güneyinde meydana gelen çatışmalar ve insanlık dramı, esasında insanların yaşadığı ihtilaf olgusunun bir sonucudur. Suriye'deki çatışmalar ve gelişmelere paralel olarak göç, sığınma, göçmen ve sığınmacı gibi kavramlar ülkemizde ve İslam âleminde Kur'ânî kavramlarla ilişkilendirilmeye ve yardım kampanyalarında bu konudaki nasların referans gösterilmesine neden olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kur'ân, ihtilaf, göç, hicret, ansar

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Kur'ân'a Göre İhtilaf Olgusu ve İslamî Referansların Göç Bağlamında Kullanılması" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Halil ALDEMİR, "Kur'ân'a Göre İhtilaf Olgusu ve İslamî Referansların Göç Bağlamında Kullanılması", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 49-68.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Assoc. Prof. Kilis 7 Aralık University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Tafsir, faculty member, aldemirhalil@gmail.com, (0348) 814 26 66-1561-1014.

Introduction

There are certain problems related to the differences in the opinions of people from different geographies. These problems may be regarded as too minor to distort the peace and collective living, but humans may also face devastating results such as migration, war, and genocide. Disputes and conflicts in the south of Turkey in the early 21st century reached to an international dimension. This issue, which was mainly based on the difference between people's ideas and opinions, particularly concerned Turkey in certain issues such as migration and asylum-seeking. Many Syrians fled their countries and migrated or took refuge in various countries, especially Turkey. People have followed different methods and styles in their statements and behaviors, which was the main reason for this issue. Therefore, this study presents the main source of disputes between the people in accordance with the verses. The dimensions of these disputes that may cause migration and asylum-seeking will be reflected later. Finally, use of Islamic references regarding the issue of migration will be mentioned.

Various activities regarding the topic of migration, migrants' issues, asylum-seeking, asylum-seekers and their problems are conducted in Turkey and many other countries. A significant part of these activities is conducted on an international scale. With the Syrian crisis, it is clear that the people of the region and academicians of divinity literature focus on migration and migrants' issues. This study was conducted to examine this recent orientation.

I. Basic sources of disputes

Ihtilaf (dispute) was derived from the base "خلف" meaning "*Staying behind what is good, ideal or authentic.*"¹ As a concept, dispute can be explained as "*A person following a different style in his/her statements and behaviors than the others*"²

Reasons of dispute vary by people to people, society to society and geography to geography. According to the Quran, it is possible to classify the reasons of dispute under four titles, namely, psychological, social, ethical, and political. However, there are two main concepts on which these reasons are based: one's natural characteristics and presence as a social creature.

¹ Ibn Abbad, *al-Mukhit fi al-lughah*, IV, 345-350; Jawhari, *as-Sikhah*, IV, 1353-1358; Ibn Manzoor, *Lisan al-Arab*, IX, 82-97; Zabidi, *Taju al-arus*, XII, 184-202; Asım Efendi, *Kamus Tercümesi*, III, 570-572; Karmi, *al-Hadi ila lughat al-Arab*, I, 661.

² Isfahani, *Mufradat*, p. 294; Samin Halabi, *Umdat al-huffaz*, I, 603; Firuzabadi, *Basair*, II, 562; Alusi, *Ruhu al-maani*, IX, 415; Tantawi, *at-Tafsir al-wasit*, X, 161; Muhammad Awama, *Adab al-ihtilaf*, p. 8; Cemal Faruk Cibril Mahmud, "Ahammiyyatu muraati adab al-ihtilaf", 12/569; Bedr Elmas, "al-Ihtilaf", 16/1, 361; Majdi Abdulghaffar Khabib, "al-Hilaf", 22/2, 1880.

A) Relationship Between Dispute and Natural Characteristics

There are certain characteristics that set all people apart and that are adopted naturally, which are called natural characteristics.³ People are naturally different than one another because God created people differently regarding their bodies, minds, ideas, and spirits. People differ from each other by their opinions, orientations, pleasures, properties and perceptions to events just like their appearances, voice tones and fingerprints differ.⁴

There is a deep relationship between natural characteristics and thinking, perceiving properties, and displaying behaviors because All people carry the traces of their natal characteristics that affect their statements and behaviors. Thus, it is natural for people to differ in terms of perceiving people, thinking, and behaving. The relationship between natural characteristics and disputes becomes clear in this point. To explain more clearly, different characteristics can be perceived when social people start to establish relationships with others. However, disputes become inevitable between people when different minds combine with different ideas, educational levels, and cultural characteristics.

The basic reason for the disputes between the relationships of people is that people have different natural characteristics which naturally appear during the communications between them because people's desires and wishes clearly differ based on their natural characteristics. Everybody understands events and actions by their personal characteristics and orientations. Spinoza made the following statement in this regard: "What makes us look good is not our opinion, but our tendencies." Accordingly, orientation is related to the perception of "beauty and ugliness" in good deeds and opinions. William James stated the following in this regard: "The history of philosophy is, in fact, the history of the clash of human beings. This conflict reflects the same state in literature, science, and wisdom."⁵

Let us imagine a society free of natural differences. A society full of people who are equal in all aspects. It would be impossible to live in such a society and to form social relationships. Thus, God Almighty created people to be different to one another and to need each other.⁶

Differences between people's ideas are natural, which is a result of people's ability to think and evaluate. This characteristic of people causes them to express various and different ideas based on the differences in their specific thinking and

³ For more detailed information about natural characteristics, see: Hökelekli, Hayati, "Fitrat", *DİA*, XIII, 47-48.

⁴ see: *Rasailu Ikhrawani as-Safa*, III, 333; Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *İhtilaflar Karşısında İslâmî Tavır*, p. 83; Taha Jabir, *Adab al-ihtilaf*, p. 11, 24.

⁵ Muhammad Abu Zahra, *Mezhepler Tarihi*, p. 18.

⁶ Taha Jabir, *ibid.*, p. 11.

evaluating mechanisms. These characteristics are the blessings granted by God to the humans. Therefore, depriving people of using their characteristics of explaining their ideas and beliefs is not rationally and spiritually appropriate. What is rationally and spiritually appropriate is to accept the differences between the opinions so that people's energy is not distorted or consumed in conflicts and disputes.⁷

The Quran has verses indicating the impacts of natural characteristics over one's behaviors: One of these is closely related to this topic. The text of this verse is as follows: *فُلْ كُلٌّ يَعْمَلُ عَلَىٰ شَاكِلَتِهِ فَرُبُّكُمْ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ هُوَ أَهْدَىٰ سَبِيلًا*⁸ The term "شَاكِلَةٌ" in this verse meant road, borough, nature, intention, and characteristics.⁹ Raghib al-Isfahani (d. 502/1109) explained this term as the personality attributed to a person and stated that one's characteristics affect one's statements and actions.¹⁰ Batalyawsi (d. 521/1127) indicated that disputes are in the nature of people with the following verse: *And they swear by Allah their strongest oaths [that] Allah will not resurrect one who dies. But yes - [it is] a true promise [binding] upon Him, but most of the people do not know. [It is] so He will make clear to them [the truth of] that wherein they differ and so those who have disbelieved may know that they were liars.*¹¹ According to him, our creation has this structure. All disputes can be cleared only when our structure is terminated and transformed into another creation.¹²

To sum up, disputes start when the conditions for differences emerge. The primary condition here is that a creature that has different perception skills and structure than the others should be present. This basic condition is present in people, which is the first door opening to conflicts.

B) Humans as Social Creatures

People always live in societies, which is an undeniable fact known throughout the history. They can be seen living in groups no matter when they lived in the past because the first humans were not single but a group. People's journey on this world started with two people. The Quran explains this case as follows: "O mankind! Fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it

⁷ Nevin A. Mustafa, *İslâm Siyâsî Düşüncesinde Muhalefet*, p. 81.

⁸ al-Isra 17/84. The verse is explained as follows: "Say: Each works according to his manner, but your Lord is most knowing of who is best guided in way."

⁹ Ibn Qutaybah, *ibid.*, p. 260; Sijistani, *ibid.*, p. 287-288; Ibn Mulakkin, *ibid.*, p. 222; Shawkani, *Fathu al-Qadir*, III, 351.

¹⁰ Isfahani, *Mufradat*, p. 462.

¹¹ an-Nahl 16/38-39.

¹² Batalyawsi, *al-Insaf*, p. 27.

its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women."¹³ In addition, the verse "And We said, "Go down, [all of you], (as enemies to one another, and you will have upon the earth a place of settlement and provision for a time!"¹⁴ clearly indicates that people's lives on the earth started collectively. The first two humans created can be regarded as a group if the concept of group is used in its broadest sense to reflect all sorts of aggregation.¹⁵

People have disliked living alone, become social naturally and needed others from the first moment they emerged on the world, which is what is meant by being social. People have both personal and social needs. Some of their needs appear as the common requirements with social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics while some of their needs can be grouped as material and spiritual. These needs form the non-coincidental groups by combining the natural and psychological factors.¹⁶ Therefore, social relationships are formed between both people and groups.

The fact that people are social creatures is reflected in the Islamic literature as "الإنسان مدني بالطبع" (*People are naturally social*)¹⁷. Ibn Khaldun¹⁸ (d.808/1406), who is called "the historian of culture", "historical philosopher", "sociologist", "economist" and "political theoretician", and who is accepted as the founder of sociology by many local and foreign scientists, stated that humans definitely need to live a social life and this is the only way for them to maintain their life.¹⁹ Ibn Qayyim (d. 751/1350) stated that it is obligatory for people to live a social life, and he mentioned the conflicts that may arise between the people with different ideas and wills.²⁰

¹³ an-Nisa 4/1.

¹⁴ al-Baqarah 2/36.

¹⁵ Yümnü Sezen, *Sosyoloji ve Din Sosyolojide Temel Bilgiler ve Tartışmalar*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Sezen, *Sosyoloji ve Din Sosyolojide Temel Bilgiler ve Tartışmalar*, p. 15. Also see: Ibn Qayyim, *as-Sawaik al-mursala*, II, 641; Ibn Khaldun, *Mukaddima*, p. 46-48; Jurjani, *Sharhu al-Mawaqif*, III, 337; Rashid Riza, *Tafsir al-Manar*, II, 224.

¹⁷ Isfahani, *Mufradat*, p. 94; Razi, *Mafatihü al-ghaib*, VI, 162, XXVI, 174, XXIX, 211; Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhaju as-sunmati an-nabawiyya*, VI, 382; Ibn Qayyim, *Zadu al-maad*, III, 15, *as-Sawaik*, I, 342, II, 641; Ibn Khaldun, *Mukaddima*, p. 46; Jurjani, *Sharhu al-Mawaqif*, III, 337, 366; Zabidi, *Ithafu as-sada*, I, 333; Munawi, *Faidu al-qadir*, VI, 328; Alusi, *Ruhu al-ma'ani*, I, 145; Ibn Abidinza, *Qurratu uyun al-akhyar*, II, 17. Rashid Riza, *Tafsir al-Manar*, II, 224; Maraghi, *Tafsir al-Maraghi*, II, 122.

¹⁸ Arslantürk-Amman, *Sosyoloji*, p. 115. For more detailed information about Ibn Khaldun, see Uludağ, Süleyman, "Ibn Khaldun" *DİA*, XIX, 538-555, XX, 1-12.

¹⁹ Ibn Khaldun, *Mukaddima*, p. 46.

²⁰ Ibn Qayyim, *Zadu al-maad*, III, 15.

The formation of disputes between the people is directly related to the fact that humans are social creatures, which is reflected by Shia — an Islamic sect — as an evidence to their beliefs. This sect defending that Ali (d. 40/660) should be the caliph after the Prophet Muhammad aimed to support this idea with the fact that humans are social creatures. According to the followers of this sect, unfair acts and deceptions between the people are inevitable due to humans' characteristics. One of the parties in a relationship would aim to capture the opportunities of the other party. Therefore, an imam (leader) that could protect people from the torments is needed.²¹

The points reflected up to this section indicate that Islamic scholars act in the awareness that humans are social creatures, and that their such characteristics pave the way for disputes. It is fair to state that humans as social creatures establish relationships with others to meet their certain needs, which is the obligatory result of their natural characteristics. In other words, individuals and groups interact with other individuals and groups while making an effort to achieve a goal, and this is how the system of relationships is born.²² These relationships are formed in certain processes. These processes can be gathered under two main titles, namely, "*combining*" and "*separating*" processes. Combining processes consist of cooperation, accordance, and integration while separating processes include competition-conflicts and differentiation.²³ These are based on the communication between people with different structures and needs.

There are two main conditions for the emergence of disputes between people, groups, societies, and states. One of them is the presence of people who naturally have different perceptual characteristics as mentioned in the previous title while the other is the establishment of social relationships by people with this characteristic. Disputes only emerge on a social ground. If the people were not social creatures, different perceptual characteristics would not cause mutual disputes.

II. Dimensions of Dispute

Dimensions of dispute may be classified from many aspects. These dimensions can be classified as isolation, exile, migration, and war considering the verses of the Quran and concepts of migration and asylum-seeking. An ascending order regarding the harms and effects was applied in this classification.

²¹ Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhaj*, VI, 382-383.

²² Arslantürk, Zeki-Amman, Tayfun, *Sosyoloji*, p. 337.

²³ Arslantürk, Zeki-Amman, Tayfun, *Sosyoloji*, p. 339.

A) Isolation

While speaking about the characteristics of believers, the Quran reflects that they resist difficult situations and respond to malevolence with benevolence.²⁴ At the same time, it is pointed out that despite the prevailing religious themes and traditional way of life, all kinds of material and moral pressures, social isolation and boycotts are being subjected to by their own communities.²⁵

It is understood that the disbelievers sometimes aimed to reach a common ground with the prophets to solve mutual issues. They asked prophets to exclude the poverty-stricken people around them for that purpose. However, God did not permit this. A case similar to the one narrated in Noah's anecdote²⁶ was experienced the era of the Prophet Muhammad.²⁷ Polytheists planned to exclude poor believers such as Abdullah ibn Mas'ud (d. 32/653) and Bilal al-Khabashi (20/641), which was rejected in the Quran. God ordered the following in this regard: "*And do not send away those who call upon their Lord morning and afternoon, seeking His countenance!*"²⁸

The extensive disputes between the polytheists and believers in Mecca were distorting the relationships between these sides. Muslims were exposed to angry faces, verbal assaults and physical violence. Believers were living separately from the society.²⁹ The following can be understood in this regard: Among the sides in dispute, the more powerful one with the authority to impose sanction may attempt to isolate the other side. This isolation may occur in a narrow area or in a broad sense like the boycott the polytheists in Mecca applied against Muslims. Many forms of isolation are implemented on a social and international basis in the present time. Regarding the tragedy in the south of Turkey which is clearly present before the entire globe, isolation and boycott is implemented by the system and various sections in many areas of Syria.

B) Exile

There is similarity between migration and exile because one leaves his/her own country in both concepts. Migration takes place as a precautionary behavior in a society where it is impossible to live by beliefs, while exile takes place after the dominant group of a society drives the opposite side away from their country. Those

²⁴ al-Qasas 28/54.

²⁵ Sayyid Qutub, *fi Zilal*, V, 2701; Muhammad Asad, *Kur'ân Mesajî*, II, 794.

²⁶ Hud 11/27, 29; ash-Shura 26/111-115.

²⁷ Muslim, "Fadail as-sahaba", 45.

²⁸ al-An'am 6/52.

²⁹ Umari, *as-Sirat an-Nabawiyya*, I, 169.

who exile a person or group do not think that the people being exiled would think or act like them, and they believe that living with them would cause problems for their society.

The Quran mentions issue of exile through different verses. These can be grouped in two categories as the exile performed by the representatives of revelation and the exile to be performed against the representatives of revelation. The Quran defines the exile by Muslims as God's will.³⁰ Thus, Muslims' act of exiling Bani Nadir, the Jews, from Madinah was approved by God.

When prophets started to fulfill what was ordered to them, they also shook the beliefs, economic structures, and political balances of their societies because the societies they were ordered to guide abandoned the tawhid ideology, and their political and financial systems were accordingly affected. As seen in the example of Prophet Shuaib, people who wanted to maintain their beliefs, traditions, and positions threatened the Prophet stating that he would be exiled.³¹ The case of the Prophet Lot, it was recommended that the Prophet and his affiliates be exiled.³²

Polytheists who saw interest in the Islamic society did not hesitate to threaten the Muslims coming as muhajir from Mecca saying that they would be exiled from their cities when they saw their chances.³³ However, they failed to fulfill their threats. They failed to reflect the ideological differences with the Muslims into practice, and they preferred to stay in the Islamic society and act secretly. Similarly, certain greedy members of Shuaib's nation when the Prophet planned to exile Bani Nadir³⁴, who attempted to assassinate the Prophet and who was distorting the internal peace in Madinah, polytheists recommended Bani Nadir to resist³⁵ and promised that they would help him which they failed to do later.

It is fair to state that advanced disputes reach a new dimension with exile. When a different voice in a society cannot be controlled by the dominant authorities, exile is regarded as the only option. Both Muslims who supported the revelation and those who wanted to suffocate the divine message applied this method. The Quran approved the first group but regarding the second group, the people to be exiled were deemed right, which indicates that the Quran approves exile based on the reasonable grounds in line with the religious principles. Muslims can apply this method when necessary. However, it should be noted that believers may face exile in certain cases because believers may sometimes be wrongly exiled.

³⁰ al-Hashr 59/3.

³¹ al-A'raf 7/88.

³² an-Naml 27/56.

³³ al-Munafikun 63/8.

³⁴ al-Umari, *as-Sirat an-Nabawiyya*, I, 306-307.

³⁵ al-Hashr 59/11.

C) Migration

If the differences in a society or state cannot be solved, one may obligatorily leave the places they regard as their home countries in which they grew. The Prophet faced severe opposition and resistance when he started to invite people to Islam in Mecca. Opposition of the polytheists from Mecca to revelations caused the Prophet and his companions to leave their homes and migrate to Madinah. Therefore, many verses indicated the concept of migration and migrants.³⁶

Migration means that believers who cannot live as required by their religion in a society migrate freely to the region where they will live their faith. People escape from pressures to freedom in migration.

It cannot be stated that the disputes between Muslims and the Mecca public ended with the separation of places following the migration of Muslims. On the contrary, sanctions imposed during the disputes in a society were brought to the level of disputes between two societies living in two different geographies. Muslims did not have the possibility to act freely in the first concept of migration. Regarding the second, Muslims could have a better environment for learning the revelations or living their religion although the dispute between them reached the level of war in this stage. Ideological difference between the sides that was based on beliefs reached a new level upon migration, which did not end the disputes between the people from Mecca and Muslims but provided a new level that could be regarded as an international conflict instead. Moreover, Muslims gained a new dynamism in this regard.

The Quran indicates that the Prophet Abraham, one of the Prophet ancestors of the Prophet Muhammad, had to migrate, too.³⁷ Accordingly, it is fair to state that migration was a method used by the Prophets who faced the opposition of nations in certain periods of the history.

It is possible to universalize the concept of migration considering its historical roots. In other words, the disputes of a society may cause the non-dominant side to leave its country. However, using this method does not mean ending the current dispute between sides. On the contrary, the concept of dispute gains a new dimension, and dispute becomes greater considering the homesickness, relatives, lands, houses, and valuable properties left behind, and belief and opinion-based differences along with the malevolent treatments of the dominant actors in a society.

³⁶ Ali 'Imran 3/195; an-Nisa 4/89, 97; at-Tawba 9/20; al-Isra 17/76; al-Haj 22/40; an-Nur 24/22; al-Qasas 28/85; Muhammad 47/13; al-Mumtahina 60/10.

³⁷ al-Ankabut 29/26.

D) War

The Quran has verses regarding wars. Some of them indicate the wars before the Prophet while some reflect the wars in the Prophet's³⁸ era.³⁹ The wars indicated for the Prophet's era include the ones fought between the two most powerful empires of the era reigning outside the Islamic regions.⁴⁰ These verses indicate that the conflicts between the people caused wars in different periods. In other words, people chose battling to reach their various goals and neutralizing the people who seemed to be opponents against them.

The most interesting wars among the ones mentioned in the Quran was the Battle of Badr, which is a significant example indicating the point where disputes can bring people. This battle was fought between the people who had blood relation and who lived in tribes.

The Prophet's call for the religion of God, the public of Mecca started to react negatively, and disputes based on belief-related differences emerged even in families although the tribal ideologies were still dominant. Divisions occurred in certain families with the migrations. After disputes between people reached the level of wars, family members stood on different sides and even opposed one another. The Battle of Badr is important in this regard. Abu Ubaidah (d. 18/639) killed his father Abdullah who fought alongside the polytheists.⁴¹ Abu Bakr (d. 13/654) wanted to duel his son acting in line with Mecca public, but he was denied by the Prophet.⁴² Omar (d. 23/643) killed As Ibn Hisham, his uncle(d. 2/624). Other wars between the Muslims and polytheists from Mecca are also the interesting examples regarding this study. For example, Musab ibn Umair (d. 3/625) killed his brother Ubaid (d. 3/625) in the Battle of Uhud.⁴³

The Quran does not criticize such disputes between the family members because The Quran aims to establish a society with belief-based integrity. Therefore, while mentioning the characteristics of believers, the Quran indicates that no friendship is to be displayed against fathers, sons, siblings, and relatives who oppose to God.⁴⁴

These disputes caused people, even those with the closest relation, to fight on different sides. Muslims of the first era who lived in tribes had such social disputed and divisions, which indicates the extensiveness of the conflicts of the era. In

³⁸ al-Baqarah 2/249-251.

³⁹ Ali 'Imran 3/13, 123; at-Tawba 9/25.

⁴⁰ ar-Rum 30/1-6.

⁴¹ Ibn Qasir, *Tafsir*, VIII, 54.

⁴² Baghawi, *Anvaru at-tanzil*, V, 336.

⁴³ Baghawi, *Anvaru at-tanzil*, V, 336.

⁴⁴ al-Mujadala 58/22.

addition, the Quran reports that ahl al-kitab fought with one another due to disputes.⁴⁵ People of the same religion had disputes for different reasons.⁴⁶ For instance, Jewish people fought with each other. The fights between Christian people were more serious. The historical evidences indicate that sects were divided into different branches and caused Christians to have intra-sectarian disputes to the degree that they fought with one another.⁴⁷ Sale (d. 1149/1736), a Western researcher, described the internal disputes of Christians as follows:

"If you read church history carefully, you can realize that people have started to manipulate Christianity since the third century, which have arisen from religious authorities' desires, disputes, conflicts in insignificant matters, never-ending discussions and other factors fueling the division between the people. The Christians rushed to satisfy their desires, resorting to all kinds of despicable, jealousy and violence, almost erasing Christianity from history. They had severe debates regarding how they should understand their religion. Many myths and disorders emerged in these dark ages."⁴⁸

Considering the topics related to war in the Quran, it is fair to state that war is one of the worst dimensions of disputes between the people of various stages of history. The conflicts between the Syrian people today reflect the final point where people with blood and religious relation fight with each other due to religious, sectarian, and political reasons.

III. Using Islamic References as a Solution

When disputes reach certain dimensions such as isolation, exile, migration, and war, other problems emerge, too. Personal and social traumas, deep issues, psychological and sociological disengagement, and material and spiritual losses may be among these problems. These issues experienced in a state can have an international identity later. The Syrian issue has gained a global identity in time and caused Turkey to have certain issues. Turkey has embraced those fleeing the civil war in Syria due to certain reasons such as neighboring, religious, cultural, and historical ties, and it must undertake certain issues in this regard. The greatest issue is to meet basic needs, such as accommodation and provision of consumables, of people taking refuge in Turkey. Religious references have been used in this point. Employing these references for the people of a country, the population of which is mostly Muslim, is an accurate attitude bringing the country closer to its goals.

⁴⁵ al-Baqarah 2/253.

⁴⁶ For an assessment regarding the initiation of migrations due to wars arising from religious reasons, see: Ömer Cide, "Ortadoğu'da Göçü Tetikleyen Savaşların Nedeni Olarak Din", p. 489-495.

⁴⁷ Rashid Riza, *Tafsir al-Manar*, IX, 7.

⁴⁸ Umari, *as-Sirat an-Nabawiyya*, I, 131.

The people in Turkish society, ranging from political actors to opinion leaders, from non-governmental organizations to people making contributions personally, used the concepts in the Quran for the description of Syrians' status and solution of their problems.⁴⁹ Moreover, we realize that political speeches, charity campaigns, television and radio programs, organizations and sermons often mention Islamic cooperation, contribution, alms, aids, migration, muhajir, Ansar, and brotherhood.⁵⁰ The Quran has characteristics influencing and activating the society, which is described by God in the Quran as follows: " وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِّنْ أَمْرِنَا / And thus We have revealed to you an inspiration of Our command.⁵¹ The term "inspiration" in this verse has been interpreted as the Quran's blessing of life to society.⁵² The changes and transformation of the era when the Quran was revealed indicates such influence of revelations.

Accordingly, references in the Quran were actively used by various institutions, particularly The Presidency of Religious Affairs, and non-governmental organizations in the issue of aids for Syrian migrants and refugees. Thus, people's religious emotions were triggered, and aids were delivered to those in need. Looking at the sermons read in Kilis, a Turkish city with migrants and refugees more than its population, will help understand the case more easily.

Table 1: The helping-related sermons read and repeated between 2010 and 2012

No	Subject	2010	2011	2012
1	Alms and Its Importance	20.08.2010	12.08.2011	22.06.2012-03.08.2012
2	Migration	03.12.2010		09.11.2012
3	Association and Its Importance in Islam	30.04.2010		11.05.2012
4	Eid al-Adha	12.11.2010	04.11.2011	19.10.2012
5	Vicinity Rights		14.01.2011	02.11.2012

This table indicates that a prayer occasion like Eid al-Adha that is executed every year is repeated every three years. However, the interesting point here is that

For an evaluation regarding the evolution of religious perceptions and religious ideology arising from the interactions based on the migrations, see Mahmut Çınar, "Yesrib'e Göç'ten Türkiye'ye Göç'e Sosyolojik ve Teolojik Sonuçları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme", p. 232-237.

⁵⁰ For the sermons of Kilis Muftiate read in mosques, see <http://www.kilismuftulugu.gov.tr>.

⁵¹ ash-Shura 42/52.

⁵² Ibn Ashur, *at-Tahrir wa't-tanwir*, XXV, 151.

five topics related to helping were constantly mentioned in the sermons read in 2012 when Syrians intensively took refuge in Kilis. The same topics were sometimes mentioned in previous years. In addition, the issue of alms that has a significant role in social contributions and cooperation was examined twice in 2012.⁵³

Table 2: Sermons commonly mentioning the issues such as refugees and Syria:

No	N	Subject	2013	2014	2015
1		Being the Relative of Solitary People		11.07.2014	
2		Let's Protect Our Unity, Integrity and Brotherhood			11.09.2015
3		Being the Hope of Suffering People		18.07.2014	
4		Solitary People		11.07.2014	
5		Nobody Should be Solitary		27.06.2014	
6		Three Months with Spiritual Enthusiasm			24.04.2015
7		Eid al-Adha	15.10.2013		

This table indicates that the topics related to Syrian refugees were included the least in the sermons read in 2013. This frequency increased in 2014 when compared to previous and following years.

The concepts of Syrian, refugee and asylum-seeker⁵⁴, which we were not familiar with, read in the mosques upon the instruction of Kilis Muftiate under the Presidency of Religious Affairs were collectively used with the known concepts such as migration, helping, cooperation, Ansar brotherhood, and helping the

⁵³ Vural, Ahmet, *2010-2012 Yıllarında Okunan Hutbelerin Tahlihi: Kilis İli Örneği*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Kilis 7 Aralık University, Institute of Social Sciences, Kilis 2015.

⁵⁴ For the evaluation of asylum-seekers in terms of Islamic Law, see Hüseyin Baysa, "İslâm Hukukundaki Himaye Geleneği Muvacehesinde Mültecilik Sistemi", p. 116-123.

muhajirs. These sermons indicate that many verses and hadiths were mentioned as the evidences and stimulants regarding aids to refugees.⁵⁵

The case of Syrians appears similar to that of muhajirs. The aim here is to maintain the aids and support by emphasizing the Ansar brotherhood. However, in addition to the similarities, there are differences between the issues of Syrians and muhajirs. The state of Syrian migrants and refugees regarding the issue of accommodation and provision of foods seem similar to that of muhajirs. The migration that took place in the era of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) indicates that it was an organized and planned movement, that those who migrated united around a leader, that they were effective in solving their problems, and that they made the places they migrated as a religiously, sociologically, and psychologically ready environment. In addition, it is clear that the reasons for migration were based on religious affairs. Syrian migrants and refugees differed from muhajirs regarding being in unity, getting organized, and acting for religious purposes. It is certain that many people have been victimized in the disputes between the international actors and local organizations. The discourse of Ansar brotherhood had a great impact in compensating these victimizations. The Presidency of Religious Affairs, Red Crescent and non-governmental organizations aim to solve the problems of Syrian refugees and asylum-seekers by using the religious references.

CONCLUSION

Dispute is an inevitable fact for the people with different structures acting as a sociological creature. Making an effort to live a dispute-free life means nothing but following the goals that are impossible to fulfill. Therefore, the aim should be to manage and solve the disputes instead of attempting to solve them. If dispute management cannot be executed successfully, various problems become inevitable. These problems include isolation, exile, migration, and wars regarding the topic of migration.

The issues in Syria reflect the dimension of disputes. Although the technological tools and opportunities that make humans' lives easier have developed, educational opportunities increased, the local and international organizations of human rights and freedoms increased, and discourses related to peace and human rights are more mentioned than ever, one of the greatest tragedies of 21st century is taking place in Syria. Unfortunately, most of the people remain silent against this situation there. However, Turkey maintains its philanthropist approach in this case. References from the Quran play a key role in this process. Natural and legal persons, particularly the authorities with the highest power and non-governmental organizations, use the references from the Quran to

⁵⁵ For detailed information, see <http://www.kilismuftulugu.gov.tr>.

determine and solve the problems of Syrians who have taken refuge in Turkey. It goes beyond doubt that these references have positive effects over the Muslim public because the Quran is an influential book. Muslims are the people regarding the Quran as their guides. Therefore, verses inevitably affect people.

Syrian refugees and migrants are named as muhajir while those welcoming them are Ansar. This shows that Syrians' migration to Turkey appears similar to the concept of Islamic migration in the past. However, the similarities between these concepts are limited. Meeting Syrians' need for accommodation and consumables appears similar to the solution of muhajirs' problems by the Ansar. Moreover, this comparison does not relate with the lexical pattern reflected by the concepts of migration, muhajir and Ansar in the cases where Syrians failed to organize asylum-seeking and migration plans and to act in unity in their countries and other countries, where their resistance to the established order did not match with the fight of the Prophet in Mecca, and where they failed to make the places they would migrate politically, religiously, sociologically, and psychologically ready.

Although the issues in Syria bear the traces and influences of many international subjects and objects, it is not appropriate for Muslims to be uninterested against this issue because The Quran, the most important reference of Islam, orders people to help and cooperate with each other and help the suffering. It is not appropriate for Muslims to solely provide contributions to the solution of these problems because the changes, dynamism, and attitudes revelations order do not match with such uninterested actions. Thus, it has become inevitable for Muslims to act in line with the basic religious principles and to determine a method and a plan of action considering the concept of disputes for meeting the needs of people, particularly the migrants and asylum-seekers.

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The Issue of Expressions by the Subjects of Migration: Philosophical Examinations in terms of Hospitality, Philanthropy, and Fairness*

Mehmet ULUKÜTÜK**

Abstract:

It is not possible to explain the phenomenon of immigration, which has long been seen in world history, for a single reason. The view of immigrants, who are the subjects of the migration phenomenon carried out for geographical, cultural, political, and economic reasons, also changes. In this study, immigration is dealt with as a relational subject, and a reference is the problem of immigrants who are regarded as objects. In this context, the forms of objective reality are different from one another in the subjective world. When it comes to immigrants, there is a situation above and beyond geographical, cultural, political, and economic reasons: can an ethical duty be addressed to immigrants? We have tried to consider this question by comparing three basic approaches in the nature of the answer. As a necessity of universal cosmopolitanism, hospitality, and philosophy based on humanitarian thoughts and practices, objective law-based philosophy of thought and religious bases and myths. These approaches will be dealt with in the context of the assumption that the philosophy of the Continental Continent is around the "other" thoughts. You will have the opportunity to have a multi-faceted debate on the meanings of your hospitality, philanthropy, and philanthropy and its contradictions. We hope that the in-depth discussions on the philosophical implications of these concepts and their historical interpretations will contribute to the understanding and interpretation of the "other" issue, which is based on refugees with a more authentic and perhaps more human basis.

Key Words: Immigration, Immigrants, Hospitality, Philanthropy, Hospitality, Other.

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Göçün Öznelerinin Anlatım Problemi: Konukseverlik, Hayırseverlik ve Hakseverlik Bağlamında Felsefi Soruşturmalar" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Mehmet ULUKÜTÜK, "Göçün Öznelerinin Anlatım Problemi: Konukseverlik, Hayırseverlik ve Hakseverlik Bağlamında Felsefi Soruşturmalar", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 69-98.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Asst. Prof. Gaziantep University, Faculty of Science and Literature, Department of Philosophy

Göçün Öznelerinin Anlatım Problemi: Konukseverlik, Hayırseverlik ve Hakseverlik Bağlamında Felsefî Soruşturmalar

Özet:

Dünya tarihinde öteden beri sıklıkla görülen göç olgusunu tek bir nedenle açıklamak mümkün görünmemektedir. Coğrafi, kültürel, siyasal ve ekonomik nedenlerle gerçekleşen göç olgusunun özneleri olan göçmenlere bakış da değişmektedir. Bu çalışmada göç ve bir bakıma öznesi bir bakıma ise nesnesi olarak görülen göçmenlerin anlatımında karşılaşılan problemler ortaya konulmuştur. Bu bağlamda nesnel gerçeğin öznel dilde birbirinden farklı kurgulanış biçimleri gözler önüne serilmiştir. Göçmenler söz konusu olduğunda ortaya coğrafi, kültürel, siyasal ve ekonomik nedenlerin üstünde ve ötesinde bir durum çıkmaktadır: Göçmenlere karşı etik bir görevden söz edilebilir mi? Bu soruyu cevap mahiyetinde üç temel yaklaşım biçimini karşılaştırarak ele almayı denedik. Evrensel kozmopolitanizmin bir gereği olarak konukseverlik düşüncesi ve uygulamaları, nesnel hukuk merkezli hakseverlik düşüncesi ve dinî temellere ve motivasyonlara dayalı hayırseverlik düşüncesi. Bu yaklaşımlar çağdaş Kıta Avrupası felsefesinin “öteki” üzerine düşünceleri etrafında yaptıkları temellendirmeler bağlamında ele alınacaktır. Konukseverliğin, hayırseverliğin ve hakseverliğin anlamı, sınırları çelişkileri üzerine çok yönlü bir tartışma zeminin imkânı aranacaktır. Söz konusu kavramların felsefî içerimleri ve tarihsel pratikteki karşılıkları üzerine yapılacak derinlikli tartışmalar gerek mülteci, gerekse de mülteci üzerinden kurgulanan “öteki” meselesinin daha sahîh ve belki de daha insani zeminlerde anlaşılmasına ve yorumlanmasına katkı yapacağını ümit ediyoruz.

Anahtar Kavramlar: Göç, Göçmenler, Konukseverlik, Hayırseverlik, Hakseverlik, Öteki.

Introduction

Although migration is the most natural reality in human history, the fact that migration and its subjects who have been forced to emigrate is a matter of investigation bearing all the historicity and diversity of today's conditions.¹ Today, although the issue of migration is discussed in terms of economy, health, population, housing, food, education, and human rights, it is mainly the extensions and

¹ For detailed analyses on the subject, see: Abadan-Unat, N. *Bitmeyen Göç*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay, İstanbul 2002; Chambers, Iain, *Göç, Kültür ve Kimlik*, Transl. İsmail Türkmen, Mehmet Beşikçi, Ayrıntı Yay. İstanbul 2014; Tekeli, İlhan, “Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihindeki Değişik Kategoriler”, *Göç ve Ötesi*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yay. İstanbul 2008, p. 42- 65; Castles, S. and Miller, J. M. *Göçler Çağı: Modern Dünyada Uluslararası Göç Hareketleri*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay. İstanbul 2008.

repercussions of the chronic tensions and conflicts between the West and the East. All other problems are the consequences of these tensions and conflicts because the phenomenon we call migration today consists of people on the east side of the world trying to go to the west, and it is not a coincidence that the situation is based on this reality. In the same way, we are talking about the issue of living together - as an isolated area through today - through asylum seekers in Syria and displaced people from all over the world. We talk about the issue of cohabitation by centering people who have been forced to emigrate, especially in geography outside the West.² And the fact that the West is both the reason and the solution of the issue of asylum seekers, refugees, displaced, and vagrant people, is a paradox. However, it is not possible to solve problems with a mindset that causes problems. Our aim in this study is not to insult and discredit the western political system, which we see as the main component of the migration and refugee problem, but rather to understand what the world of western thought is saying and what it wants to say on the issue of migration and refugees, and to open it up for discussion. Moreover, there is a reason why we want to discuss the issue through Europe and the European subjects because the European subject's desire to go and see the culture of the "authentic" Third World natives, when we think that the same group of people are living in European metropolises near them as immigrants, there is a view that we can call a two-way landscape if it wants to. While the distant native is a "treasure" waiting to be discovered, the nearby native refers to a dirty, repulsive, and dangerous area that the European subject wants to stay away from. While the distant native becomes an object of fascination, joy, and excitement, the nearby native can become hazardous in an instant. The voyeuristic desire of the European tourist to see the exotic other in its authentic space becomes more striking when we take into account all the spatial arrangements that make the presence of migrants invisible in European cities.³ Accordingly, for example, while distant Syria is an object of desire for the European subject, Syrians trying to emigrate to Europe and live on the streets of Europe can become an object of disgust and fear.

Given that we have not yet reached full conceptual clarity, I wonder, what does the West think theoretically of asylum seekers or vagrant people in other parts of the world? These debates are not discussed much in academic and intellectual journals. I do not bring this up to indicate what the West thinks theoretically, how well and how perfectly the West thinks, but to better illustrate the gap, crisis and contradiction that the West is experiencing today between theory and practice. For this purpose, I would like to focus on some problems and even problematics encountered in the expression of immigrants who are seen as the object of migration and at the same time its subject in a way. For example, how

² Ulukütük, Mehmet, "Konukseverlik, Birlikte Yaşama ve Felsefi Açılımları", *Göçler ve Ortak Geleceğimiz Sempozyumu*, Akadde, Tire Kitap Yay. İstanbul 2016, p. 105-111.

³ Yeğenoğlu, Meyda, *Avrupa'da İslam, Göçmenlik ve Konukseverlik*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay. İstanbul 2016, p. 36.

do the different forms of objective reality in subjective language reflect when it comes to refugees? Göçmenler söz konusu olduğunda ortaya coğrafi, kültürel, siyasal ve ekonomik nedenlerin üstünde ve ötesinde bir durum çıkmaktadır: Göçmenlere karşı etik bir görevden söz edilebilir mi? Bu soruyu cevap mahiyetinde üç temel yaklaşım biçimini karşılaştırarak ele almayı denedik. Evrensel kozmopolitanizmin bir gereği olarak konukseverlik düşüncesi ve uygulamaları, nesnel hukuk merkezli hakseverlik düşüncesi ve dinî temellere ve motivasyonlara dayalı hayırseverlik düşüncesi. Bu yaklaşımlar çağdaş Kıta Avrupası felsefesinin “öteki” üzerine düşünceleri etrafında yaptıkları temellendirmeler bağlamında ele alınacaktır.

“Representation” Issue in Migration Narratives: How do We Explain Who in What Language?

One of the main defining characteristics of today's world is the mobility of people, who hold citizenship of different nations belonging to different classes, religious and ethnic groups across national boundaries. But this mobility is not always and for every group happening on equal terms. The issue of crossing borders has very different consequences in many cases, depending on a lot of different conditions, such as ethnic or national affiliation of the crossers.⁴ Similarly, the phenomenon itself and its subjects can be subject to different nomenclature based on locations because meaning and reality are built socially. When considered from this perspective, the identities reflected by media representations and the meanings ascribed to these identities are not seen as immutable identities or meanings that represent the truth, but the representations constructed by these representations and shaped according to the era they were born into, that is, the cultural and historical conditions, is regarded as socially constructed entities.⁵ It also offers insight into the ways in which the notion of “we” and “they”, which are part of the process of identity building, is structured, particularly over the identity of Syrian asylum seekers.⁶ However, previous studies have pointed out that the production of the notion of “we” and “they” over asylum seeker representations in the media produces more complex and contrasting meanings than thought.⁷ Several studies mention that the repeated stereotyped representations of asylum seekers appear in the forms below: Representations that describe refugees as “in

⁴ Yeğenoğlu, *Avrupa'da İslam, Göçmenlik ve Konukseverlik*, p. 1.

⁵ Pandır, Müzeyyen; Efe, İbrahim; Paksoy Alaaddin F. “Türk Basınında Suriyeli Sığınmacı Temsili Üzerine Bir İçerik Analizi”, *Marmara İletişim Dergisi, Mülteciler ve Medya Özel Sayısı -I*, Sayı: 24, 2015, p. 3.

⁶ Erdoğan, M. Murat, *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay. İstanbul 2015.

⁷ Pandır, Efe, Paksoy, “Türk Basınında Suriyeli Sığınmacı Temsili Üzerine Bir İçerik Analizi”, p. 4.

need" and "victims" of something, representations that are imprisoned⁸ to "pain, grief and despair" and representations that regard asylum seekers as "threats" and "problems" for the target society (as the minorities that have similar representative characteristics) and discuss them in context of "violence" and "crime" ⁹ "2015", "Syrian", "2014", "university", "social", "2013", "refugee", "International", "asylum seeker", "migration", "impact", "2016", "health", "life", "situation" and "public" were among the most frequently used words considering the discourse analyses. It is again here that we see the importance of 2015 and that there is a great deal of space devoted to the study of the issue in the context of social acceptance or rejection (impact, public). In addition, we can see that the relationship between the Syrians in Turkey and the world public opinion with international words, and the human dimensions of the issue are often highlighted in studies with words such as health, life, and situation.¹⁰ From a more general perspective, the thoughts generated on the basis of migration and human relatedness are the building blocks of migration studies. In this context, pairwise themes such as migration and space, migration and culture, migration and nation state, migration and identity, migration and nation have been guiding scientific academic studies.¹¹

⁸ Mannik, L. *Photography, Memory and Refugee Identity: The Voyage of the Walnut, 1948*. UBC Press. Vancouver 2012.

⁹ Pandır, Efe, Paksoy, "Türk Basınında Suriyeli Sığınmacı Temsili Üzerine Bir İçerik Analizi", p. 6. McLaughlin, G. *Refugees, Migrants and The Fall of The Berlin Wall*, Greg Philo (Ed.) *Message received*. Routledge, London 1999; Van Dijk, T. A. *Racism and The Press*, Routledge, London 1991.

¹⁰ Erdem, Selvin, "Göçün Bilimsel Anlatısı: Türkiye 'Akademiya'sının Suriyeli 'Mülteciler' ile İmtihanı", *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Avrupa Çalışmaları Merkezi, Öğrenci Forumu (AÇMÖF) Bülteni (CESSF) Bulletin Sayı: 5/Mayıs 2016*, p. 22; Kirişçi, K. ve Karaca, S. "Hoşgörü ve Çelişkiler: 1989, 1991 ve 2011'de Türkiye'ye Yönelen Kitleli Mülteci Akınları", Erdoğan, M. M. and Kaya, A. (comp.) *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay. İstanbul 2015, p. 295-314.

¹¹ Erdem, "Göçün Bilimsel Anlatısı", p. 17; Körükmez, L. and Südaş, İ. comp. *Göçler Ülkesi: Alkışlar, Göçmenler, Araştırmacılar*, Ayrıntı Yay. İstanbul 2015.



Figure 1: Posta Gazetesi, May 3, 2014¹²

The concept of subaltern can also be used to make sense of the position of refugees in the social formulation they are involved in, in different spatial areas. *Madun* (subaltern), used by Antonio Gramsci, Ranajit Guha, Dipesh Chakrabarty¹³ and Gayatri C. Spivak¹⁴ with related but divergent contents, is a concept that allows one to consider some of the others, or “others” in the present day, as matters. The concept used to describe people and groups who cannot represent themselves in the functioning mechanisms of society and who are in a ‘different’ situation refers to people and groups living in colonial geographies, women, the poor, immigrants, and those whose voices are not heard in these current mechanisms.¹⁵ Refugees, who are excluded from the functioning areas of society and power, who cannot express and represent themselves, are part of the whole of the two-way discourse as oppressed and victimized people who are both considered a menace and non-citizens by the mechanisms of power. The heterogeneous non-constant state of fragility they are in makes it possible to

¹² Pandır, “Türk Basınında Suriyeli Sığınmacı Temsili Üzerine Bir İçerik Analizi”, p. 16.

¹³ Chakrabarty, Dipesh, *Avrupa’yı Taşralaştırmak Postkolonyal Düşünme ve Tarihsel Farklılık*, Transl. İlker Cörüt, Boğaziçi Yay. İstanbul 2012.

¹⁴ Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, *Madun Konuşabilir mi?*, Transl. Dilek Hattaoğlu, Gökçen Ertuğrul, Emre Koyuncu, Dipnot Yay. Ankara 2016.

¹⁵ Yetişkin, Ebru, “Postkolonyal Kavramlar Üzerine Notlar”, *Toplumbilim Dergisi, Postkolonyal Düşünce Özel Sayısı*, 2000, Issue: 25. p. 15-20.

identify refugees as subaltern.¹⁶ As is understood, discussing this topic in context of being subaltern is a matter of realizing that we are working on a shadow of a political and relative situation, rather than merely a case of academic interest.

Beyond being seen as inferior in terms of religious, cultural and ethnic identity, age, gender and class, subalterns-refugees who are considered “not important”, “not worthy of being heard” and “ignored” are also groups who are given different legal rights in source, transit and destination countries. Refugees who belong to their homeland as citizens are subject to legislation as *foreigners* and non-nationals in transit and destination countries.¹⁷ Therefore, it can be said that the public distinction made in the legal framework is the result of political requirements. But can the issue of being subaltern be a matter that can easily be compressed into legal or political conditions and norms? This question requires us to go to a comparative analysis of hospitality, philanthropy and fairness as matters that transcend legal and political contexts.

Hospitality, Fairness, and Philanthropy: Attitudes towards migration and its subjects

The subjects of migration cannot be discussed solely on legal and political conditions, nor can they be discussed independently of them. For this, we need an effort to compare the issue with other relevant concepts. In this sense, for example, the importance of discussing the concept of hospitality¹⁸ both in law and beyond law comes from the fact that today's immigration policies, which are dominant in national and international contexts, do not have positive approaches to welcoming and accepting foreigners. In fact, in theory, as written laws, foreigners enjoy fundamental freedoms such as freedom of movement, the right of respect for private life and the right to personal security. On the other hand, when implemented, it is seen that these freedoms are limited by more serious rules. When we look at the Schengen agreement as an example, it is seen that on the one hand, borders are opened in countries within the European Union, on the other hand, these borders are closed even more against those outside the Union. Similarly, more asylum requests are rejected than in previous years. Moreover, this quest for asylum is being blocked by the Border Police today before it reaches the legal level.

¹⁶ Altıntaş, Safiye, “Davetsiz Misafirler: Türkiye’deki Mültecilerin Maduniyet Görünümleri”, *İdeal Kent*, Issue 14, October 2014, p. 255.

¹⁷ Altıntaş, “Davetsiz Misafirler: Türkiye’deki Mültecilerin Maduniyet Görünümleri”, p. 257.

¹⁸ For a detailed analysis of the subject, see: Direk, Zeynep, “Konukseverliğin Düşüncesi”, *Defter*, Issue: 31, 1997, p. 11-36.



<http://www.radikal.com.tr/dunya/multeciler-dudaklarini-dikti-1478503/>

Therefore, freedom of movement is blocked by obstacles such as the generalization of visa applications, closing borders and extradition agreements.¹⁹ Moreover, these obstructions are accompanied by sophisticated political rhetoric and speculative legal provisions. In addition, the number of refugee camps founded in recent years and the increasing number of deaths occurring while fleeing through borders emerge as additional problems in this regard.²⁰ Hospitality, which has been a fundamental concept throughout history, has included religious, social, moral, and legal meanings. What makes it the subject of philosophy and the philosopher is hidden in its legal and moral definition.²¹ For this reason, hospitality/no hospitality is as much a political analysis as it is textual. In other words, it is an issue that will not fit into political discourse but cannot be considered independent of political conditions. Hospitality has also been a special text for political philosophy and political scientists, especially republican political philosophies leaning on Kant. Based on Kant's thoughts, the European Union experiences the hospitality dilemma when it is constantly forced to maintain its determination to keep refugees outside its borders, inside the outside, inside Turkey, for example.²² This paradoxical situation is a paradox that will allow us to think about Europe through Turkey and Turkey through Europe. In this way, there will be an opportunity to compare the theory of Europe and the practice of Turkey.

¹⁹ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 481.

²⁰ Tunç, Serpil, "Konukseverlik: Hukukta ve Hukukun Ötesinde", p. 481.

²¹ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 481.

²² Işıklı, Şevki, "İlticanın Yapısökümcü Felsefesi: Konuksevermezlik Sorunu", *Marmara İletişim Dergisi, Mülteciler ve Medya Özel Sayısı -I*, Issue: 24, 2015, p. 57.

Kant's *Perpetual Peace* is a work published in Königsberg in 1795, at a time when Prussia was about to settle its dispute with France over the Treaty of Ballet. In this sense, it contains a general and definite hope of peace. In fact, in the perpetual peace project, there is no mention of *utilitarian* advice for *workarounds*, but rather the commandments of the mind for all people and for all situations. It mentions the articles of the categorical forms of the laws.²³ Seeking a permanent solution to the problem of asylum and hospitality, Kant invited state leaders to consider the philosophers' proposals for perpetual peace, while commenting that world citizenship was a quest for an ideal. When he saw war, arms, armies, and politics in the initial conditions of asylum, he proposed not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, to provoke citizens against their own states, to disarm, to gradually abolish regular armies, to borrow for arms production, and to erase borders in order to establish friendly neighborhood relations and to ensure perpetual peace.²⁴ In his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, Kant calls the term hospitality "not a matter of charity²⁵, but a question of rights."²⁶ The third article, titled "Perpetual Peace", which is often left uninterpreted, is in fact the phenomenon that Kant himself defines with a definitive term, *Weltbürgerrecht*.²⁷ In this context, Kant personally mentions the strangeness of the way the term "hospitality" is expressed and therefore states that "this is not a matter of charity but a question of rights". In other words, hospitality should not be understood as a virtue of friendship or closeness, such as the kindness or generosity that a person can show to people who come to their country or who have become dependent on the benevolent behavior of a person in accordance with nature and circumstances or historical circumstances; Hospitality is a "right" of all people, as long as we see them as potential participants of the world's republic.²⁸ This right is too important to be left to the arbitrariness and relativity of the ethical situation, according to Kant.

Thus, hospitality can be explained by a "sense of benevolence, philanthropy or compassion" that a person will show to people who come to their country from outside or who have become dependent on them due to historical-social

²³ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 482.

²⁴ Kant, Immanuel, *Ebedi Barış Üzerine Felsefi Deneme*, Transl. Y. Abadan, S. Meray, Ankara Üniversitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yay. Ankara 1960, 9-15; Işıklı, Şevki, "İlticanın Yapısökümcü Felsefesi: Konuksevermezlik Sorunu", p. 56; Teson, Fernando R. "The Kantian Theory of International Law", *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. XCII, 1992, p. 56.

²⁵ For an analysis of the concept of philanthropy, see: Alam Choudhury, Masudul, "İnsan Potansiyeli, Saadet ve Hayırseverlik: Felsefi-Ekonomik Bir Araştırma", *İslam İktisadını Yeniden Düşünmek*, 2014, p. 181-222; Adıgüzel, Adnan, "İnsanlık Onurunu Koruma ve Kırmada Arasında Hayırseverlik Anlayışı", *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2014, Volume: I, Issue: 1, p. 56-77.

²⁶ Duva, Özlem, "Evrensel Konukseverlik ve Haklara Sahip Olma Hakkı", *Birinci Uluslararası Felsefe Kongresi*, 14-16 Ekim Bursa. 2010, p. 515.

²⁷ The expression in German text: "Das Weltbürgerrecht soll auf Bedingungen der allgemeinen Hospitalität eingeschränkt sein."

²⁸ Benhabib, Seyla, *Ötekilerin Hakları Yabancılar, Yerliler, Vatandaşlar*, Transl. Berna Akkıyal, İletişim Yay. İstanbul 2016, p. 36-37.

conditions. it will become an existential issue that requires an obligation to people who are considered potential members of the world citizenship.²⁹ The basis of hospitality established without any conditions other than one's own existence and being human are fundamental rights arising from the idea of world citizenship.³⁰ In Kant's words: "Hospitality (*Wirtbarkheit*) means the right of a foreigner who comes to a person's country not to be treated as an enemy. A native of a country may not accept the foreigner into his country unless it leads to the extinction of the foreigner; however, it is also possible that the foreigner will not approach him in a hostile manner as long as he acquires his place peacefully. In this case, the right to be a permanent visitor (*Gastrecht*) is not the right that the foreigner person can claim. A special *usefulness* agreement may be required to grant a foreigner the right to naturalization in a certain time segment. This is only a temporary residence, the common right that all people have. Humans possess this right through their shared ownership of the Earth's surface, where they eventually accept the existence of others because they cannot be propagated forever".³¹ According to Kant, who sees the world as the basis for cosmopolitan citizenship, temporary residence in a place other than his country should always be seen as a right for all. But perhaps these expressions that will be pleasing to your ears when you first hear them should be subjected to *deconstruction*, according to the French scholar Derrida.

These statements of Kant represent a moment when he separates the right to permanent residence from the temporary one, and not only defines the right to permanent hospitality as a moral obligation but also presents it as a "usefulness agreement" that shall freely be built by the citizens themselves.³² In this way, hospitality is defined in a concrete way together with Kant's ideas and incorporated as a right that grants privileges to foreigners. In addition, the right to hospitality also provides the right to a temporary residence that cannot be denied. Kant's inclusion of the right to hospitality as a right, rather than defining it as a moral obligation, provides a *legal* basis for the elimination of inhumane treatment of people, victims of war and the stateless, which we can define as unwarranted. Here, the right to hospitality places an obligation on states that accept any foreigner to grant the right of residence to that foreigner, as well as to guarantee this obligation for cosmopolitan purposes based on the republic. In fact, it should be noted that as an extension of the human demand for freedom, Kant seeks to ensure the right to seek unification, which serves to gradually evolve humanity towards a cosmopolitan society, through fiction based on the common ownership of the world.³³ The only condition for evolving into a cosmopolitan society is objective law, not subjective morality.

²⁹ Duva, Özlem, "Evrensel Konukseverlik ve Haklara Sahip Olma Hakkı", p. 515.

³⁰ Duva, *ibid.* p. 515.

³¹ Kant, *Ebedi Barış Üzerine Felsefi Deneme*, p. 9-15.

³² Duva, *ibid.* p. 515.

³³ Duva, *ibid.* p. 515.

The formulation of the question of hospitality in an ethical and political context is made by two philosophers – Kant and Levinas – who Derrida specifically addresses by entering into their sphere of influence and showing the limitedness and limitlessness from within. The basis of the attribution of conditional hospitality to Kant in the first place is the third definite article on the 'towards the perpetual peace' in Kant's *Perpetual Peace*.³⁴ This article seeks to outline an international law, namely the law of citizens of the world, as stated above. "Cosmopolitan law should be restricted to the conditions of universal hospitality."³⁵ Here international law is restricted to the right to hospitality and hospitality is laid down in relation to a law-regulated obligation, in relation with a law and a duty. In the Kantian sense, hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy upon his arrival in another's territory. In this context, the guest is positioned as an anti-foreigner who is treated as an enemy, or an outsider who is treated as a friend or ally. Therefore, in the understanding of hospitality in question, according to Derrida, the hospitality-hostility or friend-enemy pair manifests itself.³⁶ Kant's idea of cosmopolitanism limits universal hospitality to the legal and political dimension on the basis of the regulation of the relationship between citizen and state.³⁷ The said right to hospitality was laid down through limitations and restrictions. Rather, because the cosmopolitan law presented as a condition of perpetual peace between people is restricted through hospitality laid down as a right (boundary), hospitality itself presents itself as a limitation.³⁸ In this case, a legal-political field independent of the conditions of hospitality, which have limitations and restrictions at all times, cannot be considered. According to Derrida, this strictly limiting condition (which is nothing more than the establishment of boundaries as a border, nation, state, people or political space) dictates Kant's definition of hospitality. "Hospitality, in the Kantian sense, always refers to the public nature of public space as a legal matter; it is bound by the law and the state police and controlled by them."³⁹ According to Derrida, hospitality should be left to the possibility of subjective and free morality, not to the law's objective norms that nullify morality.

³⁴ Kant, *ibid.* p. 9-15; 3. For an explanation of the article, see: Ökten, Kaan Harun, *Immanuel Kant'ın Ebedi Barış Üzerine Felsefi Deneme Adlı Eseriyle Ortaya Koyduğu Ebedi Barış Fikri ve Bu Fikrin Uluslararası İlişkiler Düşüncesinde Yarattığı Etik*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, İstanbul 2001, p. 117-126.

³⁵ Kant, *ibid.* p. 9-15.

³⁶ Gültekin, Ahmet Cüneyt, "Bağışlanan Konukseverlik ve Konuksever Bağışlama: Derrida Felsefesinde Etik (Olanaksız) ve Politika (Olanaklı) İlişkisi", *FLSF (Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi)*, 2014 Spring, Issue: 17, p. 16; Derrida, Jacques, *Bağışlama ve Kozmopolitizm*, Transl. Ali Utku, Mukadder Erkan, İstanbul, Birey Yay, 2005, p. 34.

³⁷ Hent de Vries, "Derrida and Ethics: Hospitable Thought", in *Jacques Derrida and the Humanities, A Critical Reader*, edited by Tom Cohen, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 182.

³⁸ Çotuksöken, Betül, "Kant'ta Barış Kavramı", *Barışın Felsefesi 200. Ölümlük Yılında Kant*, Ed. İonna Kuçuradi), Türkiye Felsefe Kurumu, Ankara 2006, p. 56.

³⁹ Derrida, *Bağışlama ve Kozmopolitizm*, p. 34.

However, there is another problem in Kant's hospitality, other than the related Derridian thought. Do Kant's statements already apply to people whose borders and legal status are certain, or to people whose country's borders and legal status are uncertain? It is at this point that we should look at the statements of opposition that Seyla Benhabib lodged in Kant. Benhabib is the first to show in Kant's thinking that conditions of hospitality do not apply to asylum seekers and people who wish to reside⁴⁰ because, according to Benhabib, the question of whether "asylum and refuge rights are based on our mutual humanity in one way or another in the sense that they are *mutual moral obligations*" leads to another point. Or, to ask the following question: Are these rules the legally *enforceable norms* of behavior that individuals and groups hold on to each other and in particular compel the sovereign nation state to abide by? Kant's comment does not offer clear answers, according to Benhabib. "The right to hospitality requires a moral demand, with potential legal consequences, in which the obligations of states accepting a foreigner to grant temporary residence to are secured by the cosmopolitan order based on the republican understanding. Such an order does not have a top executive law governing it. In this sense, the obligation to provide hospitality to foreigners cannot be applied; it remains the obligation that the political ruler takes upon himself or herself. The right to hospitality presents all the dilemmas of the republic-based cosmopolitan order in a minimal and concise way: How to create so-called legally binding obligations through voluntary commitments and in the absence of a very powerful sovereign power with the right to infinite enforcement?"⁴¹ It is clear here, too, that hospitality should rise upon our mutual humanity, not the sovereign power, and turn into mutual moral obligations, rather than a necessity of fairness.

Kant specifically rules out the right to acquire land, saying that the right to visit is the only right that foreigners can assert in a state that is not theirs. In contrast, according to Benhabib, Kant raised the cosmopolitan law because of the idea of progress, which was the child of the age of Enlightenment. So the right to hospitality is neither human love nor unconditional hospitality.⁴² Benhabib also states that "even if the refuge of political equality is extended in a way that protects *some*, it can never be extended to accommodate *all*", explaining the situation.⁴³ One consequence is that the debate over the rights of non-citizens is leading to a stalemate in which the current solution is already part of the problem. Accordingly, the challenges of the cosmopolitan norms that are pointed out by human rights, which reaches beyond civil rights and expands up to every individual as a moral being, in terms of authority and cohesiveness, as Arendt's analysis states, have proven that the others' right to have rights are not

⁴⁰ Benhabib, Seyla, *Ötekilerin Hakları Yabancılar, Yerliler, Vatandaşlar*, Transl. Berna Akkıyal. İletişim Yay, İstanbul 2006, p. 46.

⁴¹ Benhabib, *Ötekilerin Hakları*, p. 39.

⁴² Tunç, "Konukseverlik: Hukukta ve Hukukun Ötesinde", p. 486.

⁴³ Benhabib, *Ötekilerin Hakları Yabancılar, Yerliler, Vatandaşlar*, p. 76.

safeguarded by a law that is superior to a nation's positive law -that can manipulate the will of sovereign nations-. Another obstacle to *the right of others to have rights* and the relevant cosmopolitan norms to gain positive legal status is that national sovereignty, which is the basis of democratic legitimacy, necessarily requires boundaries.⁴⁴ As opposed to the universalist moral perspective of human rights, in Benhabib's words, "political subjects –cities, regions, states-, need to create limited communities within which they can build responsibility, participation and thinking mechanisms."⁴⁵

Arendt points out that the people to whom the concept of human rights applies are first separated from their homelands and second those who have lost the protection of a political administration. The difficult situation of stateless refugees, who carry no political status except that they are innocent people, is not because they "lack the right to live, to be free and to seek happiness, or the right to be equal before the law and to freedom of thought". On the contrary, these people are already disenfranchised precisely because they have lost their homeland, the protection of political rule, and therefore their political status. In other words, the reason these people, who are no longer members of any community, are in bad conditions is not because they are "not equal to the law, but because there is no law for them."⁴⁶ To the extent that they are deprived of their civic rights, they are also excluded from the law. These people do not owe their existence to rights in the states they seek refuge in, but to the mercy of the people they are strangers to because there is no law that obliges any nation to feed these people. Therefore, for Arendt, the idea of human rights, separated from civic rights, may apply to people who have been stripped of their right to be citizens, to belong to a place, and to be a member of a political community.⁴⁷ The paradox emerges exactly at this point: The one who is a symbol of human rights in his own person, the refugee, actually refers to a deep-rooted crisis in the concept itself because a vagrant refugee is a human being who has no qualifications other than to be a human being and who has no laws for himself, that is, who is out of legal space. *What is called Human Rights is the right of those who have no rights at all.*⁴⁸ Giorgio Agamben describes Arendt's statements as follows: "Arendt draws from the paradox of linking the fate of human rights and the fate of the nation-state: "in fact, the person, who should have embodied human rights in the most typical way –the refugee-, instead points to the radical crisis of the concept [of human rights]. (...) In the nation-state system, the so-called sacred and irrepressible rights of people are left unprotected

⁴⁴ Soysal, Özgür, "Evrenselcilik-Tikelcilik Gerilimi Işığında Ötekinin Kaderi", *Birinci Uluslararası Felsefe Kongresi*, 14-16 October, Bursa 2010, p. 499.

⁴⁵ Benhabib, *ibid.* p. 169.

⁴⁶ Kaya, Funda Gürsoy, "Hukuk Versus Politika Kısacasında İnsan Hakları", *Birinci Uluslararası Felsefe Kongresi*, 14-16 October, Bursa 2010, p. 420.

⁴⁷ Arendt, Hannah, *Totalitarizmin Kaynakları: Emperyalizm*, Transl. B. S. Şener, İletişim Yay. İstanbul 1998, p. 299-303.

⁴⁸ Kaya, Funda Gürsoy, "Hukuk Versus Politika Kısacasında İnsan Hakları", p. 420.

and lose their reality as soon as they are removed from the form of rights belonging to a citizen of a state.”⁴⁹ Therefore, it is once again understood why human rights are the right of those who do not fall under this coverage, and not public citizens. Accordingly, if refugees (and their numbers have been continuing to increase in our century, being at a point of forming an important part of humanity today) emerge as an obtrusive element for modern nation-state system, the reason is: Refugees, breaking up the ties between human and citizen and birth and nationality, put the original set-up of the modern sovereignty into crisis. By revealing the difference between birth and nation, refugees reveal the hidden self-determination of the political sphere, that is, the bare life. In this sense, the refugee is, as Arendt says, a “person of rights” in reality, that is, the first and real person whose rights have been embodied outside of the civilization set-up that has always covered up rights. But that is precisely why it is so difficult to identify refugees politically.”⁵⁰ “The concept of refugee (and the figure of life that is represented by this concept) must be separated in a precise manner from the concept of human rights, and the idea of Arendt, which puts forward that the fates of human rights and the nation-state are linked to each other to the extent that any crisis or collapse in one will definitely mean the end of the other, should be carefully analyzed. Refugees should be perceived the way they are: [Refugee] is nothing less than a boundary concept that radically draws the basic categories of nation-states, from birth-nation to human-citizen relations, to an area of suspicion and thus opens the way to presenting new categories (which has been realized later than expected) to a politics that does not consider the naked life (both in structures of state and human rights) separate and exceptional.”⁵¹ These statements also give us a clue as to how consistent the attitude towards refugees or displaced people is.

The discussion about the “other” through refugees/migrants leads us to another question: What is the philosophical possibility of talking about the “other” on a human and moral basis but not political or legal? The discussions around this problematic take us to the deep analysis of Martin Buber, Immanuel Levinas and Hans-Georg Gadamer between “I-it” and “I-you.” In these analyses, I propose to read the “he” in “I-it” as a reflection of political discourse against refugee migrants, and “you” in “I-you” as an ethical reflection. Buber lays out two styles of existence among humans: *I-You* and *I-It*. In the *I-It* style, the person is understood as an object, in which case man is formed from matter and is an object among other objects, that is, an object consisting of its external appearance, its physical attributes. Being made a physical body as a tool of use and experience by being detached from its original reality exists only as a body in space and time, not with its essence and spirit. It is like a tree that never goes beyond being an object as time, space, species and situation. In making sense of man as an object, the person

⁴⁹ Agamben, Giorgio, *Kutsal İnsan*, Transl. İsmail Türkmen, Ayrıntı Yay. İstanbul 2013, p. 152-153.

⁵⁰ Agamben, *Kutsal İnsan*, p. 158.

⁵¹ Agamben, *Kutsal İnsan*, p. 161.

or entity opposite I is thought of as something and an object. In any case, there is an *I-It* relationship when it comes to taking an objective, legal and just attitude towards a person and thinking of him as a part of the world. The *I-It* relationship is not a real relationship. Because this relationship is not a mutual relationship between I and Him. Again, this relationship is purely *instrumental*, not *purposeful*. When another person is an *it/object* to me, this means I am completely alone.⁵² The monadological character of the I-It relationship imposes a monologue-style communication on individuals that disables the phenomenon of dialogue⁵³ because the other person is not seen as a concrete and living person, but as an object that has not yet become a legal entity.

Levinas rejects Ben's conception of morality based on pure subjectivism. According to him, such morality was carried out with objective obligations. In Buber, one of the two forms of relationship, the *I-You* relationship, the other is a real asset to me. This relationship leads to true existence of I to You. It is the meeting of existence established between I and the other/refugee/migrant. The other is not an object to me. It is another whole being and I am in an existential relationship with it. One of the parties in this relationship is not the master (host), the other is not the slave/refugee/migrant. The other/refugee/migrant is an *I like me*, I recognize its own self and the other in the reality of existence. In the *I-It* relationship, the other is not a real being, but an object only. There is not a relationship but domination between I and It. The other is not the same entity as I. There is no existential meeting between them. The other/refugee/migrant is an object of observation, experience, use and assistance or grace for I. I am the owner, builder, architect, master of everything. "The man who watches on the surface of objects experiences them. It also acquires knowledge about the structure of objects through experience. It gets an experience by experiencing things relevant to them. But it is not just experiences that explain the world to man. The knowledge given by experience relates to a world formed of He/She and It. The experienced world belongs to the word pair I-It. *I-You* word pair builds the world of relationship."⁵⁴ Needless to say, this world is a world where morality is autonomous.

You's encounter with *I* is *You's blessing*, not *I's quest*. You open yourself up to me without anything being done by me. Calling him *You* is my act of existence. By its grace, I would be directly involved. I owe the meltdown in the whole existence to *You*, and it will not happen without *I*, of course. "The original word pair of *I-You* can only be possible to mention only with the whole being because of my relationship with *You*, I will be *I*. I say *You* to be *I*." Though being in a relationship with humans, I can't experience *You*. Experience takes you away from me. Even if *You* don't hear it in this self-experience, *You* are more in the relationship with it.

⁵² Buber, Martin, *I and Thou*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1958, p. 3-13.

⁵³ Ulukütük, Mehmet, "Martin Buber ve Hans Georg Gadamer'in Felsefelerinde Ben-Sen İlişkilerinin Ahlakî Açılımları", *Birey ve Toplum: Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2011, Volume: I, Issue: 1, p. 138.

⁵⁴ Buber, *I and Thou*, p. 5-6.

This is the cradle of real life, where the trick can't penetrate. This is where the creative power of man emerges, shapes the thing, gives meaning. "I can neither experience nor explain the form I face, but I can make it existential. But in the glittering glory of witnessing, I see more clearly than the clarity of the world of experience. I see neither an object among objects, nor the crop of my fantasies as a dream; only as one that exists. I relate to it in the sanctity of the original word. There is no You in experience." There is nothing experienced as an object in You if it is not You but It in experience. "So, what is experienced in You? –Nothing because we can't experience it. - Then what do we know about You? –Completely everything because we don't know anything about it other than everything."⁵⁵ The meaning given to the other depends on what reality it builds itself on.⁵⁶ Self-identification brings about the interpretation of the Other in the same direction. Relationships established by adhering to what is revealed in the reality of creation can construct meaning in the reality of existence for the object and others, while defining oneself from body, consciousness and interpersonal relationships shapes the position of the other in line with this definition.⁵⁷

The relationship between *I and You* is reciprocal, and in Buber, You affect I the way I affect it. Love is blind unless it sees the whole being. The person who sees the whole being and is forced to reject it is not dominated by hatred. The authority to say You belongs to the person. Every You can become an object, or It. Buber acknowledges that the objectivity of the "Other" is a construction of the self that takes place in the loss of the reality of existence: "The possibility that every You in our world is one It is the supreme melancholy of our destiny." So maybe every landlord may be a refugee one day. Or that those who host today were once refugees. Even though you are not an object and are not made up of objects, when mediators interfere with your relationship with I, it becomes an object among objects, losing its true qualities. I can make the object You just like it can make You an object.⁵⁸ Why not the I-It relationship but the I-You relationship? It's due to morality being a phenomenon that gains meaning with the other and differs in our perception of the other. Modern thought has designed moral behavior in the form of I-It, eliminated the dialogic relationship between humans, so to speak, abstracted the relationship between man and man from its human characteristics. This approach envisioned an objectivist, domination-based communication that created absolute distinctions among beings. Buber criticized this approach with the *I-You* relationship he conceptualized, and set a new alternative. Gadamer also found the hermeneutic tradition in accordance with the character of the platonic dialogues he had taken up in the activities of understanding and interpreting the relationship of *I-You* and used it in his own philosophical hermeneutics. Both

⁵⁵Buber, *I and Thou*, p. 9-11.

⁵⁶ Gözel, Özkan. "'Öteki Metafiziktir': Levinas'ta Varlık ve Öte/ki", *Tezkire*, Issue: 38-39, Vadi Yay. Ankara 2005, p. 56-70.

⁵⁷ Ulukütük, "Buber ve Gadamer'in Felsefelerinde Ben-Sen İlişkilerinin Ahlakî Açılımları", p. 137.

⁵⁸ Ulukütük, *ibid.* p. 138.

Buber's and Gadamer's philosophical attitudes can provide important moral implications in approaching the other. These approaches have also transformed morality beyond poor rules into a conversation based on dialogue with the other. Perhaps in the human-to-human relationship, which has reached the climax of alienation in the modern period, such approaches and conceptualizations that consider morality as a dialogue and sincerity are sorely needed.⁵⁹ The Levinasian ethic, in which difference and inexhaustibility are highlighted, is fed by a challenge to the rational conception project, in which the Western philosophical tradition ignores rebellion (infinity) and reduces it to ontology through the categories of sameness, wholeness and immanence. Accordingly, for Levinas, 'ethics' is positioned as a 'first philosophy' based on all philosophy itself, while 'someone else', which is unknowable and unconditionally welcomed (accepted), presents itself as an aporetic possibility of hospitality. "Can the Same *host* the Other by questioning itself without turning it into a theme (i.e. being)?"⁶⁰ In this respect, the transcendence of the ethical relationship with *the other* in Levinas philosophy is important in terms of the possibility of hospitality in its unconditionality and infinity. A relationship with *the other* is a relationship in which *the other* remains absolute despite the relationship and withdraws itself even as it enters the relationship. In this context, Levinas confronts the violent totality of the Western philosophical tradition as a philosophy of identity with the idea of eternity and emphasizes that it is impossible to get rid of the immanence of the *Same* (the identity of the host to itself) based on the idea of being. It is possible to get rid of the totalitarianism of the *Same* and the closure of the boundaries of home (identity) to the other in the context of hospitality by recognizing the irreducible originality (distinction) of the other that we cannot access through reciprocity or symmetry, that is, in some sense, within the circles of conditionality. This irreducibility refers to the eternity that appears in the *other's* face⁶¹ as the impossibility of escaping responsibility.⁶² For this reason, 'relationship with God' is only possible in relation

⁵⁹ Ulukütük, *ibid.* p. 138.

⁶⁰ Levinas, Emmanuel "Aşkınlık ve Yükseklik", Transl. Hakan Yücefer, Zeynep Direk, in *Sonsuz'a Tanıklık*, Ed. Zeynep Direk, Erdem Gökyaran, Metis Yay, İstanbul 2003, p. 126.

⁶¹ For Levinas, the Face is primordial to every principle, thought and understanding, that meaning itself is the meaning of all meanings. It shows itself in hospitality, greeting, friendship, love, responsibility, and fulfillment. But the Face is always the face of deprivation, misery, vulnerability and fragility in its invisible singularity. It needs attention, answers, and concern for itself. It opens up the most radical experience of life to man and grows to never close again. In the face of this growing existence, the subject is subject to eternal responsibility, and in the face of another, it begins to sleep in the bosom of the most passive passivity. Even this dependency situation is often accompanied by a torment, anguish and injury. It should be able to lift this weight of own existence and, for someone else, it should never stand back from being in charge. It's the only thing of vital importance. Volkan Çelebi, "Giriş", *Mono Kusursuz Labirent*, Levinas Özel Sayısı, Ed. Volkan Çelebi, Sonbahar, 2010, Issue: 8-9, İstanbul 2010, p. 14; Levinas, "Başka'nın İzi", Transl. Erdem Gökyaran, *Sonsuz'a Tanıklık*, Ed. Zeynep Direk, Erdem Gökyaran, İstanbul, Metis Yay, 2003, p. 129-146.

⁶² Levinas, "Aşkınlık ve Yükseklik", p. 120; See also: Levinas, "Fenomenolojiden Etîğe", Transl. Özkan Gözel, *Sonsuz'a Tanıklık*, Metis Yay. İstanbul 2003; Levinas, "Başka'nın İzi", p. 129-146; Levinas, "Özgürlük ve Buyruk", Transl. Hamdi Özyel, *Tezkire*, Issue: 38-39, Vadi Yay. Ankara 2005; Levinas,

to the other's face; apart from that, talking about the existence of God is to overlook the meaning of 'religion's religiosity'. In this sense, it is wrong to think of 'religion' as just a relationship between 'God and me'.⁶³ In a more radical sense, the mark of God is hidden in the other's face. If you want to follow in the footsteps of God, have the courage to look at the faces of those who are not part of you. If you have the courage to look them in the eye and speak, then you can be considered in the footsteps of God. It is not possible to speak of the ethical-moral existence of a man who is good to only his own citizens and religious people. Morality is exactly the kind of thing that can be attributed to people who aren't ours, Levinas says.

Derrida's aforementioned idea of unconditional hospitality takes its roots from Levinas' idea of hospitality ethics. Therefore, it would be appropriate to mention here, though briefly, Levinas' hospitality ethics by comparing him to Kant's ethics. First of all, although the hospitality law mentioned by Kant is eventually bound to a moral law in his opinion, the hospitality ethics cannot be attributed to Kant's thoughts. What radicalizes Levinas here, anyway, is that he puts the concept of hospitality at the core of his sense of morality.⁶⁴ This hospitality ethic is not, as in Kant, a sense of morality based on reason that remains within the boundaries of the subject⁶⁵ because an objective basis in a purely rational sense of ethics does not lead us to the I-You relationship. Levinas' ethics is first distinguished from Kant's ethics first in terms of its source. There is no longer a law and universality that comes from reason. In Levinas, this universality comes from someone else, not from an abstract principle (Kant's categorical commandment).⁶⁶ He thinks morality is encountering the face of someone else. There is no more submission to an abstract law here. Morality wakes up in someone else's face. Levinas tells us about the shock of encountering someone else's face. This shock is the awakening of morality. So, while Kant speaks of a universal and abstract moral law, Levinas speaks of morality that awakens from being welcomed, embraced by someone else. It takes this moral principle from an external source, rather than an internal one.⁶⁷ So in Levinas, morality is the answer in encountering this face. Nothing can be moral by will. The subject discovers its morality not through reason but through someone else. Likewise, while Kant's subject is autonomous and finite, he does not bow to any outsider, man, or God, Levinas does not share praise for that subject's autonomy. In other words, instead of an ethic suggesting Kant's autonomy of the mind, a heteronomous ethic is

"Etik ve Sonsuz", Transl. Özkan Gözel, *Sonsuz'a Tanıklık*, Metis Yay. İstanbul 2003; Levinas, Emmanuel, "Aşkınlık ve Yükseklik", Transl. Hakan Yücefer, Zeynep Direk, *Sonsuza Tanıklık*'in içinde, Ed. Zeynep Direk, Erdem Gökyaran, Metis Yay, İstanbul, 2003.

⁶³ Direk, Zeynep, *Başkalık Deneyimi: Kıta Avrupası Felsefesi Üzerine Denemeler*, Yapı Kredi Yay, İstanbul 2005, p. 204-205.

⁶⁴ Tunç, "Konukseverlik: Hukukta ve Hukukun Ötesinde", p. 487.

⁶⁵ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 487.

⁶⁶ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 487.

⁶⁷ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 487.

mentioned because the starting point of ethics is now someone else. Ethics and philosophy also pass through the acceptance of someone else with hospitality.⁶⁸ This hospitality is based not on the power of the law, but on the other's ethical reflection.

It is now time for us to return to Derrida after the point Levinas' ethic-priority philosophy has brought us to. Derrida approaches the problem with basic postulates: a) "We are not interested in humanity, but in rights"; b) "the right to world citizenship should be restricted to general hospitality."⁶⁹ While Derrida addresses the workings of hospitality on thought, in this way, on the ethical and political sphere, he first gives an introduction by saying, "We don't know what hospitality is yet."⁷⁰ This approach, which can be interpreted as a form of Derrida's thinking, is a way of showing the predicaments of the threshold, namely the limitations (conditions) and the limitlessness (unconditionality) of the threshold by standing at the threshold.⁷¹ The philosopher emphasizes the inherent contradiction in hospitality over many possible meanings of this expression, and the aporetic structure –perhaps more accurate to say structurelessness– that suggests the condition of impossibility as the condition of its possibility. This explanation is made using a vocabulary of 'invite', 'host', 'threshold', and 'hosting' in his own house while being the 'master', which are all in relation to hospitality.⁷² "Hospitality is, of course, a right, a duty, and an obligation. It is a law and the perception that sees the other as a friend. However, its condition is that the *host*, or *Wirt*, or the one who accepts or gives the right to refuge remain as the owner of the house, maintain his authority there, and thus assumes the sojourn law, or *oikonomia*, is the law of his lands (house, hotel, hospital, country, family, city, nation, language), and assume the hospitality as the principle of equivalence that marks out his space and protects his authority and the authority's legitimacy upon it, keeps this space as the area of protection and thus restricts the granted rights, while accepting this restriction, which is being limited to *being yourself in your home*, as the condition for this grant and hospitality".⁷³ Derrida's political recitation of the Aporia of hospitality/ no hospitality, in which he "tries to create art spaces that will make room for the other,"⁷⁴ turns into a follow-up to the question of "how we treat migrants and refugees."⁷⁵ According to the study, "we don't even know what

⁶⁸ Tunç, *ibid.* p. 487.

⁶⁹ Derrida, Jacques, "Konuksev(-er-/mez-)lik (Hostipitalité)", Transl. Ferda Keskin, Önay Sözer, *Pera Peras Poros: Jack Derrida ile Birlikte Disiplinlerarası Çalışma'nın içinde*, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yay, 1999, p. 3.

⁷⁰ Derrida, "Konuksev(-er-/mez-)lik (Hostipitalité)", p. 51.

⁷¹ See: Evink, Eddo, "Patočka ve Derrida: Sorumluluğun Açmazları", Transl. Ekrem Ekici, *Cogito, Derrida Özel Sayısı*, Issue: 47-48, Yapı Kredi Yay, İstanbul 2006, p. 256-269.

⁷² Derrida, *ibid.* p. 51.

⁷³ Derrida, *ibid.* p. 48.

⁷⁴ Çoban, F. "Bir giriş: Derrida'nın Hayaletlerinden Marks'ın Hayaletlerine", *SDÜ, Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Issue: 35, 2005, p. 156.

⁷⁵ Stocker, Barry, "Derrida Etiğinde Çelişki, Aşkınlık ve Öznellik", Transl. Özge Ejder, *Cogito Dergisi, Derrida Yaşamı Yeniden Düşünürken*, Issue: 47-48, 2006, p. 334- 347; Derrida, Jacques, "Şiddet ve

hospitality is.”⁷⁶ In Işıklı’s sound conclusion, it is thought that Derrida uttered this word involuntarily for the modern Western Civilization. The conditions of hospitality in Eastern societies, which are known for their hospitality, for example in Turkey, do not seem to be sufficiently focused on how the Aporia of Turkish hospitality/no hospitality is knotted/resolved. For example, regarding a language and society, which has been hosting 2 million 800 thousand refugees since 2011, the situations such as the protection from the extreme ends of both physical and metaphysical violence and exclusion of refugees, to be granted the necessary rights during this three-day residency, and the demands to be able to roam inside the house which should be handled with tolerance have not yet been sufficiently resolved.⁷⁷ For example, there has always been a question that makes the stranger on the threshold feel welcoming, perhaps the beginning of an invitation: “Who are you?” In Turkish, the question for the person outside the door, but demanding to enter, is “who is it?” The question, “who is it?”, addressed to the one outside does not contain any I-you contradiction; it is addressed to the third person, other than I and you. An unrelated third-party attempt to contact or communicate with us. He is not yet friend or foe. “Friends are obvious, enemies are obvious” in Turkish sayings. The question “who are you?” as asked by Derrida has already positioned the one on the doorstep as the opposite and the other before absolving the distinction between in and out, between I and you. The questioner seems to be asking only for the identity; but when he encounters an unrecognized stranger, he also reports that he owns “now and here”. The questioner stops “now-here ” and declares that he is the one who has the right to ask questions there. Asked about the stranger outside the door, the questioner says: “Now-here, beyond the border where you stand, sovereignty belongs to me.” The questioner has the right to ask: “Well, who are you?” The possibility of asking the question finds expression in “well.” Prior to this, the foreigner had already made a request for a permit, in an attempt to communicate and to initiate the process of identifying himself as a guest. So, it was possible to start by saying, “well.” Derrida can say, “well, who are you?”, so that his presence in his home, which is a result of an old opportunity, is actually engaged in the process of actualization.⁷⁸ These analyses and determinations of Işıklı also provide the opportunity to understand what Derrida's hospitality/no hospitality idea means in our world. This opportunity also offers important clues on how to make sense of theological, ethical, and political approaches to the foreign/other/guest/visitor/asylum seeker/refugee in our own language and world.

Metafizik”, Transl. Zeynep Direk, *Cogito, Derrida Özel Sayısı*, Issue: 47-48, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yay, 2006, p. 62- 160.

⁷⁶ Derrida, “Konuksev(-er-/mez-)lik (Hostipitalité)”, p. 51.

⁷⁷ Işıklı, “İlticanın Yapısökümcü Felsefesi: Konuksevermezlik Sorunu”, p. 61.

⁷⁸ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 62.

Ethical and Political Approaches to the Foreign/Other/Guest/Visitor/Asylum Seeker/Refugee: But Which One of These?

Before us stands another, the other, it/you, who is not of us. We need to make a decision here. What will be our attitude towards it who is not one of us, to another, to the other, to you? We must decide at this point. However, let us state beforehand that deciding what cannot be decided here can only be resolved by assuming a purely personal state of being the perpetrator at the time of the incident.⁷⁹ "Should we open the door to refugees or leave them out? In the event of an incident between the asylum seeker and the host, a mutual decision will be made; with the only decision we can get rid of this moment of indecision. The free choice that will collapse the probability amplitude here applies to someone stuck between dilemmas and multiple *aporia*. This perpetrator is the choice of someone who *can make a choice* in a situation where, as we say in our language, the boundaries are not clear. The power of appeal in the eloquent mind is not enough to overcome the dilemma caused by the absolute distinction between "I and the other" written in Derrida's words; but if it is found in the *indiscriminate* space between right and wrong, the indecision breaks in a snap; the amplitude of probability collapses into the singular state. According to Derrida, no matter how this negotiation is concluded, the whole rules cannot be drawn from an individual negotiation. However, as in psychoanalytic treatment, the cultural codes that drive the negotiation are resolved by themselves as soon as they are realized: this is achieved by a preference in favor of hospitality or inhospitableness from the *aporia* of the hospitality/no hospitality. In addition, locality relates to this solution in any case."⁸⁰ That is, the differences and specificity of our historical subjectivity... In this self-righteousness, we stand on the brink of steep hill at a point between opening our door to the refugee or not. "Accepting a refugee as a foreigner or not creates a state of antinomy and tension between two equally bossy laws: A tension that does not contain any contradiction. The tension carries hospitality at one pole and inhospitableness at the other pole. As Naas states, "The only guest worthy of being a guest is the uninvited guest".⁸¹ So unpredictable, unplanned, unable to be turned into an object of political calculations. "Refugees arise from the system of thought between hospitality and hosting in a non-antagonistic manner, even though it is about the intruder that stirs the tension. On the one hand there is an actual event such as war or exile and a real request for asylum, on the other hand there are cultural codes and political regulations of the conditions of hospitality and asylum. For Derrida, "hospitality is the basis of culture."⁸² If the cultural way of thinking did not contain a conditional conditionality in itself, there would be no question of being in favor of refugees or not. The origin of the idiosyncrasies in this phrase,

⁷⁹ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 67.

⁸⁰ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 67.

⁸¹ Naas, Michael. "'Alors, qui êtes-vous?' Jacques Derrida ve Konukseverlik Sorusu", Transl. Elis Simson, *Cogito, Derrida Özel Sayısı* içinde, Issue: 47-48, İstanbul 2006, p. 248.

⁸² Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 63.

containing both love and dislike, is available to transfer into the context of conditions, definitions and decisions, as well as fields of ethics, politics, and philosophy. For example, as it is said in Turkish, the guest is in command of the host, and he eats what he finds, not what he expects."⁸³ However, this does not mean that the guest is a passive object, but it should be understood as an indication of his own unique difference. "The guest, who is accepted without being asked for identification, in other words, the one who acquires identity with his answering the question "who are you?" with "guest" or "guest of God", is a person who turns into something that he has never been before. He is the passenger and the one who is treated as a pilgrim in his journey. He's the one who is away from home. The fact that distance is as close as two adjacent points of infinite proximity is meaningless here. Refugees are those who cross their own borders and knock on another. And boundaries also mean that living conditions inside them are different. The refugee who crosses the border with the identity of "guest of God" would also accept the divinity of the entire order inside. The guest of God is the guest of the host. When the refugee says, "guest of God" in response to the question, "who is it?", he is aware of the divinity and holiness of the host: In this case, the host is the master. And we face with a very critical situation: We are talking about a guest, a slave, who comes into possession. We are talking about a property that is securities or real estate, a possession on a property. When we combine the relationship between the property and the possession with our cultural codes of thought, the meaninglessness and the critical situation of the refugee become a little clearer: They are what we have possession on; they are properties that we own. And this possession is for a temporary period, but for the owner, it is the essential condition for to continue his earthly existence. After all, properties are the chip of life. Reciprocal conditions, when we say with the terminology of logic, are "reciprocity condition" i.e. "all and only". It is possible to be a host all and only by accepting guests. If he wants to experience possession and taste sire, he must accept the guest and offer him what he eats and drinks. If the slave of the mean master dies of starvation, who else will call him master! This is how the ethical status of guest rooms in our houses becomes apparent. Thanks to guest rooms, the person who exists even when he is not yet in the house is called a guest. Guest rooms are spaces occupied by someone who is always likely to, but has not yet come. The rarest corner or compartment of our houses, the rooms of strangers' accommodation built in this private space, is a sign of the need and expectation that we feel for a stranger within us. That's why the guest is divine. It makes you always feel its existence at home. It is the one that may come at any moment, more than just a possibility. This kind of positioning against coming at any moment corresponds to Derrida's definition, "readiness to tolerate the unexpected."⁸⁴ If hospitality is based on the exposure of the event, an unconditional opening to the

⁸³ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 63.

⁸⁴ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 63.

other before receipt of any information or acquaintance, we can never know – or we should even not know-whether the person we welcome to our home or country is a friend or an enemy, will benefit or harm us, will bring help or destruction. Hospitality, as Derrida suggests, can only be extended to the price of that risk – a risk that heads towards us, our families, our countries, even the principle of identity that allows us to define them.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the condition of hospitality is to undertake the obligation to be able to have the courage to accept someone, whoever it is, to home, and to allow the guest to pass the boundaries of the private zone even without asking its identity: A famous saying in our language begins with “Come, come, whoever you are, wanderer, worshiper, lover of leaving, it doesn't matter” but adds the condition, “Appear as you are. Be as you appear”: This is the condition of being eligible to be invited. Here, just as the beginning of hospitality is not rational, its process is impractical.⁸⁶ “Come, come, whoever you are!” and “Appear as you are. Be as you appear!” conditions do not reveal traces of bossy statements from the host to the guest, but of the ethical codes of cohabitation. Moving from the pre-acceptance that citizenship and hospitality (foreign-refugee) understanding in Turkey is carried out in the practice of duty/obligation, focusing on citizen-guest facts is an important point in making sense of the positions of subalterns-refugees.⁸⁷ In the sense of duty-based hospitality and citizenship, those who are included in both groups are expected to exhibit certain behaviors. The guest is the temporary one from the outside, whereas the citizen is the host with the national affiliation. The common denominator between the host and the guest is that they both have duties. In both cases, there are expectations and responsibilities: Not to behave more comfortably than required, not to extend the visit more than necessary, not to make unnecessary comments about the host, to settle with what is given (in a sense “the guest eats what he finds, not what he hopes”), and not to disrupt the established order, while what is expected of the citizen is to pay taxes, abide by the law, not to disrupt the public order, and fulfill military responsibilities. In Turkey, “hospitality” is among the popular images of social value with historical background. It is felt in various ways, both on legal grounds and in everyday life, that they are temporary to those who arrive, in proportion to the long stay of the arriving stranger.⁸⁸ However, it is time to re-discuss the discourse of hospitality according to new situations.

The new practices of non-governmental organizations against the new situation also show what the new discussions will be on. Questioning the existing citizenship rights in the face of subalterns-refugees and their being seen as ‘a social burden and consumers’ as an expression of the deranged aspects of the country's social state mechanisms further expand the form of questioning relationship with

⁸⁵ Naas, “‘Alors, qui êtes-vous?’ Jacques Derrida ve Konukseverlik Sorusu”, p. 246.

⁸⁶ Işıklı, ibid. p. 63.

⁸⁷ See: Kirişçi, K. *Misafirliğin Ötesine Geçerken: Türkiye'nin “Suriyeli Mülteciler” Sınarı*. Transl. S. Karaca, Brookings Enstitüsü & Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu (USAK). Ankara 2014.

⁸⁸ Altıntaş, “Davetsiz Misafirler: Türkiye'deki Mültecilerin Maduniyet Görünümleri”, p. 261.

the sovereign. Refugees, who are regarded as a social burden in long-term hospitality in this form of relationship, are supported by non-governmental organizations with a universal and diverse ideological base, apart from the legal obligations of nation-states. With these aids, which are realized at different levels through humanitarian NGOs, the 'foreignness of the guests in need of help' is exposed. Human life is perceived as sacred –that is, life that can be killed but cannot be sacrificed - in the work of humanitarian organizations (human aid activities/campaigns) and is seen as an object of help and protection in this capacity alone.⁸⁹ The lack of measures to address health, housing, employment, education, and other fundamental needs of the subalterns-refugees or attempts to address them through short-term, temporary solutions will eternalize their deprivation and being ignored as “people in need of help in all aspects and isolated from the rest of the society”⁹⁰. In addition, social responsibilities and integration process for subalterns-refugees are transferred to local governments, NGOs and the state-free society through the “friend families program”, thus becoming the state’s supervisor.⁹¹ The transfer of the rights and responsibilities of subalterns-refugees to the mechanisms of social sensitivity allows another step to be taken in making the “neediness” permanent through the state channel. Their dependence on charities and NGOs leads to the exclusion of subalterns-refugees from other segments of society, or steps taken towards a “marginalization” in the sense of “pity” in the existing social structure.⁹² They “are considered at a similar level with the local poor and receive food and clothing aids.”⁹³ Subalterns-refugees are initially seen by other people and authorities as oppressed, victimized, needy, worthy of help and “stateless” people. However, the length of their stay in Turkey, which is a country considered as a transit point to a large extent, employment of subalterns-refugees in certain professions as tea boilers, interpreters for police forces, porters, and English teachers⁹⁴, indicates the existence of “*the constituent outsider and threshold which has proven that it is possible to abide by the capital while breaking its rules but keeping on existing in this foreign world.*”^{95,96} This means that aid to refugees does not

⁸⁹ Agamben, Giorgio, *Kutsal İnsan*, Transl. İsmail Türkmen, Ayrıntı Yay. İstanbul 2013.

⁹⁰ Hazan. C. Jacob. “Geçmişten Geleceğe Zorunlu Göç: Mülteciler ve Ülke İçinde Yerinden Edilmiş Kişiler”, S. Gülfer İhlamur-Öner, N. Aslı Şirin Öner (Compl.), *Küreselleşme Çağında Göç, Kavramlar Tartışmalar* içinde İletişim Yay, İstanbul 2012, p. 183-197.

⁹¹ Baklavacıoğlu, Ö. Nurcan, *İltica Alanında Dolaylı Sınırdışı Pratiği Olarak Entegrasyon*, Çelebi, Özlem, Özçürümmez, Saime, Türkay, Şirin (Ed.). İltica, Uluslararası Göç ve Vatansızlık: Kuram, Gözlem ve Politika -Yayımlanmış seminer bildirimleri-, UNHCR (Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteci Örgütü), Ankara 2011, p. 357-373.

⁹² See: Aytan, Ali, *Empati ve Din: Türkiye’de Yardımlaşma ve Dindarlık Üzerine Psiko-sosyolojik Bir Araştırma*, İz Yay. İstanbul 2013, p. 67-71.

⁹³ Baklavacıoğlu, *İltica Alanında Dolaylı Sınırdışı Pratiği Olarak Entegrasyon*, p. 357-373.

⁹⁴ TBMM İnsan Hakları İnceleme Komisyonu, *Türkiye’de Bulunan Mülteciler, Sığınmacılar ve Yasa Dışı Göçmenlerin Sorunlarını İnceleme Raporu*, Ankara 2010.

⁹⁵ Erdoğan, Necmi, “Devleti ‘İdare Etmek’: Maduniyet ve Düzenbazlık”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, Sayı: 83, 2000, p. 8-31.

⁹⁶ Altıntaş, “Davetsiz Misafirler: Türkiye’deki Mültecilerin Maduniyet Görünümleri”, p. 261.

fall within the scope of an ethical situation in terms of being an “aid” alone. The *constituent - outsider and threshold - relationship* between us and the refugee mean the limit of being ethical or unethical.

Conclusion

Living together or cohabiting despite all differences is thought of as a political obligation and necessity, and an opportunity for cultural and social diversification, which bears economic benefits, for modern people who live cosmopolitan lives under the hegemony of a globalized world order. While the biological existence of physical intimacy is called cohabitation, the co-existence of moral subjects with common concerns of the same world is called “life”. In this sense, living together refers to the ideal life visions of those with moral concerns. Living together means that the abstract and intellectual worldview is manifested and embodies in life against those who are not themselves. It means having a degree, a stance and a claim. Because the more sound your existential and moral arbitration about your own worldview are, the more confident you are against the worldview of those who are not yours. If you have dilemmas and contradictions about yourself, you will not only be suspicious and distrustful of those who are not of you, you will even look at those who are within you as a risk or even a threat. For this reason, having a vision of living together is a matter of degree and stance.

In today's world, the maps drawn at the table, the struggles of international political interests cause people to migrate from their homeland to other lands on a large scale. Paradoxically, the modern world has created refugee/prisoner people who must migrate to other lands despite the free people of the Middle Ages who have travelled to other lands. On a global scale, there is a considerable number of vagrant people who have been forced to leave the places where they were born and grew up. The lives of these people are too important and vital to fit into the issues of demographic imbalance, economic burden, and democratic rights. The issue of living together is discussed today as living together with people who have been forced to emigrate from their homeland. But in these debates, among numerical data, technical explanations, political balances, and these people's own inner worlds are overlooked. To have a life together is not to confine people who have been forced to emigrate to your homeland in camps and to ghettoize them in the city's existence. Accordingly, Işıklı states that “when Turkey accepts refugees, it prepares a refuge for them, which provides them with their necessary needs and protects them from the rustiness and discontent of the host and from the dark danger of the past experiences of the outside: Camps. The administration and management of the refugee in the camp is stunned by the oppression of hospitality by incited hatred and caution. The refugee is not welcome unless he walks freely inside the house entered by leaving the camp. The refugee camp is like a guest room. No space outside camp means no hospitality. The meaning of refuge is built

at home inside. As long as the refugee stays in the camp, he can experience neither the hospitality nor the hosting behavior of the local community. The land of camps for refugees is the whole homeland. A refugee cannot be a refugee as long as he stays in the camp because a refugee is a person whose asylum request has been accepted with hospitality. Hospitality also includes being tolerated inside the house."⁹⁷ It is sharing what you eat, what you wear, and feeling the same grief. Political and legal balances may confine their lives to laws, their bodies to certain places, but the fact that the people of that country have such attitudes exposes the moral levels of that country.

The issue of cohabitation is discussed in today's world over East and West because the people of the East are forced to migrate from their homelands, which have been turned into hell, to the West, where they are not comfortable. In the eyes of the West, however, migrants are seen today as a demographic imbalance and economic burden, as they were yesterday. Although in their theories living with the "other" is expressed as a political obligation and necessity, and an opportunity to ensure cultural and social diversification that bears economic benefits, in practice there is no way for immigrants who do not have "sufficient economic benefits" to live in their own lands because when it comes to immigrants, what people talk about to their rulers is numbers and money, not people and life. However, having a life with people who have had to migrate from their homeland is neither a matter of economic opportunity nor a question of political balance. It is a matter of human and moral degree and stance.

Herein, I would like to finish the study with an offer. Despite the refugee/asylum seeker/migrant crisis we experience in humanitarian terms, we have evaluated three approaches centered on hospitality, philanthropy and fairness. We have discussed suggestions and analyses on which is the moral and the human. Although we expressed our intellectual position in parts and partially with brush strokes in between the lines, we could not put forward a comprehensive and relatively clear perspective. However, after such analysis and evaluations, we need to put forward a thesis/claim. In my opinion, hospitality, philanthropy and fairness are not, in fact, anti-thesis approaches and attitudes of each other. All three consist of different possibilities for moral and human stance to come to life in practice. What is in question here is not which one to adopt. It's who is going to undertake what approach. As far as I can see, there are three representatives who can do something in practice for refugees/migrants: Non-governmental organizations, the people and the state. My suggestion is that civil society adopt a welcoming approach as a requirement of universal cosmopolitanism and civic spirit, the people adopt a benevolent approach as a reflection of ethical autonomy and authenticity as a true subject, and the state adopt a righteous approach within objective legal norms. Such an approach

⁹⁷ Işıklı, *ibid.* p. 72.

strategy will enable the expansion of hospitality, the sustainability of philanthropy and will help fairness reach to an optimum sanction power. Otherwise, the state will be in danger of role confusion in philanthropy, the civil society will lose its civic spirit in justice, and the people will lose their strength and motivation in hospitality.

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The Prophet's Approach to the Issue of Migration Considering Crisis Management and the Current Value of this Approach*

Muammer BAYRAKTUTAR**

Abstract

The migration issue and movement, which occurs as a result of domestic conflicts in the Middle East, has become a current matter by turning a regional and world-wide crisis in many aspects such as human, social, economic, political, judicial, etc. First of all, solutions of the immigration depend on a crisis management that should be conducted effectively. As can be seen in the period of the prophet Mohammad, he and his companions had similar migratory problems. As an immigrant himself, the Prophet Mohammad's approaches and implications regarding migration and migration-based problems have a considerable importance which could make contributions to the current similar problems. In this paper, first, the meaning of crisis and crisis management are discussed, and then the immigration movements of the prophet Mohammad and first Islam society are addressed. Meanwhile, emphasizing on prophet Mohammad's fundamental principles in crisis management, this paper examines his perspective on migration issues and migration-based crises, his solution implications, and how he figures the problems out and makes them opportunities by showing a positive approach. This paper also assesses Prophet Mohammad's principles and practices related to migration issues in terms of their contributions to the solution current migratory problems, and thereby it makes some determinations and suggestions.

Key Words: Prophet Mohammed, Hadith/Sunnah, Immigration, Crisis, Crisis Management

Kriz Yönetimi Açısından Hz. Peygamber'in Göç Sorununa Yaklaşımı ve Güncel Değeri

Özet

* This study was presented in the 2nd International Middle East Conferences, which were held in April 28-29, 2016, in Kilis 7 Aralık University, during the session titled as "The Problem of Migration in the Context of the Conflicts in Middle East" as "The Prophet's Approach to the Issue of Migration Considering Crisis". The current text is the revised version of the presentation which includes additions. This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Kriz Yönetimi Açısından Hz. Peygamber'in Göç Sorununa Yaklaşımı ve Güncel Değeri" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Muammer BAYRAKTUTAR, "Kriz Yönetimi Açısından Hz. Peygamber'in Göç Sorununa Yaklaşımı ve Güncel Değeri", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 99-128.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Assoc. Prof. Dr., Gaziosmanpaşa University, Faculty of Theology, Hadith Studies, muammerbayraktutar@hotmail.com, (+90 356) 252 1515 -3434.

Ortadoğu'da yaşanan iç çatışmaların bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan göç dalgası ve göç sorunu insanî, toplumsal, ekonomik, siyasî, hukukî vs. yönlerden bölgesel ve küresel bir krize dönüşerek varlığını sürdüren bir mesele haline gelmiştir. Yaşanan göç sorunlarının çözümü ise, her şeyden önce başarıyla yürütülmesi gereken bir kriz yönetimine ve anlayışına bağlıdır. İslâm Peygamberi Hz. Muhammed'in (sas) yaşadığı döneme baktığımızda, kendisi ve kendisine inanan arkadaşlarının da benzer sorunlara muhatap kaldıkları görülmektedir. Bizatihi kendisi de bir Muhâcir/göçmen olan Hz. Peygamber'in, göç hâdisesine ve göçten kaynaklanan sorunlara yaklaşım tarzı ve çözümleri, günümüzde yaşanan benzer sorunların çözümüne yönelik katkılar sunabilecek bir değere ve öneme sahiptir. Bildiride öncelikle kriz ve kriz yönetiminin anlamı ve mahiyeti hakkında bilgiler verilmiş, akabinde Hz. Muhammed ve ilk İslâm toplumunun yaşadığı göçlere değinilmiştir. Bu arada Hz. Muhammed'in kriz yönetiminde gözettiği temel ilkelere vurguda bulunularak, göç sorununa ve göç sorunundan kaynaklanan krizlere nasıl baktığı, bu hususta ne tür çözümler ürettiği, sonuçta söz konusu sorunlara pozitif bir yaklaşım sergileyerek nasıl birer fırsata ve olumlu gelişmelere çevirdiği araştırılmış ve incelenmiştir. Göç sorununa ilişkin Hz. Muhammed tarafından ortaya konulan ilke ve uygulamalar, halen yaşanmakta olan güncel göç sorunlarının çözümüne sunabileceği katkılar açısından da değerlendirilmiş, konuyla ilgili bazı tespit ve önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: The Peygamber, Hadis/Sünnet, Hicret, Kriz, Kriz Yönetimi

Introduction

It is possible to take the beginning of crises in human history back to the first human. People have faced various depressions and crises in their individual, household and social lives in all periods of the history. In this respect, it is difficult to talk about an individual and society who lives without facing crisis and problems. Crises are part of life. In the world in which we live, there will be various crises in the future as there are now. Accordingly, in a world where people and societies are in question, it is inevitable to live without chaos and crises, which arise from different reasons. In this world we live in today, people and societies face with crises and depressions in political, economic, social, legal, military, humanitarian, spiritual areas and at national and international levels. A crisis may sometimes occur between two people, sometimes between communities, in other times between an individual and a society, and sometimes between societies and states. Sometimes the institutions and organizations, corporations, and states themselves can fall into crisis.

Besides those predictable, there may be crises and problems that may emerge in unforeseen and unexpected moments. Since it does not seem possible to completely prevent the outbreak of crises and live in a crisis-free world, what should be done in this case is to focus on the solution of problems and crises, and to investigate the remedies for overcoming crises with the least damage.

It is also a fact that there have been similar crises and problems in different places and times in human history. Therefore, it is possible to take advantage of the

solutions and experiences that different societies have put forward to overcome the similar problems they have faced, and to say that they can contribute to the solution of the similar problems that exist.

Today, one of the problems and crises that closely concern our country, our region and even the whole world is the migration problem that arises and is experienced as a natural result of the internal conflicts in the Middle East. The unsafe environment caused by these conflicts caused millions of residents to migrate to safer countries and regions, resulting in a severe migration wave. People are trying to hold on to life in other countries near and far with migrant and refugee status. In the meantime, thousands of migrants are known to have lost their lives on migration routes and sea waters. In this respect, the migration problem and crisis represents one of the most current and important issues to be solved.

İslâm Peygamberi Hz. Mohammad and the first Muslims were also subjected to migration in history and had to emigrate to different countries and cities. In this case, besides being an immigrant messenger, as the apostle and leader of the first Muslim community who followed Him, the approaches and remedies practiced by the Prophet and the first Muslim people to the problem and crisis of migration have an importance and value that can contribute to the solution of similar problems experienced today. Therefore, in this study, with its outlines, the solutions brought by the Prophet to the problems arising from the migration known as *hijrah* in history will be examined and the contributions it can make to today's migration problem will be addressed. In the meantime, before his approach to the problem of migration, which is ultimately a problem and a crisis, the Prophet's understanding of crisis management and the methods He applied will be presented.

I. Crisis Management and Its Nature in General

The word crisis is defined in the dictionary as "a period of difficulty, depression, collapse seen in the life of a society, an organization or individual".¹ In addition, the word "crisis" means "unusual and negative development", "undesirable and difficult situation", "the complicated stage of a business, an event", "the suddenly emerging bad and dangerous moment".² The term "crises" is also defined as follows, emphasizing its reference to a grave and dangerous situation that may lead to problems, difficulties, and deaths that may affect a group of people: "A crisis is a process of chaos and difficulties that affects all kinds of goals and interests, political, economic and socio-cultural life of a country negatively; that arises suddenly and unexpectedly; where there is time pressure to make decisions; that creates high stress; that can be taken in advance but is very

¹ TDK, *Türçe Sözlük*, Ankara 1988, II, 919.

² Hasan Tutar, *Kriz ve Stres Yönetimi*, Seçkin Yay., Ankara 2011, p. 4.

difficult to prevent; that can be turned into opportunities when managed properly; that helps to bring a worsening situation to its previous state".³

Meanwhile, the word crisis, in addition to its negative meaning, also refers to a positive situation. In the Chinese alphabet, crisis is expressed with two symbols and according to the way it is read, it contains the meanings of danger and opportunity.⁴ Therefore, it refers to both danger and opportunity together. "Danger" refers to the losses brought by the crisis, and "opportunity" means that there is a complex and inextricable problem in question, yet in any case there is a possible solution to the it.⁵ In other words, the word "weiji", which the Chinese have used for centuries to refer to the word crisis, means the avoidance of any crisis that involves danger and the exploitation of any opportunity involves.⁶ As a matter of fact, in contrast to the recent approaches that perceive crises as threats, the approach that suggests that crises may have significant opportunities is gaining more importance.⁷

Overcoming crises and solving problems depend primarily on effective and successful crisis management. Crisis management has its own principles and characteristics. A crisis management that takes these into account can reduce the impact of crises and also play an important role in translating crises into opportunities. In this respect, taking precautions against crises before they emerge is very important in crisis management. Accordingly, "it is important to take precautions before the crisis occurs as much as to take precautions during the crisis. Predicting the occurrence of crises is important in terms of mitigating the possible consequences of them. Good crisis management involves being prepared for a possible crisis, making decisions to mitigate the consequences of the crisis during the its emergence, and returning society to the pre-crisis situation after the crisis with minimal damage."⁸ Changes also present a variety of dangers and opportunities to society and institutions together. Success here depends largely on the sensitivity to these dangers and opportunities. In this case and in the process, it is important to manage risks and opportunities with foresight and different measures.⁹

³ Erdiñ Filiz, *Türk Kamu Yönetiminde Kriz Yönetimi*, Alfa Aktüel Yay., İstanbul 2007, p. 4-7.

⁴ Filiz, *Kriz Yönetimi*, p. 4 Ahmet Emre Demirci, "Örgütsel Krizlere İlişkin Algısal Farklılıklar", (part of 'Sümer, Haluk & Pernsteiner, Helmut *Kriz Yönetimi*, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yay., İstanbul 2009'), p. 96.

⁵ Osman Çelikhan, "Uluslararası Kriz Yönetimi", *Krizler ve Kriz Yönetimi*, Barış kitap, Ankara 2012, p. 5.

⁶ Abdullah İbrahim Keylânî, *İdâretu'l-ezme, mukârabetu't-turâs ve'l-âhar, Kitâbu'l-Ümme*, Issue: 131, Year: 29, Qatar 2010, p. 37.

⁷ Demirci, "Örgütsel Krizlere İlişkin Algısal Farklılıklar", p. 96.

⁸ Çelikhan, "Uluslararası Kriz Yönetimi", p. 6.

⁹ Tutar, *Kriz ve Stres Yönetimi*, p. 13.

II. The Prophet and Crisis Management

Like all prophets, the last prophet Mohammad was also sent to guide, lead, and direct people in solving a variety of religious and worldly problems that they were exposed to and were faced with. As a matter of fact, the purpose of revelation of divine religions is to ensure that people find happiness in both realms. People feel peaceful and happy only when their basic needs are met and the problems and crises that drive them to unhappiness are solved.

The sending of the Prophet as a mercy to the worlds is the most important proof that He was sent for the salvation and happiness of all mankind. Thus, when one looks at the period of the Prophet's duty as a whole, it is seen that He lived a busy life and spent every phase of His life solving the problems and crises He faced and experienced. He, in addition to the crises related to His call and proclamation, faced numerous crises in social, economic, military, legal, etc. fields and struggled to solve them and used unique methods thereof.¹⁰ Accordingly, various crises occurred during the Prophet's time in Mecca and Madinah. The Prophet and His companions managed to overcome the crises with the least damage through crisis management and the strategies He implemented. The Prophet developed plans and strategies for overcoming crises and solving problems, took precautions against possible crises, formed crisis management teams, and trained and guided them. It is possible to see examples of this in the hijrah to Abyssinia and Madinah, also in the brotherhood agreements and in the wars.¹¹ The life of the prophet is full of examples of how He successfully handled and solved the crises that His invitation and proclamation were subjected to.¹² In this respect, although crisis management is one of the modern management concepts, its principles are also present in Islamic culture. For instance, one who closely studies the Sunnah of the Prophet may reveal numerous methods and principles regarding this subject.¹³

The Prophet always tried to protect Muslims from the problems and crises that arose. Likewise, in the event of crises, He took protective measures to prevent the recurrence while trying to eliminate the negative effects of them and improve the situation. The Prophet always displayed a positive approach to solving crises and did not give the opportunity for new crises to arise from current ones. Therefore, He dealt with the problems and crises that people experienced with

¹⁰ Huseyn Huseyn Şahata, *İdâretu'l-ezmâti'l-iktisâdiyye (Mevâkif min hayâti'r-rasûl (sas), Külliyyetu't-Ticâre, Câmîatu Ezher, nd., p. 5.*

¹¹ Salim Susan, *İdâretu ve mu'âlecetu'l-ezmât fi'l-İslâm, Dâru'n-neşr li'l-câmîât, Egypt 2003, p. 75.*

¹² Mash'al Muhammad Hadari, *İdâretu'l-ezmât fi'ilmî'idâretî'l-muâsır ve inikâsâtihâ fi's-sünneti'n-nebeviyye, Mısır, nd, p. 2.*

¹³ Yahya Bilal, "Nusûs kavâ'idîyye fi's-sünneti'n-nebeviyye li-idâretî'l-ezmât", *el-İstişrâf ve't-tahtîti'l-müstakbelî fi's-sünneti'n-nebeviyye, Dubai 2011, p. 701.*

them and acted together in overcoming the crises. The Prophet did not call people to surrender to crises, did not act with the mindset that whatever happens is written in the destiny, on the contrary, he struggled against crises and took measures in advance to avoid them, prepared for them, and in the event when they occurred, he chose to solve them in the most appropriate manner and resolved them because, according to Islam, crisis management requires having the knowledge and ability to think about the laws and reasons set by Allah in the fight against crises. Based on these laws and reasons, crises should be fought without waiting for extraordinary situations, miracles and oracles to occur.¹⁴

Based on these laws and reasons, the Prophet acts as a model in crisis management, just as He does in all aspects of life. The prophet is a model and guide for humanity in dealing with crises and crisis management, as He is in every respect and field. In this sense, the verse in the Quran, which states, "There has certainly been for you in the Messenger of Allah an excellent pattern for anyone whose hope is in Allah and the Last Day and [who] remembers Allah often"¹⁵ by referring the Prophet as a model, was revealed in the middle of an atmosphere where adversary troubles and crises such as Battle of the Trench reached an extreme level, is quite remarkable at this point. The Prophet is the best example for us in making effective use of a crises and turning negative situations into positive. The basis of the Messenger's crisis management approach is belief, perseverance, trust in Allah, as well as the use of social experiences.¹⁶

The Prophet displayed a sensitive approach to people's problems and the crises they faced. By encouraging others to help those who are in difficulty and in distress, He actually called the people to resolve their crises. In one hadith, He states that "*A Muslim is a brother of another Muslim, so he should not oppress him, nor should he hand him over to an oppressor. Whoever fulfilled the needs of his brother, Allah will fulfill his needs; whoever brought his (Muslim) brother out of a discomfort, Allah will bring him out of the discomforts of the Day of Resurrection, and whoever screened a Muslim, Allah will screen him on the Day of Resurrection*".¹⁷ Moreover, in such cases,

¹⁴ Keylânî, *Idâretu'l-ezme*, p. 29.

¹⁵ al-Ahzab 33/21.

¹⁶ Keylânî, *Idâretu'l-ezme*, p. 29.

¹⁷ Bukhari, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad, *el-Câmiu's-sahîh*, ed. M. Zühayr b. Nâsir en-Nâsir, Dâru tavkî'n-necât, 2002, Mezâlim 3, İkrâh 7; Muslim, Abu al-Husayn al-Hajjaj, *Sahîhu Müslim*, ed. M. Fuâd Abdulbakî, Dâru'l-kütübî'l-ilmîyye, Beyrût 1991, Birr 58, Zikr 38; Tirmidhi, Abu Isa Muhammad, *Sünenu't-Tirmizî*, ed. Beşşâr Avvâd Ma'rûf, Dâru'l-garbi'l-islâmî, Beirut 1998, Hudud 3, Birr 19; Abu Dawud, Sulaiman bin Al-Asy'ats As-Sijistani, *Sünenu Ebî Dâvûd*, ed. Shuaib Al Arnaout, M. Kâmil Karabellî, Dâru'r-risâleti'l-âlemiyye, 2009, Edeb 46; İbn Majah, Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad, *Sünenu İbn Mâce*, Ed. Shuaib Al Arnaout et al., Dâru'r-risâleti'l-âlemiyye, 2009, Introduction 17.

the Prophet advised His companions to have empathy, saying, “None of you [truly] believes until he loves for his brother that which he loves for himself”¹⁸

There are some approaches that the Prophet followed and exhibited in crisis management. As a matter of fact, these approaches have characteristics that can contribute to the solution of today’s problems, while presenting a universal quality. It is possible to express some of these approaches as follows.

1- To Take into Account the Causes and Consequences: In overcoming all kinds of problems and crises, including the hijrah incident, the Prophet (Pbuh) showed an approach that clings to the causes. All His life, He followed a very careful and meticulous attitude, acting in a relationship of causes and consequences.¹⁹ In the words of Hamidullah, “Allah has created the universe as a realm of causes and consequences. He wished that they, even his own messengers, strive (for reasons) and make efforts like anyone else. Again, He wanted people to reason and judge according to the causes, motives, labors and efforts that play a constructive role in a certain event, not according to the ready results that have been put forth as a result of the Prophets’ efforts and struggles.”²⁰ Accordingly, in addition to praying and trusting Allah in solving the problems, the Prophet made efforts to fulfill the needs of human beings in the best way and acted in accordance with the laws that human beings are subject to in crisis management. He is a human messenger and a model. Thus, in His example, Allah teaches us how to set and plan goals, prevent crises, create crisis teams, distribute roles to everyone according to their expertise and ability, and reach the goal and target that we ultimately set.²¹

The Prophet, overcame crises and solved problems by taking the best decisions and the most accurate steps in social, political, legal, military, and other fields under the guidance of the divine revelation and became a model to Muslim societies in this sense. Meanwhile, the Prophet continued His struggle by adhering to the laws set by Allah for the whole universe. Herein, it reveals why the Prophet’s method and methodology was successful. Accordingly, the Prophet’s methods and methodology consist of respect for jihad/struggle, ijtihad, order, thought and the laws of nature set by Allah concerning the universe.²²

There are many examples of why the Prophet was involved in overcoming many difficulties and crises in his life. In this respect, even the efforts put forward

¹⁸ Bukhari, *Îmân*, 7; Muslim, *Îmân*, 71.

¹⁹ Muhammad Hamidullah, *İslâm Peygamberi*, trans. Salih Tuğ, İrfan Yay., İstanbul 1990, I, 124.

²⁰ Hamidullah, *İslâm Peygamberi*, I, 123.

²¹ Susan, *İdâretü ve mu’âlecetü’l-ezmât fi’l-İslâm*, p. 86-87.

²² Abdul Hamid Abu Sulaiman, *Müslüman Aklın Krizi*, trans. Yasemin Savur, Mahya Yay., İstanbul 2012, p. 108.

in the human plan in the case of the hijrah are the best example of His holding on to the causes. Keeping secret that He would emigrate and reveal it His close friend Abu Bakr, having prepared a ride and a guide in advance, leaving His house at night and His bed to Ali to sleep in, hiding in a cave for three days, following a route to Madinah that would make others lose their trail, etc. are a manifestation of His holding on to causes. At this point, He was not satisfied only with prayer and trust in Allah.

2- Taking Measures and Precautions: One important point of the Prophet's crisis management is that He took measures in advance and made some preparations for the possible future crises. He acted according to this principle on many issues, in various times and grounds, and prevented many social, political, economic, and military crises or managed to keep and minimize their impact at a limited level.

Thinking on crises, taking precautions and acting on plans form a very important consideration in solution processes. Accordingly, the statement "*There is no reason like precaution*"²³ attributed to the Prophet makes this case clear. This statement makes clear how important it is to think and reason in crisis management in terms of the impact and consequences of crises, preventing them before they occur, and minimizing potential losses and damages.²⁴ The Prophet's "*Tie up your camel, then put your trust in God.*"²⁵ saying also reveals the importance of taking precautions in advance for possible problems and crises. In this regard, the Prophet's policy and strategy of taking precautions provided significant benefits for him and his companions, for example, in their migration and wars, and brought about the opportunity and ground for them to overcome crises with less harm. Accordingly, closer examination of the Prophet's emigration and wars would show more clearly what measures he took and what strategies he followed in the migration process and wars. Therefore, there are numerous examples of him taking precautions and measures in advance against possible events and their negative consequences. For instance, the Prophet's agreement with the Jews as soon as he reached Madinah (Medina certificate) is a step towards taking precautions in advance for the problems and crises that may arise in the future. Again, sending troops, gathering intelligence information about the tribes in the vicinity and monitoring the movements of the Quraysh were all precautions and measures taken in advance.

3- Acting Flexibly: As Yahya Bilal stated, an important principle in crisis management is to be able to think and act flexibly. Flexibility (or elasticity) is the self of managing and controlling. The more flexible a person is in his/her way, the more he/she can control events and situations. The more the person's reactions and

²³ Ibn Majah, Züh'd 24.

²⁴ Bilal, "Nusûs kavâ'id-iyye..", p. 707.

²⁵ Tirmidhi, Kiyâme 60.

approaches are calm, balanced and in place, the more flexible the ability to approach events and situations is. The principle of flexibility is very important in creating plans for solving problems in crisis management. First, the planner has to have different alternatives for each situation, including contingencies and assumptions. Otherwise it is possible that the only plan he has made will fail, even at the outset because it is not always possible to maintain the same situation in every case. The Prophet did not insist on a single solution to the problems, and in some cases did not take an uncompromising approach because every problem has different solutions. However, some of these solutions may present difficulties in implementation, leading to the emergence of new problems or the transformation of the current problem into a larger crisis than the previous one. Therefore, if one takes advantage of mental flexibility in his/her thinking, he/she makes comparisons between various solutions in crisis management and ultimately prefers the easiest/most suitable one in solving the problem and issue. This is what the Prophet did with His ability of flexible thinking.²⁶

There are examples in the Prophet's character that He sometimes acts flexibly in his decisions and prefers the easy one. Accordingly, "as long as there was no sin, the messenger of Allah (Pbuh) preferred the easiest of the two—from the affairs of the world when left between two different options. If it were to be a sin, He would be the furthest human away from that easy work."²⁷ is an example of this fact. This hadith shows that the Prophet preferred the easy one of two options, provided that he stayed in the circle of truth and truth in worldly matters, and was flexible in this respect.

In fact, flexibility does not mean choosing the most comfortable and easiest solution, even if it is a reason to compromise principles, religious, and moral values. The purpose of flexibility is not to limit one's understanding and approach to a subject with only one right. Thus, the person, in various situations of life with his/her mental ability, sometimes holds the middle way, sometimes becomes open to change, and sometimes adopts the easiest approach.²⁸ The Treaty of Hudaibiyah is possibly the best form of this approach to see in the Prophet's life. When the Prophet made the agreement, he displayed an attitude that accepted the idolates' apparently negative demands against the Muslims as they are. The Companions, on the other hand, had a hard time accepting the Prophet's attitude and decision, and even some of them, like Omar ibn al-Khattab, reacted explicitly. However, in this incident, the Prophet's flexible attitude is a serious strategy and an important step forward which can have results in favor of Muslims for the future. As a matter of fact, it was observed in a short time that the agreement had consequences in favor

²⁶ Bilal, "Nusûs kavâ'idîyye..", p. 713.

²⁷ Bukhari, Menâkib 23; Edeb 80; Muslim, Edeb 20; Abu Dawud, Edeb 5 .

²⁸ Bilal, "Nusûs kavâ'idîyye..", p. 714 (Ahmedî, el-Murûne, p. 3-4, direct citation).

of Islam and Muslims. Therefore, the Prophet also made use of strategic elasticity in crisis management from time to time.

4- Positive Thinking and Being Optimistic: When we look at the character and sunnah of the Prophet, it is seen that he always displayed an optimistic attitude in negative and undesirable situations and crises, and did not take a pessimistic and desperate mindset and approach.

In times of crisis, the Prophet displayed an optimistic view towards the future. Rather, He reasoned about the outcome of the crises and expected and wished for the emergence of good results to arise from the crisis. It is possible to see an example of this in His journey to Taif. As a result of the difficulties He faced in Mecca, He sought an alternative venue suitable for the invitation and decided to go to Taif. However, the people of Taif showed harsher reactions and He was forced to take refuge in a vineyard, being left in a difficult situation. At that moment, Allah sent the angel of the mountains to Him and said that He could collapse the two surrounding mountains and crush them. However, the Prophet said, "I rather hope that Allah will raise from among their descendants people who will worship Allah the One, and will not ascribe partners to Him."²⁹ This shows that the Prophet did not take a pessimistic view of the attitude of the people in Taif. He never lost hope at this point, and He prayed to Allah by preserving His belief that the problem and crisis He faced would be a means of positive developments in the future. Likewise, When they took refuge in the cave of Sevrès and Abu Bakr was worried that they would be captured, the Prophet said, "Do not grieve, indeed Allah is with us",³⁰ indicating that even in those difficult moments, He did not have any negative feeling, He maintained His hope and displayed a positive approach.

Positive thinking has an active role in success in life and is part of strategic thinking. So often most of what we expect and anticipate happens because this is a reason for us to turn to our expectations. In this respect, it is a good and positive expectation that is important for such cases.³¹ Accordingly, the statement in the Quran mentioning that there is ease in every difficulty³² refers to glad tidings that there is also a salvation and a door to exit through in every time of hardship, crisis and depression. The way to make good use of this gospel depends on having a positive view and attitude in the first place. This is because taking a negative and pessimistic approach for the solution of crises does not lead to an actual solution, but to a bottleneck because crises always contain not only hardship and difficulty but also convenience and opportunities. It is possible to see these positive sides only by showing a positive thought and optimistic approach to events. This statement attributed to Abdullah ibn Mas'ud clearly refers to the case, "*Do not focus*

²⁹ Bukhari, Bed'u'l-halk 7; Muslim, Cihâd 111.

³⁰ at-Tawbah, 9/40.

³¹ Bilal, "Nusûs kavâ'idîyye..", p. 708-710.

³² al-Inshirah, 94/5-6.

*your attention on bad and negative things. That is because they are fond and ambitious towards those who think of such things (to attract them to themselves)."*³³

5- Prioritization: It is important to take priorities into account in crisis management. When the Prophet emigrated to Madinah, many problems and crises were awaiting Him and the Muslims. For this reason, the Prophet took steps and made arrangements in order to prevent the emergence of possible crises and problems and to take measures in advance, starting from the more important situation and prioritizing. In this context, the construction of the Masjid Al-Nabawi, the brotherhood between the Muhajirs and the Ansar, the first steps taken to streamline relations with the Jews within the framework of the citizenship agreement were the first steps taken. Subsequently, He turned to liquidating the political assets of the polytheists. During this process, He acted with an approach that takes priorities into account.³⁴

III. The Migrations in the Era of the Prophet Mohammad

The Prophet and the first Muslims were also subjected to emigration, and as a result they left the city where they lived and migrated to other countries and cities. In fact, the phenomenon of hijrah is the common destiny of the Prophets. According to the Quran, the prophets Noah, Lut, Abraham, Shuaib and Moses left their homes and migrated to other lands, along with those who believed in their messages.³⁵ Therefore, the last prophet Mohammad is also a messenger who shared the same fate. The hijrah incident, which the Prophet and the first Muslims were subjected to, is not only an event left in the history, but an event that needs to be considered, learned and benefited from.

There were two historical migration events that happened during the Prophet's time. The first is some of the first Muslims emigrated to Abyssinia with the guidance of the Prophet and the second is the migration of Muslims, together with the Prophet, from Mecca to Madinah. As the persecution and torture of the polytheists in Mecca increased day by day, the security of the Muslims were considered under risk. When the Prophet could no longer take precautions and find solutions for the safety problem of Muslims in the city, he suggested the following actions to them in order to keep them safe and secure: *"If you wish and if it is possible, seek refuge in Abyssinia because nobody can be persecuted in the lands of the king who rules*

³³ Abu Bakr Kharaiti, *Mekârimu'l-ahlâk*, ed. Eymen Abdulcâbir, Dâru'l-âfâki'l-arabiyye, Qairo 1419/1999, p. 138.

³⁴ Muhammad Ibrahim Ashmawy, *"Fikhu't-tahâtî li'l-mustakbel fi dav'î's-sünne ve's-sîre", el-Îstîsrâf ve't-tahâtî'l-müstakbelî fi's-sünneti'n-nebeviyye*, Dubai 2011, p. 258.

³⁵ al-Baqarah 2/50; al-A'raf 7/88; Yunus 10/73, 75-92; el-Hijr 15/65; Maryam 19/46; Taha 20/77-78; ash-Shu'ara 26/52-67, 118; al-Ankabut 29/26.

there. That is a safe and sure place, so remain there until God makes matters easier."³⁶ Thereupon, some Muslims began to migrate to Abyssinia. Therefore, the migration to Abyssinia was brought up as a solution to the torture and persecution crisis faced by Muslims. In fact, this caused a new crisis because the emigrants who migrated to Abyssinia had to live abroad by staying away from their families and tribes. There emerged difficulties and problems that this event brought together. When the Quraysh increased the dose of torture and persecution against Muslims, the Prophet thought about all the ways and methods that would protect the lives of Muslims and encouraged those who were subject to the situation to be patient and to endure. In the meantime, seeing that there was no other way left in front of Him except to avoid facing the actual practices of the Quraysh, under guidance of the revelation,³⁷ He decided that some of His companions should emigrate to a safer place.³⁸

The Prophet's suggestion of Abyssinia as the place of emigration reveals that He acted within the framework of a plan in solving this crisis. The fact that Ashame, the Najashi of Abyssinia, was a just ruler believing a heavenly religion, his knowledge of Arabic, as well as the ease of transportation and the possibility of the emigrants to relieve their financial difficulties were the most important factors in the migration to Abyssinia.³⁹ According to The Legend of Umm Salama, there were great troubles in Mecca, Muslims were persecuted, they faced various tests and calamities for their religion. The Prophet was unable to resolve these troubles of them, so He asked them to emigrate to Abyssinia. The Prophet's strategy of emigration to Abyssinia, which was presented as a solution to the crisis in Mecca that threatened Muslims, was successful and yielded positive results. The Muhajirs were able to survive in Abyssinia far from the oppression and oppression of the Quraysh and returned to Madinah after the conquest of Khyber. Apart from the migration to Abyssinia, this time the migration to Madinah began. The persecution, torture, and oppression of the Quraysh against the Muslims who were living in Mecca and the Prophet continued; they increased the pressure on the death of His wife Khadija and his uncle Abu Talib, they made plans to eliminate the Prophet. After all these negative developments, in order to find a deep-rooted solution to the crises experienced, the Prophet decided to emigrate to Madinah.⁴⁰ During his meetings with the Muslims of Medina in Aqaba, the Prophet prepared the basis of the hijrah to Madinah upon the support and invitation He received from them, thus

³⁶ Abdulmelik Ibn Hisham, *es-Sîretu'n-nebeviyye*, ed. Mustafa es-Sekâ vd., Matbaatu Mustafa el-Bâbî, 1955, I, 321; Abu Bakr Ahmad Bayhaqi, *es-Sünenu'l-kubrâ*, ed. M. Abdulkâdir Atâ, Dâru'l-kütübi'l-ilmiyye, Beirut 2003, IX, 16; Hamidullah, *İslâm Peygamberi*, I, 108.

³⁷ an-Nahl 16/41-42.

³⁸ Jamal, Siddiqa Muhammad Sulaiman, *el-Hedyu'n-nebevî fi idâreti'l-ezmâtî'l-ictimâ'iyyeti'l-âmmeh*, el-Câmiatu'l-Ürdüniyye, Ammân 2008, p. 40.

³⁹ Ahmet Önkâl, "Hicret", *DİA*, TDV Yay., Istanbul 1998, XVII, 459.

⁴⁰ Jamal, *el-Hedyu'n-nebevî*, p. 43-49.

allowing the migration of Muslims to Madinah, which He regarded as a safe place. By the verses revealed during this period, Muslims were encouraged to emigrate, and those who did not emigrate were warned.⁴¹

When the Prophet and the first Muslim community who followed Him left Mecca, they left behind all their possessions and took their faith with them alone.⁴² In this respect, "it would not be right to consider the Hijrah from Mecca to Madinah as an escape and asylum for the first Muslims of Mecca. In fact, this migration was not their ultimate goal for Muslims, but rather a prelude to more distant and greater goals."⁴³ However, in the end, the migration incident, which has different material dimensions and effects, caused the Muhajir Muslims to experience some difficulties and problems. Right at this point, the prophet took important steps and made plans for the solution of the problems and crises caused by migration. The migration incident, which was apparently a problem and a crisis, had taken its place in history as a development in favor of Islam and Muslims. In short, the historical migration event, which came to mind as a negative picture, was instrumental in experiencing important developments and successes in many respects.

IV. Some of the Prophet's Solutions to the Migration Related Problems of the Emigrants

The Muhajir Muslims, who fled their homes to Madinah and who were subsequently made guests and protectorates by the Muslims (Ansar) in Madinah, were subjected to various difficulties, especially housing. As a matter of fact, Hamidullah expresses this situation and its severity in the following words: "The Prophet faced two serious problems after migration to Madinah because he was not the only one who migrated from Mecca to Madinah. Hundreds of Meccans fled their homes for the sake of their faith and took refuge with the people of Madinah without taking anything but their clothes. The problem of these displaced people appeared very abruptly and intensely; finding a place for these people in the economic structure of the new homeland Madinah was a very difficult problem to solve. We know that in the twentieth century, refugees pose a difficult problem,

⁴¹ For example; see: al-Ankabut 29/56; an-Nisa 4/97.

⁴² Alija Izetbegović, *İslâmî Yeniden Doğuşun Sorunları*, trans. Rahman Ademi, Fide Yay., İstanbul 2010, p. 149. (This doesn't exist in the source text)

⁴³ Adem Apak, "Hz. Peygamber'in Hicret Sonrası Medîne'de Örnek Toplum Oluşturma Adımları Üzerine", *Hz. Muhammed ve Evrensel Mesajı Sempozyumu*, İslâmî İlimler Dergisi Yayınları, Ankara 2007, p. 316.

even for very powerful countries."⁴⁴ The Prophet (Pbuh), who was aware of the situation that Muslims were in, and who felt it by himself, took immediate action and measures, provided referrals and recommendations in order to solve the problems caused by the migration. It is possible to refer to some of these as follows.

1- Brotherhood between Ansar and Muhajirs: Man is a living being and his basic needs such as eating, drinking, dressing and housing must be met in order to survive. This is a vital issue for human beings. It is a natural condition that the emigrants who left all their assets in Mecca faced the problem of housing when they arrived in Madinah. If the problem could not be solved, it would be likely that both the emigrants be driven to hunger and absence, and that certain problems arise in the society. In order that such a situation does not turn into an economic and social crisis, after the construction of the Masjid Al-Nabi, the first important work that the Prophet did after His emigration to Madinah, the second important step taken was to establish a brotherhood between the Ansar and the Muhajirs in order to solve the asylum problem of the Muhajirs and to prevent possible crises and troubles.⁴⁵ Accordingly, the Quran explains this situation as *"But those who have believed and emigrated and fought in the cause of Allah and those who gave shelter and aided - it is they who are the believers, truly."*⁴⁶ In the case of Ansar, it is a Quranic virtue and a source of pride to help the emigrants. The Quran also states the following complimentary words about Ansar: *"And [also for] those who were settled in al-Madinah and [adopted] the faith before them. They love those who emigrated to them and find not any want in their breasts of what the emigrants were given but give [them] preference over themselves, even though they are in privation. And whoever is protected from the stinginess of his soul - it is those who will be the successful."*⁴⁷

The Prophet concluded a brotherhood agreement between the Muhajirs and the Muslims of Madinah, which perhaps has no other precedent in history. The brotherhood agreement was made five months after the Prophet's arrival in Madinah, and according to this agreement, 186 Muhajir families were placed with the same number of Ansar families. In addition, this situation continued for about seven years until the conquest of Khyber.⁴⁸

Each crisis brings with it a number of opportunities and gains. The brotherhood agreement that the Prophet put into practice between Ansar and

⁴⁴ Muhammad Hamidullah (1995). "Hicretten Sonra Medîne'de Hz. Peygamber'in Davranışlarındaki Hoşgörü", trans. Mustafa Aşkar, Diyanet İlmî Dergi, 1995, Volume: XXXI, Issue: 1, p. 4.

⁴⁵ Afzalur Rahman, *Sîret Ansiklopedisi*, trans. Yusuf Balcı et al., İnkılâb Yay., İstanbul 2003, I, 29.

⁴⁶ al-Anfal 8/12.

⁴⁷ al-Hashr 59/9.

⁴⁸ Saffet Sancaklı, "Fakirlik ve Zenginlik Hadisleri Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, V. V, I.1, Sivas 2001, p. 333.

Muhajir is one of the best examples of this situation. As a result of this agreement, the following positive developments took place. Muslims began to treat each other by realizing the value of altruism. They learned the importance and value of working together in a business. They understood the importance of collective work in achieving goals and targets and became aware that Muslims are brothers. They realized that they could live together with other religions on the basis of tolerance and agreement. They learned that it is necessary for rich people to look after the needs of the poor in times of hardship and crisis. They understood that there is a right to be given in goods other than zakat and learned the importance of observing the economic and social aspects of society. It was understood that the leader of the crisis had the right to distribute the goods as required by the affairs. Labor, like capital, is part of revenue and product. Provisions concerning sharecropping, partnership and renting were laid down. Property was respected. The importance of cooperation and solidarity in crises was understood. Legitimacy of the *mudaraba* agreement between capital and labor, etc. was provided.⁴⁹

2- The Encouragement for the Lands to Be Cultivated by the Emigrants For Free: When the Prophet saw that people of Ansar had sown their lands to the emigrants through *muzaraa* (agricultural partnership), He asked them to sow their lands for the purpose of establishing social balance in society and for the purpose of improving the situation of the emigrants, or to plant them for free or to keep them empty. In fact, according to one of these narrations, the companion Jabir narrated, the companions (in the age of the Prophet) used to harvest the land for one third or one fourth or half of the crop. Thereupon the Prophet said, *"whoever has a field and a land, either sow it yourself or give it as donation, and if you do not do so, keep the field (empty)."*⁵⁰

3- Allocation of the Spoils of Banu Nadir to the Muhajirs: After Banu Nadir, one of the Jewish tribes of Madinah, broke the alliance, the Prophet besieged and surrendered them. Then it was decided that they should be banished from Madinah and that their possessions should be left to the Muslims as spoils. The Prophet did not divide these spoils among the Ansar, but first among the Muhajirs, only gave shares to Sahl ibn Hunaif and Abu Dujana, who were the poorest of Ansar.⁵¹

4- Encouragement of Cooperation and Solidarity: In order to overcome and solve economic crises, the Prophet constantly gave encouraging messages towards addressing the needs of the poor and the poor. Accordingly, in a hadith, the Prophet encouraged this by saying: *"A Muslim is a brother of another Muslim, so he*

⁴⁹ Susan, *Idâretu ve mu'âlecetu'l-ezmât fi'l-İslâm*, p. 94-95.

⁵⁰ Bukhari, *Muzâraa* 18; Ibn Majah, *Ruhûn* 8. See also: Muslim, *Buyû* 95.

⁵¹ Abd al-Razzaq b. Hammam, *el-Musannef*, ed. Habîburrahmân el-A'zamî, el-Mektebu'l-islâmî, Beirut 1983: V, 358; Abu Dawud, *Harac* 23; Ahmad Ibn Yahya Baladhuri, *Futûhu'l-buldân*, Dâru'l-hilâl, Beyrût 1988, p. 29-30.

*should not oppress him, nor should he hand him over to an oppressor. Whoever fulfilled the needs of his brother, Allah will fulfill his needs; whoever brought his (Muslim) brother out of a discomfort, Allah will bring him out of the discomforts of the Day of Resurrection, and whoever screened a Muslim, Allah will screen him on the Day of Resurrection".*⁵²

In normal times and situations, Islam considers cooperation and solidarity acceptable. But in times of crisis this is a situation that needs to be fulfilled immediately because if it is delayed, people will probably be harmed.⁵³ During an expedition, when a shortage of food and mount was experienced, the Prophet ordered that the surplus be given to those in need. Accordingly, this situation is described as follows in a narration: "Whoever has more mounts should give it to the one who does not have. Whoever has too much provision should give it to the one who has no." And we thought that none of us had any surplus."⁵⁴ In another narrative, the the Prophet's words were narrated as follows: "When the Asharis finished their food in the war, and when the food of their families was scarce in Madinah, they gathered the rations with them into one cloth, then divided them equally in a cup. Therefore, I am one of Asharis, and Asharis are in my side."⁵⁵

The best example to the companions regarding helping the poor was again the Prophet Himself. Indeed, He always helped the poor and the needy, and spent everything in His power to meet their needs. So much so that He and His family would have no food left. Similarly, Moses it is said that the Prophet was like a wind blowing in giving to the poor and the needy.⁵⁶ There is no one who asked for anything from Him and returned empty-handed. Whenever a needy man came, he preferred him over Himself in food and clothing. In short, in the first place, the Prophet set an example for His companions with His words and deeds about meeting the needs of the poor, and He wanted His companions to be so.⁵⁷ Moreover, the Prophet preferred to solve other people's economic problems instead of the economic crises experienced by His relatives.⁵⁸

At the same time, when the Prophet witnessed people experiencing economic difficulties and problems, He was very hasty to find solutions to these difficult situations. Accordingly, Ibn Jarir says: "One day, when I was sitting in the Masjid with the messenger of Allah, a tribe came. Their state and appearance was awful. Each of them had a piece of shard on them, half-naked, barefoot, skin and bone, and they were in a horrific state with their swords hanging around their necks. The

⁵² Bukhari, Mezâlim 3, İkrâh 7; Muslim, Birr 58, Zikr 38; Tirmidhi, Hudûd 3, Birr 19; Abu Dawud, Edeb 46; Ibn Majah, Mukaddime 17.

⁵³ Susan, İdâretü ve mu'âlecetü'l-ezmât fi'l-İslâm, p. 75.

⁵⁴ Muslim, Lukata 4; Abu Dawud, 2009: Zekât 32.

⁵⁵ Bukhari, Şirket 1; Muslim, Fezâilu's-sahâbe 167. Asharis was a tribe living in that era.

⁵⁶ Bukhari, Bed'ü'l-vahy 1, Savm 7, Bed'ü'l-halk 6; Fezâilü'l-Kur'ân 7; Muslim, Fezâil 12.

⁵⁷ Rahman, *Sîret Ansiklopedisi*, III, 255 -257.

⁵⁸ Abu Dawud, Harâc 19; Edeb 100.

messenger of Allah was very sorry to see them in this state. His face was discolored and He went in with His mind turned upside down. Then He went outside and told Bilal to recite the adhan. After the prayer, he addressed the people and asked them to help this tribe.”⁵⁹

In this sense, for solidarity with the poor, the Prophet initially forbade the meat of sacrifice to be stored for more than three days and ordered it to be distributed.⁶⁰ In order to create a culture of solidarity and sharing in society, He encouraged people to share what they had with the poor, even if it was half a date.⁶¹

5- Ashab Al-Suffa: The Prophet allocated a place in Masjid Al-Nabawi for those who could not find refuge and the needy near the mosque, which was called Al-Suffa. As the number of emigrants increased considerably, Ansar could no longer afford to meet their needs. The number of poor, rich, married, and single people who migrated to Madinah was increasing every day. In this case, those who had difficulty finding a place of shelter were resettled in the Suffa of Masjid Al-Nabawi. Any emigrant coming to Madinah first met the Prophet, and He directed someone to look after this newly arrived Muhajir. In the event that no one could find a guest, he was temporarily accommodated in Suffa as a guest. Foreign delegations who came to the prophet and informed Him of converting to Islam and their devotion were also hosted in Suffa as guests.⁶²

As narrated in hadiths, if alms were to come to the Prophet, He would immediately send it to those who stayed in Suffa, and when a gift came to Him, He would inform them and eat it with them. He was aware of all of their conditions and followed them closely.⁶³ From time to time, the Prophet also wanted the people of Suffa to be taken to dinner by those who had food. At one time, Abu Bakr offered food to three, and the Prophet to ten people.⁶⁴ The Prophet gave more priority to meeting the needs of the immigrants and the Suffa people, in which case He preferred their needs to the needs of His family. Once, servants and slaves were brought to Madinah, whereupon Fatima was wounded and His hands blistered due to grinding flour with a hand mill. She consulted her father, the Prophet and asked

⁵⁹ Muslim, Zekât 69.

⁶⁰ Bukhari, Et'ime 27, Edâhî 16; Muslim, Edâhî 28; Tirmidhi, Edâhî 14; Abu Dawud, Edâhî 10; Nasai, Ebû Abdurrahman Ahmed b. Şu'ayb, *Sunenu'n-Nesâi (el-Muctebâ mine's-sunen)*, Ed. Abdulfettah Ebû Gudde, Mektebu'l-matbûâtî'l-islâmiyye, Haleb 1986, Edâhî 37.

⁶¹ Bukhari, Edeb 34, Zekât 1, Rikâk 49, 51, Tevhîd 36; Muslim, Zekât 66-70; Tirmidhi, Zühd 37, Kiyâmet 1; Nasai, Zekât 63-64; Ibn Majah, Mukaddime 13, Zekât 28.

⁶² Sallabi, Ali Muhammad, *Siyer-i Nebî*, trans. Sadullah Ergün et al., Ravza Yay., Istanbul 2014, I, 544-545.

⁶³ Bukhari, Rikâk 17.

⁶⁴ Bukhari, Menâkîb 25; Muslim, Eşribe 32.

for a servant by showing her hands. However, the Prophet said to his daughter, *"by Allah, I cannot give you away from them while the people of Suffa are in hunger and misery. I can't find anything to spend on them. I'll just sell them and spend their money on them."*⁶⁵ Instead of what she asked, the Prophet suggested and taught Fatima and Ali to perform some rosaries.⁶⁶

V. The Contributions of the Prophet's Solutions and Suggestions Regarding the Migrations of His Own period to the Present Day

There are some differences between the migrations that took place during the Prophet's reign and the reasons of the migrations that originated in the Middle East, especially in the present day. In the early years of Islam, Muslims had to emigrate, especially for the sake of religion and belief. However, eventually, there are similarities between the two migrations in terms of the danger of the right to life. Therefore, both are emigration and displacement by nature.

On the other hand, there are some differences between these two migration incidents in terms of the decision to migrate, the methods to be followed and the objectives. When the Prophet realized that emigration was inevitable and allowed by revelation, He ensured that Muslims would emigrate regularly and safely, made plans and took important measures in this respect. Today, the wave of migration from neighboring countries to our country and Western countries is taking place at an unexpected moment, under extraordinary circumstances, in an unprepared, imprudent, unplanned and uncontrolled manner. The masses perish on migration routes and seas before they reach the countries and territories they will migrate to, and are caught by death while fleeing from death itself in their own countries. Likewise, the masses exposed to migration are not treated as warmly today as they were yesterday and are not embraced enough. In this respect, there are similarities between the first Muslims and the masses subjected to migration today. The countries and communities that were friendly to the first Muslims and could embrace them were virtually nonexistent, if Najashi's country, Abyssinia, is excluded. The Christians and Jews, especially the polytheists, were hostile to the Muslims. For this reason, the Prophet first proposed the country of Najashi as a safe place of migration. Again, the emigration to Madinah began after meeting with the people of Madinah and taking a word from them in the negotiations of Aqaba. Today, with the exception of a few Islamic countries, including our country, other countries, especially Western countries, are not welcoming and even uncomfortable with Middle Eastern migrants and refugees. However, in order not to cause a

⁶⁵ Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, *Müsnedu'l-Îmâm Ahmed b. Hanbel*, ed. Shuaib Al Arnaout et al., Müessesetu'r-risâle, Beirut 2001, II, 202-203; Abu Dawud, Harâc 19; Edeb 100.

⁶⁶ Bukhari, Humus 5.

problem to their own countries, they provide some financial assistance to other countries, and the migrants and refugees in question are asked to stay there.

The Prophet's suggestions and practices for the solution of the migration problem have a value and quality that can contribute to the solution of similar problems today. Some of these can be expressed as follows.

1- Legal Agreements Should be Made with Immigrants: The Prophet took steps and took measures without wasting time, anticipating that it was possible that the emigration of the Muhajirs from Mecca to Madinah would lead to some problems and crises among the inhabitants of Medina. It is possible to consider the Madinah Agreement and the brotherly family practice in this context. In this case, it is understood that the Prophet predicted and acted with foresight before crises broke out. "When the Prophet came to Madinah, He brought together the Muslims of Madinah and the Arabs of Mecca under the Brotherhood of Ansar-Muhajir, as a first step to unite the Muslims under the unity of faith and to eliminate some of the tribal division in the city. However, there had to be a form of governance that included Jews. In order to realize this, the Prophet decided to issue an agreement text containing the rights and responsibilities of people believing other religions and belonging to other nationalities living in the city. This text had to establish the mutual rights and responsibilities of the entire people of Madinah, whether Muslim or not, and provide a legal basis on which all parties may agree. Otherwise it would not be possible to talk about order and security in the city."⁶⁷ This is because when a community emigrates to or takes refuge in another city or country, it can cause a number of disturbances to the inhabitants of that city or country. Similarly, the Jewish tribes living in Madinah were disturbed by the emigration of the Prophet and His companions. "The Jews, divided into three tribes under the name of Banu Qaynuqa, Banu Qurayza and Banu Nadir, controlled almost all the economic and commercial life of the site and its surroundings. Tribes of Arab origin, such as Aws and Khazraj, which migrated from Mecca, it was a development that undermined their interests when they united with Mohammad and His friends and established a new political and social structure that excluded any idea of privilege."⁶⁸ Therefore, in countries where there are migrants and refugees, including Turkey, the governments of those countries must make legal arrangements between their own citizens and migrants and asylum seekers, which the parties shall abide by.

Accordingly, the recognition of the right of citizenship to immigrants should constitute one of the important steps to be taken in this regard because citizenship in Islam can be traced back to the Constitution of Medina (623). With this

⁶⁷ Apak, "Hz. Peygamber'in Hicret Sonrası Medîne'de Örnek Toplum Oluşturma Adımları Üzerine", p. 320.

⁶⁸ Ali Bulaç, "Asr-ı Saadet'te Siyâsî Olayların Panoraması", *Bütün Yönleriyle Asr-ı Saadet'te İslâm*, Ensâr Neşriyat, İstanbul 2007, I, 305.

document, the foundations of the city-state of Medina and the new society (*ummah*) were laid, thus, the natives of Medina, their tribes and the newly emigrated (*muhajirun*) were given protection guarantees and responsibilities to each other and to the site-state of Medina.⁶⁹

In this context, the concept of transnational citizenship should also be considered regarding the communities that have taken refuge in our country and whose number exceeds millions. "Research on *transnational* communities is considered a new field in the social sciences. This concept is most concerned with immigration, ethnicity, culture, and nationalism. Being at the beginning of the 21st century, the national territory, which is one of the most important elements of the nation state, loses its importance to a certain extent. Increasing geographic mobility increases temporary, circuit or recurring migrations, economical and easy journeys, and the constant communication provided by new technologies undermine the notion that an individual belongs to a single country, a single nation. Individuals belonging to these communities form their identity without any particular geography. *Transnational* communities engage in economic, political, cultural and religious activities, and build bridges between the country in which they reside and the country to which they emigrate."⁷⁰ Indeed, this is in line with the basic approaches of Islam on the subject. "One of the general characteristics of Islam to be considered is the claim of universality that the equality standards exceed the characteristics of the tribe, nation and nation state because Islam rejects discrimination based on all racial, ethnic and hereditary criteria that form the basis of nationalism. The only measure that one person can be superior to another in Islam is the consciousness of Allah and piety."⁷¹ In this respect, the opportunities and environments in which immigrants can maintain their own existence, culture and values should be prepared, differences should be seen as a wealth, and the possibility of coexistence in theory and practice should be concrete and put into practice.

2- Solidarity Should be Made with the Migrants and the Future Should be Built Together: The Prophet laid and established the foundations of Islamic civilization with the Ansar and the Muhajirs. The first example of Ansar-Muhajir solidarity was displayed in the construction of the first Masjid/Prophet's Masjid, which has a central position in Islamic Civilization. They also defended and spread Islam together, went on expeditions together, performed jihad together, and moved together like bricks of a building. Therefore, due to the migrations experienced in the current period, Ansar countries can build the future together with the asylum seekers and migrants they have admitted to their homes and can contribute jointly

⁶⁹ Mohammed Hashim Kamali, "İslâmi Bakış Açısıyla Vatandaşlık Kavramı", trans. Ercan Eser, *Bozok Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3, 3 (2013/3), p. 134.

⁷⁰ Rasim Bayraktar, "Zorunlu Göçten Ulus-Ötesi Yurttaşlığa", *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2013/2, Vol. 12, Issue: 24, p. 120.

⁷¹ Kamali, "İslâmi Bakış Açısıyla Vatandaşlık Kavramı", p. 137.

to the development of their country in fields such as science, technology, agriculture, health, and education. Especially our country should consider on this situation meticulously.⁷²

3- Future Plans and Predictions Should be Made: The wave of migration from neighboring countries towards our country and how long the migrants will stay in our country remain uncertain. In this case, plans and predictions for the future should be made. As a matter of fact, it was stated in a presentation that migration is a normal situation and a part of life, and that in the coming years there will be a "process of adjustment", so that we may have a Christian minister or an Arabic-speaking minister, and that we should be prepared for this as a society and the state. In addition, the same presentation emphasized the need to develop integration policies in the coming period and said, "For example, we don't even know how many architects there are among the migrants from Syria". There, it was emphasized that those who can come to Turkey are relatively educated population, but even the determination of this is not fully done.⁷³ In short, future plans should be made and steps should be taken, taking into account the possibility of permanent migrants because "it is a fact that the migration had a great effect on the establishment of civilizations. The major changes that occur in the world have a close relationship with migration, that is, migration movements that take place due to compulsory reasons. Therefore, the birth of great civilizations was realized through great migratory movements and by the hand of immigrants. From there, it is possible to accept the emigration of the prophet and the Muslims from Mecca to Madinah and their subsequent activities as the first steps of building a new civilization."⁷⁴

4- The Model of Ashab Al-Suffa should be Used in Refugee Camps: It is also possible to accept Ashab Al-Suffa as the first refugee camp or guesthouse in the history of Islam. However, The Prophet not only provided shelter for the immigrants and orphans remaining in Suffe, but also turned Suffe into a center of knowledge. Those who stayed in Suffa were provided with a religious education, such as teaching the Quran. Among them, He sent teachers to preach Islam. Therefore, today's refugees and migrants should not only be satisfied with their basic needs such as housing, useful courses and programs should be arranged for

⁷² For a report on the invitation by President of the United States, Obama, to an unknown refugee scientist who has taken refuge in our country to contribute to the development of his country, see. <https://zete.com/turkiyede-mimari-proje-cizdirilen-suriyeli-bilim-insanini-obama-abdye-getirtti/> Accessed at: 09.04.2016.

⁷³ <http://www.arkitera.com/haber/25826/suriyeli-gocmenler-arasinda-kac-mimar-var-biliyor-muyuz> Accessed at: 09.04.2016.

⁷⁴ Apak, "Hz. Peygamber'in Hicret Sonrası Medîne'de Örnek Toplum Oluşturma Adımları Üzerine", p. 317.

their leisure time and education as educated individuals, education should be provided for those of educational age from primary to higher education.

In his capacity as a head of state, the Prophet also assumed the patronage and responsibility of immigrants, orphans, and guests staying in Suffa. This suggests that the state should take the lead and assume responsibility for the issue of migration and the solution of the problems of migrants, rather than the individual and society. Indeed, the Prophet himself had a close interest in both the immigrants and those who stayed in Suffa, and immediately struggled His solution as a witness to their problems and needs, and mobilized the society in cases where he could not afford.

5- Migrants and Refugees Should be Supported to Work and Earn Their Own Lives: The Prophet did not want Ansar, who were in the position to help, to be victimized and harmed, while aiding and supporting the Muhajir. The prophet did not accept the request of Ansar, who came to Him and offered that the dates should be divided between them and their migrant brothers. Upon this, Ansar offered to make the emigrants partners in their products in exchange for helping them in their own needs, and the emigrants accepted this offer.⁷⁵ Therefore, the Prophet accepted Ansar's offer, provided that they would release their properties without harming themselves and the parties would help each other and act in solidarity.⁷⁶ By the way, it is not true that the people of Suffa never worked and their needs were always provided by others. Indeed, it is stated that while the Suffa community did not perform livestock activities to provide their sustenance, but broke seeds to be used as animal feed.⁷⁷ In this respect, migrants and asylum seekers, no matter what time and ground, should always be cared for by the community, but should also make an effort to ensure their own sustenance.

However, in similar situations today, migrants should provide their livelihood and sustenance by putting forth their labor, although the asylum and the countries and people to which they emigrated to help them, they should still take care not to victimize or harm them, and the parties should act based on mutual help and solidarity.

6- The Migration Crisis Should be Approached with the Consciousness of Brotherhood and Humanity: The Prophet's first step in governing the ummah, state and authority was the establishment of the brotherhood between Muhajir and Ansar.⁷⁸ In this case, the migration to Madinah is the best example of how people who have different characteristics such as race, ethnic group, region, and etc. can come together and become a single community in the sense of brotherhood. "This

⁷⁵ Bukhari, *Muzâra'a* 5, Hibe 32, Şurût 5, Menâkibu'l-ensâr 3.

⁷⁶ Sallabi, *Siyer-i Nebî*, I, 576.

⁷⁷ Sallabi, *Siyer-i Nebî*, I, 548.

⁷⁸ Sallabi, *Siyer-i Nebî*, I, 561.

bond of brotherhood is such a bond where the whole racism of ignorance melts and together with which all the differences of origin, color and homeland are trampled. Therefore, there can be no honor other than Islam. No one is left behind, nor is he brought forward, until his piety and his divinity are taken into account.”⁷⁹ The aim of the prophet in establishing the brotherhood agreement is to ensure unity, togetherness and solidarity in society. And it can be realized to the fullest extent only through a brotherhood based on faith/belief. Thus, “the tribes and families have been replaced by the consciousness of the ummah and the nation. As a result, the members of the tribes who supported each other through the alliance of tribes (*hilf al-fudul*) during the ignorance period have now become believers who act jointly on the basis of religious brotherhood” (Apak, 2007: 318).

In order for the Islamic Society to be strong and to achieve great ideals together, they must first connect with each other through the consciousness of brotherhood. Societies that act not with jealousy and animosity towards each other, but with the spirit of solidarity and togetherness, become both happier and stronger because at the beginning of the last century, the Islamic ummah and society were separated and divided by national identities and differences. In this case, the migration wave, especially in the Middle East after about a century, causes positive developments such as the restoration and resurrection of the disintegrating ummah with a new consciousness. Accordingly, the example of Kilis province, where the largest migrant population has been living for nearly the last five years, is remarkable in that there is no serious unfavorable situation between the migrants and the local population, who are in the position of Ansar, and that they accept each other and display the will to live together. Although it is not intense as of now, in today's migration events, there are also disagreements and problems between the citizens of the countries that accept migration and the migrants for different reasons. In this case, it is essential to approach the issue on the basis of faith. In particular, it should always be considered that the population of our country and the immigrants have common beliefs and values. At the same time, we should not shy away from taking a humanitarian approach towards the migrants of different faiths.

7- Immigrants Should Live with the Ideal of Returning to Their Country: The Prophet and the Muslims migrated to Madinah for the sake of their values, and in addition to live by their own values, they adopted the basic purpose and aim of spreading them. Therefore, although the reason for the migration of the population in the Middle East is mainly for security purposes, it is still important that migrants live in the countries where they seek refuge without compromising their identity and values. It is possible to say that some Islamic values will take root in these countries and regions over time, as the hijrah to Madinah laid the groundwork for

⁷⁹ Sallabi, *Siyer-i Nebi*, I, 563.

the Islamization of Madinah and the Arabian Peninsula, and that the migrants and refugees who migrate to different countries, cities and regions will act according to their own values. The migrants also need to take a close look at the future of their homeland and look for a way to restore a safe environment and return to their home countries. They should work in this direction and form associations and organizations to defend their rights. The Prophet approached those who forced them to leave their cities through persecution and oppression with forgiveness when He conquered Mecca, did not intend to take revenge on them, and held no grudges or animosity. In this case, it is possible to say that it would be more appropriate for the masses who have to leave their countries and emigrate to display a similar prophetic approach when it comes to returning, administration and control.

Because the Prophet always focused on the future, he did not take a negative approach to perpetrators of the problems and negative events that had affected Him and Muslims in the past. For example, during the conquest of Mecca, he approached the idolaters who forced him and the Muslims to emigrate with peace. More precisely, the Prophet did not act in the solution of crises with a blaming approach. However, they were waiting for the Prophet to punish them with fear as a recompense for what they had done before. But the Prophet said to them, "now I will say unto you what my brother Joseph said: *"This day let no reproach be (cast) on you. God will forgive you and He is the Most Merciful of those who show mercy!"*⁸⁰ reciting the relevant verse.⁸¹

8- The Psychological Situation of Migrants Should be Taken into Account: It is possible to regard the phenomenon of migration, especially forced migration, as one of the major crisis situations faced by individuals and societies. People forced to migration may face serious problems in terms of economic, social and political, as well as psychological aspects. "Due to the status of an immigrant, regardless of age, gender, reason for emigration, social class, educational level and cultural background, and no matter how long his stay in the country will be, a number of changes occur in his domestic world."⁸² Accordingly, in a study it was stated that immigrants experience certain feelings such as feeling as strangers, loneliness, emptiness, longing, personality problems, rootlessness, humiliation of their mother

⁸⁰Yusuf 12/92.

⁸¹ Nasai, Abu Abd al-Rahman Ahmad, *es-Sünenu'l-kubrâ*, Ed. H. Abdulmun'im Şelebî, Müessesetu'r-risâle, Beirut 2001, X, 154: Muhammad Azraqî, *Ahbâru Mekke ve mâ câe fihâ mine'l-âsâr*, ed. Ruşdî es-Sâlih Mulhis, Dâru'l-Edülüs, Beyrût, (nd.), II, 121; Ibn Zancawayh, Abu Ahmad Hamid, *el-Emvâl*, ed. Şakir Zîb Feyyâz, Merkezu'l-Melik Faysal, es-Suûdiyye 1986, 201. For the narrative and its assessment, see: Zayla'i, Jamal al-Din Abdullah, *Tahrîcu'l-ehâdîsi ve'l-âsârî'l-vâkiati fi Tefsîri'l-Keşşâf li'z-Zemahşerî*, Dâru İbn Huzeyme, 1994, II, 178.

⁸² Cengiz Şahin, "Yurt Dışı Göçün Bireyin Psikolojik Sağlığı Üzerindeki Etkisine İlişkin Kuramsal Bir İnceleme", *Gazi Üniversitesi Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 21, Issue: 2, Ankara 2001, p. 64.

tongue and value judgments gained in their homeland, feelings of inferiority, skepticism, resentment, guilt, and prejudice.⁸³ Alienating and harming behaviors against migrants are not humanitarian and Islamic. An empathy-based attitude should be adopted in this regard. Regardless of being a migrant or not, a person have to ask what he loves for his brother in religion in order to achieve the true belief and virtue. This is a requirement of faith and religion. Accordingly, the Prophet said, "*None of you [truly] believes until he loves for his brother that which he loves for himself.*"⁸⁴

9- Islamic Countries Should Take More Initiative in Solving the Migration Problem: The Islamic world needs to regain self-confidence in order to solve the crises faced. And they should start with getting out and rid of the crisis of thought.

The Prophet solved and guided all problems, including migration, under his leadership and control. In this respect, it is a vain expectation and wish to hope that others can solve our problems in our favor. The Prophet did not leave the control of the ummah to the initiative of others. However, as Abu Suleiman stated, when the ummah's control fell into the hands of its enemies, both the society and the political leadership collapsed.⁸⁵ Today, in order to solve the problems of Muslims, including by Muslim communities, including immigration, economic, political, legal, military etc. problems, Muslim intellectuals, political actors and leaders need to come up with solutions that are unique to them, not imported, and to undertake the leadership and control of the ummah again. Today's Muslim countries do not truly dominate even in their own lands, let alone the world. They act as if they could survive with the decisions that powerful and influential countries take about them. The sovereign powers and countries' understanding of rights and remedies is a mechanism that works in their favor, but against Muslim, oppressed and weak countries and societies. They either support coups or do not regard the terrorist organizations wants as terrorist.

10- Precautions Should be Taken against the Problems Between Migrants and Citizens, and in Case of a Problem, It Should be Solved Before Growing: During the time of the Prophet, there were some problems, disagreements and tensions between the Ansar and the Muhajirs caused by the incitement of the hypocrites. As soon as the Prophet heard of such situations, He immediately intervened in these problems and crises and prevented them from growing.

Jabir narrates an event during the time of the Prophet as follows: We went on the Expedition of al-Muraysi' with the Prophet. And some of the muhajirun

⁸³ Şahin, *ibid.*, p. 64-65. Regarding this issue, see: Tuzcu, Ayla, Bademli, Kerime, "Göçün Psikososyal Boyutu", *Psikiyatride Güncel Yaklaşımlar-Current Approaches in Psychiatry* 2014; 6 (1): 56-66.

⁸⁴ Bukhari, *İmân* 13.

⁸⁵ Abu Sulaiman, *Müslüman Aklın Krizi*, p. 44.

(emigrants) also gathered and went on the expedition together with the Prophet. The Muhajirs even became more than others (Ansar) in number. One of the Muhajirs was a humorist person. This person hit someone from Ansar (as a joke). Ansari was outraged by this. So the two parties called their own tribes to help (and the fight began). The Ansari shouted: 'O people of Madinah, come forward! And the humorist Muhajir said: 'O emigrants, come for help!' The Prophet appeared on these voices and said: "What is that shouting with the cry of the people of ignorance?" And asked: "what is the matter with them (why are they shouting, like the tradition of ignorance)?" When He was informed that a Muhajir had hit someone from Ansar as a joke, the Prophet said, "Stop that cry of ignorance! Calling your family (and winning with this help) is a bad habit." Abd-Allah ibn Ubayy (the head of hypocrites) said: 'Do these people try to provoke Muhajirs against the people of Madinah? In truth, when we return to and reach Madinah, its most glorious people will certainly and for sure move the most servile people out of Madinah.' Then, Umar said about Ibn Ubayy: 'O Messenger of Allah! Don't we kill this evil?' the Prophet answered: "People should not gossip that 'Muhammad had his own friends killed!'".⁸⁶ At that time, without intervention of the Prophet, who dealt with this delicate situation skillfully and calmed both sides, this incident could have started a war between the Ansar and the Muhajir and shattered the integrity of the Muslims. Upon this incident, Muhammad (Pbuh) marched with the troops during that day and night until the morning and the next day until the sun became hotter. After that, He took a break, and as soon as the companions laid down on the ground, they fell asleep. It was wise to divert the minds of the soldiers from what had happened the previous day.⁸⁷ Therefore, the situation also applies to the present day and it is important to take measures that prevent problems from growing in similar situations.

Conclusion

Throughout history, people, societies, and states have faced different problems and crises, and in the age we live in, similar and different crises may be faced as well. Accordingly, it is always possible to predict some crises that may occur in the future. For this reason, living in a crisis-free world is almost impossible for humanity. Therefore, since crises are inevitable, what needs to be done is to take precautions against them, to produce remedies for crises and to be able to overcome them with minor losses. From this point of view, important efforts have been made for combating crises in modern times, theories have been developed and a rich literature has emerged. Although the struggle against crises is the main field of crisis management science, it has been given great importance also in Islamic thought because, like all divine religions, the basic purpose of Islam is to ensure the

⁸⁶ Bukhari, Menâkib 9.

⁸⁷ Rahman, *Sîret Ansiklopedisi*, I, 538.

happiness and salvation of humanity in both worlds. All the principles and recommendations that Islam has brought to humanity are religious, moral, social, political, legal, commercial and so on, are solutions to their problems. In this respect, Islam offers significant principles and recommendations regarding crisis management and the struggle against it. Today, people, society and states continue to exist in an environment full of various problems and crises. In this context, one of the problems and crises that closely concern our region is the migration problem and crisis arising from the internal conflicts in the Middle East. Millions of people affected by the crisis have become migrants and refugees. Therefore, there is a serious migration problem and it is waiting for a solution. In terms of the contributions it can offer for a solution to the problem, the approach and method of the Prophet regarding the problem of migration and its solution is of great importance because He and His early Muslim friends were subjected to migration and experienced the difficulties caused by the phenomenon. Therefore, the Prophet has an exemplary position on the issue of migration, as he has in all matters. In this respect, His view of the crisis and understanding of crisis management have an exemplary and universal quality. He did not take a negative approach to problems and crises, tried to overcome them with the least harm, turned crises into opportunities, took precautions and measures in advance, adopted a flexible attitude when necessary in solving problems, took priorities into consideration, and always adhered to the causes and results of events in addition to prayer and trust. In this context, the Prophet took a close interest in the problems of the immigrants and made such practices as the brotherhood agreement, the Madinah agreement, the encouragement of solidarity, and the Suffa. The suggestions and practices of the Prophet regarding the migration problem remain important even for today. According to the results and findings obtained from the aforementioned practices of the Prophet; legal agreements should be made with migrants, solidarity with migrants and building the future together should be taken into account; planning and making predictions for the future should be made; people should make use of the Suffa model in refugee camps; migrants should be given opportunities to sustain their own lives; migrants should be treated with sincerity and humanity; the consciousness of eventual return to their homelands should be given to the migrants; their psychological state should be considered; precautions should be taken against possible problems and crises between migrants and local communities and particularly, the problems should be solved before growing; and most importantly, Islamic countries should take more initiative to find a permanent solution for the migration problem caused by the conflicts in the Middle East.

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Socio-Economic Reflections of Migration: The Example of Syrian Immigrants in Gaziantep*

İbrahim ARSLAN**

Yusuf BOZGEYİK***

Erdal ALANCIOĞLU****

Abstract

Humanity has testified migrant evolvments depending on compulsory and sometimes permissive conditions throughout history. Migrant evolvments cause very important changes of structure of society. Changing of the management on the Middle East area as the final public of Arab Spring have not achieved a goal in Syria yet. As a result of this, Syria civil-war has began. Because of this war, humanity has testified as one of most important of migrant evolvments. Turkey is the preferred country by Syrian people because of the border and historical cultural relationships.

In this work, we analyze the economical and social effects of Syrian migrants, who left their country as a result of civil war, in Turkey and specially Gaziantep. According to the results of field analysis in Gaziantep, Syrian migrants have economical and social problems.

Keywords: Turkey, Syrian Migrants, Socio-Economic, Migration

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Göçün Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Yansımaları: Gaziantep'teki Suriyeli Göçmenler Örneği" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (İbrahim ARSLAN, Yusuf BOZGEYİK, Erdal ALANCIOĞLU, "Göçün Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Yansımaları: Gaziantep'teki Suriyeli Göçmenler Örneği", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 129-148.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Prof. Dr. Gaziantep University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Economics, Academic Member, arslan@gantep.edu.tr

*** Asst. Prof. Dr. Gaziantep University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Public Finance, Academic Member, ybozgeyik@gantep.edu.tr

**** Lecturer, Harran University, Bozova VHS, ealancioglu@harran.edu.tr

Göçün Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Yansımaları: Gaziantep'teki Suriyeli Göçmenler Örneği

Özet

Tarih boyunca insanlık, bazen isteğe bağlı bazen de zorunlu olarak yaşanan, göç hareketlerine tanıklık etmiştir. Bu göç hareketleri beraberinde toplumun yapısında çok önemli değişikliklerin oluşmasına sebep olmuştur. "Arap Baharı"nın son halkasını oluşturan Ortadoğu coğrafyasındaki yönetim değişiklikleri hareketleri Suriye'de hala amacına ulaşamamıştır. Bunun sonucu olarak Suriye'de bir iç savaşın başlamasını beraberinde getirmiştir. Suriye iç savaşı ile birlikte insanlık tarihi, dünyanın en büyük ve zorunlu iç ve dış göç hareketlerinden birine şahit olmaktadır. Türkiye hem sınır komşusu olması, hem de iki toplum arasında geçmişe dayalı ortak kültürel ilişkilerden dolayı Suriyeliler tarafından en çok tercih edilen ülkelerin başında yer almaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Suriye iç savaşının sonucu olarak buldukları yerleri terk etmek zorunda kalan Suriyeli göçmenlerin genelde Türkiye, özelde ise Gaziantep ilindeki toplumsal ve ekonomik yansımaları analiz edilmiştir. Gaziantep ilinde uygulanan saha araştırması sonuçlarına göre, Suriyeli göçmenlerin hem toplumsal hem de ekonomik anlamda zorluklar çektikleri görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Suriyeli Göçmenler, Sosyo-Ekonomik, Göç

1. Introduction

Throughout history, Turkey has been the last location for mass migration movements including mass refugee acts and hosted millions of migrants due to its geographical and strategic position. It acts as a bridge between the Middle Eastern and Asian countries in the east and south, which suffer from conflicts and instability, and European countries in the west, which have high wealth statuses and standards of human rights. Turkey has become a center of attraction for regular and irregular migration movements due to its recently increasing economic and political power and stable structure. As a result, the effects of migration over Turkey's economic, socio-cultural and demographic structure have been brought to the agenda in time (Directorate General of Migration Authority, 2016: 5-6).

The problem of migration is intertwined with political, economic, social, and cultural life. Moreover, these issues cause the emergence of various national and international problems. The scope of the impact of international migration, which affects more than one country, has been growing in recent years.

People who are forced to leave their countries and cannot return later due to many reasons cause certain changes in the social, economic, and social life of the host countries. These effects are generally negative, but they can be turned into opportunities with the effective policies to be applied in time.

The effects of Syrian refugees over Turkey are generally present in the social field. Certain problems occasionally occur between Syrians and local Turkish people due to language, lifestyle, and cultural differences. However, there are also significant issues including the problems in getting along with the local Turkish public and being partially excluded by the certain sections of the local public. The evidence that Syrians change the demographic structure where they are populous is regarded as the most significant and worrisome effect.

We can see a two-sided table from an economic perspective to the issue of immigration. The idea that Turkey's economy has been negatively affected through the markets with the monetary and other financial aids provided to the Syrian refugees is common among the people, but the positive effects of this process should also be considered. Despite these negative aspects, evidence indicates that Syrian people have contributed to the Turkish economy from many aspects. Syrian refugees whose number is increasing every passing day are observed to contribute to the domestic economy with their small-scale businesses. However, the fact that Syrian people accept working for a lower fee causes decreases in wages.

2. The Conceptual Fact of Migration

Although the concept of migration is as old as humanity, migration movements have occurred more often and have become more significant in the recent periods. The main elements of the phenomenon of migration are the increase in economic differences between countries and the displacement of capital. In other words, the development regarding the concept of migration has been accelerated, and the size of population has increased. The characteristics of migration, the action of changing the place of residence, have always changed throughout history when humanity has emerged. Migration took place due to obligatory reasons such as geographical issues, hunger, poverty, and climatic conditions first, but these reasons have been replaced with optional ones such as cultural, political, economic, and religious reasons, industrialization and needs in the present time. 2015: 60–61). Accordingly, it is clear that societies have faced the concept of migration throughout history, which catches the attention of researchers working in this field. Those who aim to follow this adventure of humanity have mentioned different definitions of migration and aimed to explain this process.

Migration is a global process affecting all societies in the world. Migration can be basically defined as a global act and movement of people from one place to another due to economic, social, political, and cultural reasons (Çağlayan, 2011: 85). In other words, migration is an event of geographical, social and cultural movement from one location to another and the action of returning later or

permanently staying at the new place in different periods (Yalçın, 2004: 14). People have many complicated reasons for migrating from one country or region to another country or region. The economic factor is traditionally reflected as the basic fact in literature. However, the reason for the intense migration movement from Syria includes the objective of escaping from civil war and surviving instead of suffering from economic factors.

3. Syrian Refugees in Turkey

The Al-Assad's regime turned its arms against its own people against the repressions that emerged within the framework of the democratic demands of the Arab Spring and this process turned into a civil war in Syria. The conflicts between the economic and political benefits of global and regional participants, particularly EU, USA and Russia, within the Greater Middle East Initiative has made the crisis more complicated than ever (Hughes, 2014: 522). Considering the Syrian civil war, humanity has been facing one of the greatest and compulsory internal and external migration movements in history. Turkey is the primary country that has been affected from this refugee movement from many aspects.

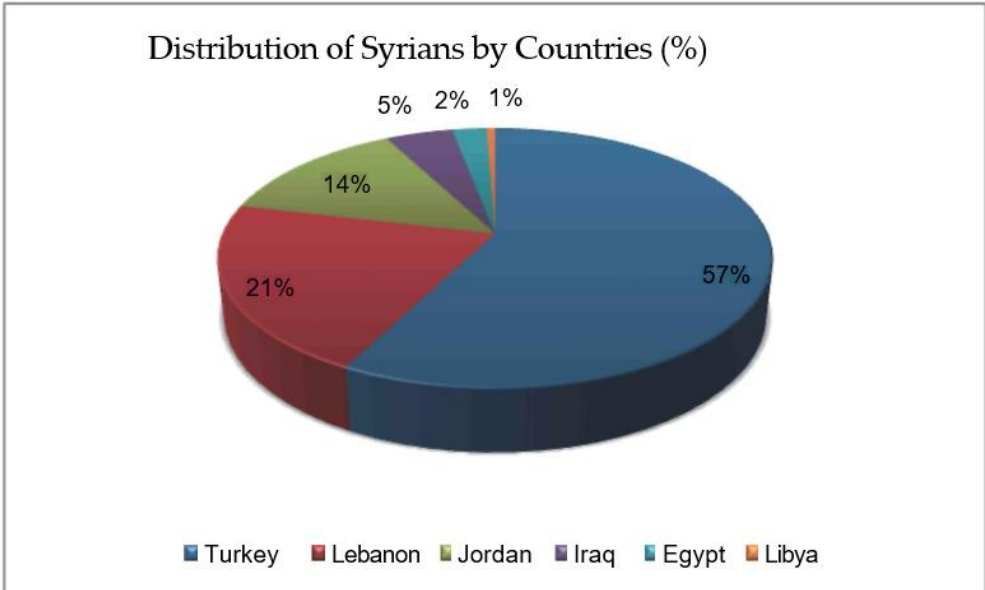
Table: 1. Distribution of Syrian Refugees by Countries

Country Name	Number of Syrian Refugees
Turkey	2,764,500
Lebanon	1,017,433
Jordan	655,833
Iraq	227,971
Egypt	115,204
Libya	29,275
Total	4,810,216

Source: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

Table 1 reflects the distribution of Syrian refugees by countries. Accordingly, Turkey appears as the country preferred by the refugees the most. Half of the total Syrian refugees in the world live in Turkey, which brings many risk factors for Turkey. However, it is possible to transform these figures into positive states in production and consumption activities with the economic and social policies to be implemented.

Graph: 1. Distribution of Syrian Refugees by Countries (%)



Source: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

Syrian people had to migrate to neighboring countries such as Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Romania and Bulgaria upon the civil war that broke out in Syria in 2011. UN figures (Table 1) indicate that 4,810,216 Syrian people had to migrate as of November 2016. The highest number of refugees (2,764,500 - 57.5% of total refugees) has come to Turkey, followed by 1,017,433 (21.1%) in Lebanon, 655,833 (13.6%) in Jordan, 227,971 (4.7%) in Iraq, 115,204 (2.49%) in Egypt and 29,275 (0.6%) in Libya.

The real figure of refugees in Turkey is claimed to be close to four million. The total population of Turkey has increased 4% with the Syrian refugees (Şahin, 2016).

Table: 2. Distribution of Syrians in the Refuge Centers in Turkey by Provinces

Provinces	Total Population of Temporary Refuge Centers
Gaziantep	112,095
Hatay	19,204

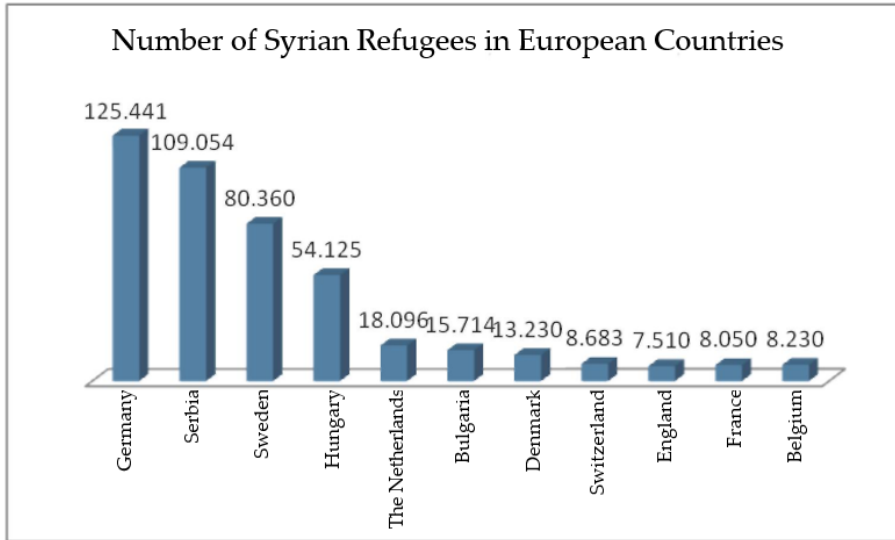
Socio-Economic Reflections of Migration

Kilis	36,944
Kahramanmaraş	18,235
Osmaniye	7,250
Adıyaman	9,406
Adana	341
Malatya	10,311
Mardin	3,939
Total Figure	256,871

Source: AFAD, <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2374/Barinma-Merkezlerinde-Son-Durum>

Graph: 2.

Number of Syrian Refugees in European Countries



Source: UNCHR

Due to the “open door policies”, Syrian people have easily taken refuge in neighboring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey in particular. However, Syrian refugees aiming to migrate to European countries have faced serious problems. These European countries only host 448,493 Syrian refugees. This figure is quite low when compared to other countries hosting Syrian refugees.

The most important reasons why Western countries have been unconcerned with such an issue of humanity include the socio-cultural and economic concerns of these Western countries.

Turkey is believed to host approximately 4 million Syrian refugees although the exact figure is not known. Almost 260,000 of Syrian refugees live in 26 refugee centers founded and managed by AFAD in ten provinces of Turkey (AFAD, 2016).

This rapid increase in the number of migrants in such a short time is believed to cause various economic and social issues for Turkey. The fact that the refugees have not spread homogeneously in all cities of Turkey but have resided mostly in the cities close to the border delay the economic and social solutions for the problems caused by this process. The possibility for migrants to return to their counties after a period of a long stay in another country is quite low, which makes the subject of migration an important topic to be examined by the academicians.

In addition to refugees' effects on labor market and economic and social lives, there is a conceptual complexity regarding the status of Syrians in Turkey. They are occasionally called refugees, asylum-seekers or guests. It should be noted that the concepts of asylum-seeker and refugee do not have the same meaning. The concepts of refuge and asylum-seeking reviewed under the category of obligatory migration reflect the cases that force people to leave their countries due to the oppression they face in their countries for different reasons. The primary purpose of refugees and asylum-seekers is to survive in an environment where there is no threat against their lives (Buz, 2004: 7). Accordingly, migration can be defined as one's action of obligatorily or optionally changing the place of residence due to various social reasons (economic, social or cultural) or private reasons. Therefore, migration indicates a social, economic, and political process determined with one's own will. The literature calls the people migrating "migrants or refugees" (Erol and Ersever, 2014: 49). Asylum-seeker means the person who must leave the country he/she lives in and expresses asylum request to another country while refugee is the one whose request of seeking asylum is accepted as per the international and internal laws after the evaluation performed by relevant government authorities. Turkey has granted the status of temporary protection to the Syrians accepted after the "open door policy" and hosted these people as "guests" until the political stability has been established in Syria, but Turkey has not sent these people back to Syria.

The regulation on temporary protection defines temporary protection as the guardianship provided to the foreign people who had to leave their country and could not return back, who reached or passed the borders of a third country for finding temporary but urgent protection during the mass influx period, and whose request of international protection cannot be personally evaluated (UNHCR, 2015: 1).

Temporary protection principles include the following (Özden, 2013: 5);

- ✓ Open door policy,
- ✓ No obligation to return (continuing hosting the refugees),
- ✓ Completion of registration by Turkish authorities and supporting the refugees within the borders of camps.

Accordingly, Syrians in Turkey can be called refugees.

3.1. Effects of Syrian Refugees over Turkey

Turkey has spent more than 12 billion US dollars for Syrian refugees, who have taken refuge in Turkey escaping from civil war, based on international standards thus far. Despite Turkey's extraordinary efforts, the international parties have only contributed 512 million US dollars for the Syrians in Turkey (AFAD, 2016). Although Western countries have expressed their sensitive approaches regarding the open door and temporary protection policies, Turkey has been voluntarily implementing, Turkey has not received necessary support from EU countries (Erdoğan, 2014: 5). Despite Turkey's extraordinary humane support for the Syrian refugees, western countries have not provided enough support.

Turkey is one of the countries that have been politically, socially, and financially affected by the refugee crisis the most. Syrians preferred Turkey for seeking asylum, which formed a new concept that is felt in various social fields such as law, external policy, security, health, education, employment, economy and culture (Koyuncu, 2014). Today, Syrian refugees have become the influencers rather than the influenced in the state in Turkey (Karaca, 2013: 72).

The rents in Turkey have been increasing, and it is becoming harder to find a house for rent. Moreover, inflation has increased in the border provinces. The number of small-scale enterprises illicitly employing people is increasing. An unfair competition emerges between the businesses illicitly employing Syrian people and those that do not employ Syrians as such (Oytun and Gündoğar, 2015: 9). As seen in all great global migration events, the biggest relevant concern among the local people is related to the labor market. With this concern in this society, an employment-related advantage emerges for businesses as refugees must work for quite low fees (Erdoğan, 2014: 16).

Syrian contributions to the labor force deficit in the border provinces positively affect the investment environment in the area. Moreover, aid materials and services for the camps outside of Turkey and migrants inside the country are supplied from the firms in Turkey, which is an advantage for the domestic economy. Syrian financial decision-makers who have commercial and investment-based relationships with Middle East countries positively affect Turkey's such financial relationships with these countries. Syrians provide significant

contributions to production and trade in Turkey with their businesses established as small and medium-sized enterprises (SME). However, as most of these businesses are illicit, their owners benefit from an unfair competition as they do not fulfill their legal liabilities such as SSI premiums, duties etc. (Oytun and Gündoğar, 2015: 9).

Migration can still yield positive financial results. International migration contributes to the labor force and sets of different skills and ideas in the hosting country. This advantage may threaten the home countries of migrants because migration means the loss of labor force for these countries (Öztürk, 2015: 7). The impacts of Syrians over the economic structure indicate a table where risks and opportunities are integrated.

It is clear from the perspective of social indicators that the main issue to be observed for refugees or faced in regard to them is essentially seen in certain requirements such as education and learning, medical care, accommodation, adaptation to urban lifestyle and cultural life (Yazıcıoğlu, 2015).

The cultural and lifestyle-based differences between the migrants and residents of a country complicates the process of ensuring adaptation between these societies. While polygamy is becoming common among the residents, the rate of divorces is increasing accordingly. Moreover, the number of workers under 18 is significantly increasing every passing day. A ground that may trigger the polarization based on ethnicity and sect is getting formed, and the rate of housing structures full of slums is increasing. There is a concern of demographical change in certain border provinces such as Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa and Kilis. With this migration wave, changes inevitably occur in the demographic structure (rate of fertility and population increase). The difficulty of Syrians' life conditions and these people's inability to benefit from educational opportunities paves the way for certain social issues such as the increase in crime rates over the long term. Despite the certain issues between the local people and Syrians, both societies have developed a braking mechanism not to distort the social peace. No serious social issues have occurred between these nations thus far, which indicates the capacity of social structure to cope with social issues (Oytun and Gündoğar, 2015: 7).

Syrians' social adaptation process has started along with certain issues in Turkey. More than 35,000 Syrian babies were born in Turkey. The issue of marrying Syrians causes reactions on one side and integrates both societies on the other side. Many investors and small-scale businesses have brought their capitals to Turkey. Majority of Syrians in Turkey consists of kids and young people. This section is becoming greater in Turkey every passing day. Many of these people in the aforementioned majority have started to learn Turkish although they cannot receive a enough education (Oytun and Gündoğar, 2015: 7). Evidences indicate that migrants

have started to gain a place in the social life, that those who have yet to find a place in society is in a serious search, and that many children and women have started to make efforts to survive by their own in Turkey (Karaca, 2015).

4. Syrian Migrants in Gaziantep

Gaziantep has gained a strategic importance as it is neighboring the Syrian border and thus hosting the people who escape from the political crisis in Syria in camps (Erdoğan 2015).

Table: 3. Syrian Refugees in Gaziantep

Temporary Refuge Center	Type of Sheltering	Total
İslahiye 1 Tent City	1,586 tents	7,379
İslahiye 2 Tent City	5,013 sections	10,312
Karkamış Tent City	1,668 tents	6,776
Nizip 1 Tent City	1,873 tents	10,135
Nizip 2 Container City	908 containers	4,544
Total Figure	11,048 (tents/sections/containers)	39,146

Source: AFAD, <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2374/Barinma-Merkezlerinde-Son-Durum>

There are approximately 40,000 Syrian refugees in five different refuge centers in Gaziantep. This figure is believed to reach 325,000 with those living outside the refuge centers. The address-based population of Gaziantep was 1,931,836 in 2015. Number of Syrian refugees in Gaziantep has increased the population of the city by 16.82%.

Gaziantep was selected for this study as it is one of the cities intensively hosting Syrian refugees and experiencing social and economic effects in this regard.

4.1. Objective and Scope

This study aims to determine the social and economic statuses of the Syrian people living in Gaziantep and to reveal their issues and expectations regarding the current places they live in. The scope and borders of this study are formed by the Syrian people solely living in Gaziantep.

4. 2. Methodology

4.2.1 Sampling Process

Since the total number of Syrian refugees living in Gaziantep is 325,000, the number of people to be questioned was determined using the simple random sampling method (Yazıcıoğlu and Erdoğan, 2014). Considering the data regarding the Syrian population of the city, sample size was calculated as 385 people.

Questionnaire and observation methods were used based on the field research. Efforts were made to reach the sample group by visiting the workplaces where Syrian migrants work and neighborhoods where they densely live. The questionnaire forms were administered to the refugees face-to-face, and observations were performed to analyze the living areas and sociocultural relationships of the refugees.

4.2.2 Data Collection Method and Instrument

The data were collected using the questionnaire method. Questionnaires were administered through face-to-face interviews. There are three groups of questions in the questionnaire form. The first group includes the demographic characteristics of participants while the second group reflects the perceptions regarding the financial statuses of migrants and third group has questions related to migrants' socio-cultural statuses.

4.3. Findings

Demographic, economic, socio-cultural and social data regarding the Syrian migrants in Gaziantep were collected, and analyses were conducted accordingly after the questionnaire activity.

4.3.1. Demographic Characteristics

Table: 4. Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

		Frequency	Percentage			Frequency	Percentage
Age	12-20	17	4.3	Education	Illiterate	159	41.4
	21-30	110	28.6		Literate	33	8.6
	31-40	83	21.4		Elementary School	44	11.4
	41-50	93	24.3		Secondary School	23	5.7

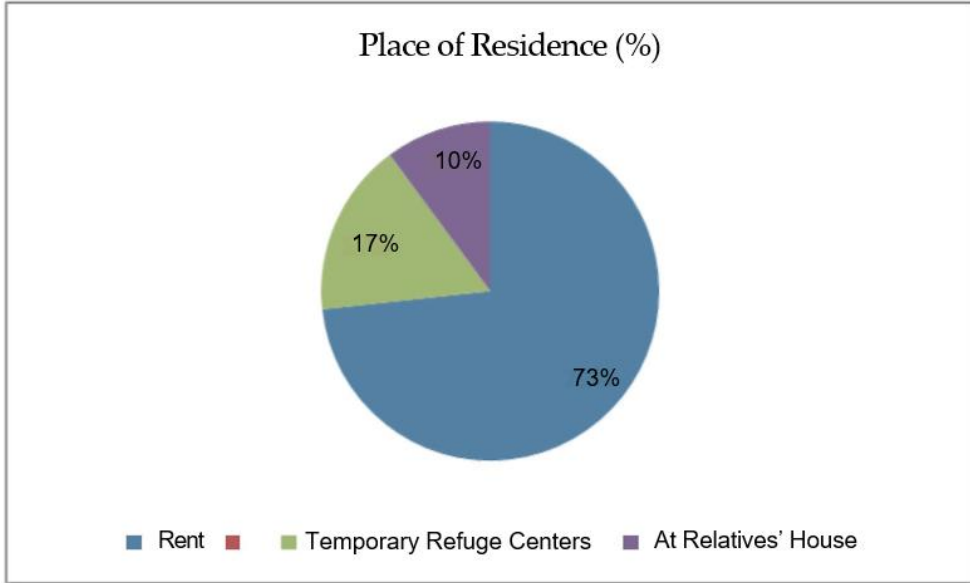
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	51 and over	82	21.4		High School	80	21.4
	Total	385	100.0		University	46	11.4
Occupation	Other (Sick, too old, unable to work etc.)	140	36.36	Gender	Total	385	100.0
	Worker	77	20		Female	178	45.7
	Unemployed	100	25.9		Male	207	54.3
	Student	41	10.65		Total	70	100.0
	Shopkeeper	21	5.45	Income (TL)	250-500	84	21.8
	Civil servant	6	1.55		501-750	264	68.6
	Total	385	100.0		751-1000	22	5.7
					1000 and over	15	3.9
					Total	385	100.0

Of the participants, 46% were female while 54% were male. Table 4 indicates that there were participants of every age groups, but most participants were over 20. Women's mean age was 32.4 while men's was 35.7. The data in the table indicates that mean ages of women and men were close.

Research group displayed differences based on participants' educational statuses, which indicate that the rate of illiterate migrants was 41.4%, and of the illiterate migrants, 34.4% were female while 47.4% were male. Of the participants, 21.4% were high school graduates while 11.4% had a bachelor's degree. The rate of women who were high school and university graduates was higher than that of men. The educational profile of Syrian migrants in Gaziantep was quite low.

Graph: 3. Demographic Characteristics Regarding the Participants of the Questionnaire (Place of Residence in Gaziantep)



Of the participants of the questionnaire, 73.2% resided in rented houses while 16.6% lived in temporary refuge centers and 10.1% lived with their relatives. The high rate of those living in rented houses affected the property market. Syrians who had better financial statuses than the others preferred renting houses for sheltering, which is regarded positively by the property market. (Kırmızıtaş and Burun, 2014).

4.3.2. Economic Results

Table: 5. Professional Distributions of Participants

Profession	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Other (Sick, too old, unable to work etc.)	100	56.1	40	19.32	140	36.36
Worker	16	9	61	29.46	77	20
Unemployed	40	22.4	60	29	100	25.9
Student	22	12.3	19	9.17	41	10.65
Shopkeeper	0	0.0	21	10.14	21	5.45

Socio-Economic Reflections of Migration

Civil servant	0	0.0	6	2.9	6	1.55
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

The distribution of participants by their professions in Gaziantep indicates that the rate of unemployed was 25.9%. Men's unemployment rate was 29% while women's was 22.4%. Of the participants, 36.3% constituted the other groups (sick, quite old or unable to work etc.). Women's rate was 56.1% while men's was 19.32% among them. The rate of those working as workers was 20%. The rate of female workers was 9% while this rate was 29.46% for males. It is clear that males could find more jobs than females. The rates reflecting the status of participants as students indicate that males and females were quite close to one another. The rate of males was 9.17% while this rate was 12.3% for females. Evidences showed that only a few of the participants were shopkeepers. Only males worked as shopkeepers, and their rate was 5.45%.

The monthly income of the participants indicated that only approximately 4% of the participants earned 1000 TL or more. Of the participants, 5.7% had an income between 751–1000 TL while 21.8% earned 250–500 TL and 68.6% earned 501–750 TL. Results indicate that the rate of employed people is quite low, and their wages are not high either.

Table: 6. Change in Living Conditions Compared to Syria

Change in Living Conditions Compared to Syria	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Better	6	3.37	47	22.7	53	13.76
Same	38	21.3	71	34.2	109	28.3
Bad	120	67.4	77	37.1	197	51.16
Worse	14	7.86	12	5.8	26	6.75
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

The question regarding their living standards compared to Syrian indicate that 51.16% had a poor life while nothing changed for 28.3%, 13.76% had a better life and 6.75% had a worse life in Turkey. This is an expected result for the people who had to leave their countries due to civil war rather than the financial reasons.

Table: 7. Income Sources of Questionnaire Participants

Income Source	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Public aids (NGO, Municipality etc.)	114	64	105	50.72	219	56.88
Employment	16	8.98	61	29.4	77	20
Public aids	36	20.2	31	14.9	67	17.4
Savings	12	6.75	10	4.83	22	5.71
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

Regarding the question of how they get by or their income source, 56.88% stated that they used governmental aids for surviving. This high rate indicates the degree of government's extensive aids to the refugees. Of the participants, 20% stated that they lived by working while 17.4% used the aids of the public and 5.71% used their own savings.

Table: 8. Financial Issues of Questionnaire Participants

Financial issue (regarding getting by)	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Yes (financial issues of getting by are present)	40	22.4	47	22.7	87	22.6
Sometimes (financial issues of getting by are sometimes present)	96	53.9	110	53.1	206	53.5
None (financial issues of getting by are absent)	42	23.6	50	24.2	92	23.9
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

Regarding the question of whether they have difficulties in getting by, 53.5% stated that they sometimes had while 23.9% had no such issues and 22.6% suffered difficulties in this regard. It is clear that participants had issues in getting by.

4.3.3. Socio – cultural and social living traces

The aim here is to determine the socio-cultural and social lives and opportunities of the participants in Gaziantep.

Table: 9. Reasons for Preferring Gaziantep

Reasons for Preferring	Number of Participants:	%
Numerous employment opportunities	77	20
Closeness to the border (of Syria)	207	53.7
Safe environment	68	17.6
No other place to migrate	33	8.57
Total	385	100.0

The analysis toward the reasons for preferring Gaziantep indicated that 53.7% selected this city for being closer to the border while 20% chose for employment opportunities, 17.6% preferred for being safe, and 8.57% chose as they could not find any other cities to migrate. The most important factor for selecting Gaziantep was that it is neighboring Syrian borders.

Table: 10. Perception of Local People Toward the Migrants

Perception of Local People	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Generally good	42	23.6	44	21.2	86	22.3
Normal	73	41	96	46.3	169	43.9
Generally bad	28	15.7	39	18.8	67	17.4
Generally biased	35	19.6	28	13.5	63	16.3
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

Regarding the perceptions of the local people toward the refugees, 44% stated that local people perceived them normally while 22.3% noted that residents

here had good feelings, 17.4% felt the local public of Gaziantep had bad opinions about refugees and 16.3% believed the people of Gaziantep were generally biased. The data in the table indicate that Syrian refugees were somehow accepted by the local people.

Regarding the question of whether they have been exposed to discrimination, 78% stated that they faced no serious discrimination while 22% mentioned they occasionally experienced discrimination, which indicates that local people of Gaziantep embrace and help the Syrian people as guests in these difficult times.

Table: 11. Cultural Closeness and Social Harmony with the Public of Gaziantep

Socio-Cultural Harmony	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Yes	70	39.3	91	44	161	41.9
No	26	14.6	30	14.5	56	14.5
Partly	82	46	86	41.5	168	43.6
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

Approximately 42% of the participants stated that they were in total harmony with the public culturally while 43.6% noted that they partially adapted to the culture of the area. Only 14.5% reflected that they felt no such closeness to the local society and culture. The reason why this rate was high is that Turkish people have common belief, history and culture-based aspects with Syrians.

Table: 12. The Most Significant Problems Experienced in Gaziantep

Problems	Gender				Total	%
	Female	%	Male	%		
Unemployment	50	28	54	26	104	27
Financial issue (regarding getting by)	30	16.8	34	16.5	64	16.6
High rents	41	23	44	21.2	85	22
Language/Communication Problem	8	4.5	15	7.2	23	5.6
Health	15	8.4	16	7.7	31	8

Socio-Economic Reflections of Migration

Education	17	9.5	19	9.1	36	9.3
Social pressure/exclusion	6	3.4	12	5.8	18	4.6
Alienation	11	6.1	13	6.2	24	6.23
Total	178	100.0	207	100	385	100.0

The most important issue Syrian refugees experience in Gaziantep is unemployment (27%). In addition to unemployment, high house rents are another significant issue (22%). Of the participants, 16.6% stated that they had difficulties in getting by.

The issue of education (9.3%) was found to be close to the health issue (8%). It is clear that refugees suffer from serious issues in education and medicine. Evidences indicate that no severe issues of social exclusion/pressure are experienced in the city. The rate of those reporting such issues is only 4.6%.

Conclusion

Migration is a process causing the emergence of various social, cultural and economic issues. These issues can be experienced by the migrants and the societies hosting the migrants. The main reason why western countries failed to take serious and permanent steps for the issue of Syrian refugees, a humanity tragedy which arose as a result of Syrian civil war in the 21st century, is related to the socio-cultural and economic concerns.

Regardless of the concerns of western countries, Turkey has given a lesson of humanity to the entire globe despite the numerous political uncertainties and risks that are present in the region and that could adversely affect Turkey. Turkey has not rejected any Syrian citizens as a result of open-door policy. This study is important as it was performed to determine how this approach was perceived by the migrants and to reveal various socio-cultural and economic statuses of migrants. The following were found after the field study:

Majority of the migrants get by upon the governmental (municipalities etc.) and public aids (NGOs etc.). However, migrants state that aids are not enough. Despite the financial problems such as unemployment and high rents, Syrian migrants state that they are satisfied with staying in Turkey. The reasons migrants preferred Turkey include closeness to the border, peaceful environment and fewer safety concerns. Most of the Syrian migrants note that they do not face discrimination in Turkey. The common aspects based on history and culture between Turkey and Syria enable Syrian migrants to adapt to the new environment better.

The Syrian refugee wave, which was regarded as transient and temporary in the beginning, has become permanent in time. The issue of Syrians in Turkey has turned into a problem of adaptation with social, political and economic aspects. However, Turkey can turn the case in favor with the socio-economic policies to be implemented using its geographical and economic position. For that purpose, foreign sources from Syrian should be transferred to the domestic production. In addition, consumption-based expenditures of Syrians will contribute to the macro economy of Turkey, the consumption of which constitutes the majority of gross national product.

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Religion as the Reason for the Wars Triggering the Migration in the Middle East*

Ömer CİDE**

Abstract

Wars are of the critical causes of migration in the Middle East and there are various reasons for the occurrence of a war. One of them is religion. Revelation-originated three great religions have emerged and are still in existence in the Middle East. The "promised land" - according to the Jewish belief- is located in the Middle East and this region has a great importance for Christianity as well, since Prophet Jesus was born here. He met with his apostles here and according to Christian belief, he was crucified here.

The Muslims' first qibla of the Al-Aqsa Mosque is located in Palestine. Muslims had conquered a large part of the Middle East during the four caliphs. The Crusades, held by Westerners to save Jerusalem which was conquered during the period of Caliph Ömer, consequently captured Jerusalem. The region has been- in a large extent- under the control of Muslims until the establishment of the state of Israel. Wars have increased in the region after the establishment of Israel. These wars pose the biggest causes of migration in the region. This has led to an increase in immigration in the region.

Key Words: Religion, Migration, War

Ortadoğu'da Göçü Tetikleyen Savaşların Nedeni Olarak Din

Özet

Ortadoğu'daki göçlerin en önemli sebeplerinden bir tanesi savaşlardır. Savaşların meydana gelmesinin değişik nedenleri bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan bir tanesi de dindir. Günümüze kadar varlığını devam ettiren vahiy kaynaklı olan üç büyük din de Ortadoğu'da ortaya çıkmıştır. Ortadoğu'nun bazı bölgeleri bu dinlerin müntesipleri için oldukça önemlidir. Yahudi inancına göre kendilerine vaat edilen topraklar vardır ki, bu toprakların

* This study was presented as a paper in the 2nd International Middle East Conference. It was published in the journal released under the same name.

This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Ortadoğu'da Göçü Tetikleyen Savaşların Nedeni Olarak Din" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Ömer CİDE, "Ortadoğu'da Göçü Tetikleyen Savaşların Nedeni Olarak Din", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 149-158.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Asst. Prof. Dr., Kilis 7 Aralık University, Faculty of Divinity, Academic Member of the Department of History and Arts or Islam, omercide@kilis.edu.tr, (0348) 814 2666- 1566.

tamamı Ortadoğu'da bulunmaktadır. Yahudiler bu toprakları elde etmeyi dinî bir vazife olarak algılamaktadırlar.

Hıristiyanlık için de bu bölge önemlidir. Çünkü Hz. İsa burada doğmuş, dinî tebliğini burada yapmış, Havarileri ile burada buluşmuş ve Hıristiyan inancına göre burada çarmıha gerilmiştir.

Müslümanların ilk kiblesi olan Mescid-i Aksa Filistin'de bulunmaktadır. Müslümanlar Ortadoğu bölgesinin büyük bir kısmını Dört Halife döneminde fethetmişlerdir. Batılılar, Hz. Ömer döneminde fethedilen Kudüs'ü kurtarmak için Haçlı seferleri düzenlemişlerdir. İsrail devletinin kuruluşuna kadar bölge büyük oranda Müslümanların denetiminde olmuştur. Adı geçen devletin kurulmasından sonra bölgede savaşlar artmıştır. Bu da bölgede göçün artmasına sebep olmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Din, Göç, Savaş

Introduction

We would like to clarify two issues before going further. One of them is related to the concept of religion as the reason for wars, which is also the title of this study. What we mean here is the followers of religions, rather than the religious texts, who interpret these texts by their perceptions. These people have often made attempts to justify their wars through the religions. The other issue is that the reasons for these wars are not only religion. On the contrary, there are many factors triggering wars. Our purpose here is to reflect how religions interpretations have justified wars.

The term "Middle East" was first used by Alfred Thayer Mahan, an American marine.¹ England was accepted as the center for this definition, and other countries were regarded as near, middle and far based on the distance to England.² Middle East is a location where three continents meet and which hosts the route to the Asian colonies for England.³

The Middle East has been a place of residence for people since the early periods of humanity. Kaaba, the first temple ever constructed, is located there.⁴ This region has been the point of interest for many countries due to its geographical location, energy and water resources, and cultural and religious structure.⁵

¹ Bernard Lewis, "Orta Şarkın Tarihi Hüviyeti", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Ankara 1964, Issue: 12, p. 75.

² Mustafa Torlak, *Siyonizmin Penceresinden Arap-İsrail Çatışmalarının Orta Doğu'daki Güç Dengesine Yansımaları*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Kadir Has University Institute of Social Sciences, Istanbul 2010, p. 3.

³ Torlak, *ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ Ali 'Imran 3/96.

⁵ Hüseyin Erdönmez, *Avrupa Devletlerinin Orta Doğu Politikası ile ABD'nin Orta Doğu Projesi*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Trakya University Institute of Social Sciences, Edirne 2010, p. 16.

Religion is a concept that appeared with the emergence of humanity. The first human was also a prophet. The religious teachings which have been present after the first human still exist today. God sent new prophets to humans when they moved away from the religious concepts, and God assigned holy books to some of these prophets. Religions deal with every aspect of human life. Humans are inclined to malevolence as much as benevolence. Wars and conflicts have taken place in every period of humanity. These conflicts occurred even between the children of the first humans. People have continued to fight in the later periods.⁶ There are different reasons behind these wars, one of which is religion. Religion and religious texts have had a significant function in justifying violence regardless of their reasons or backgrounds.⁷ These texts make the violent action a justified and necessary act in the minds of people who commit violence.⁸

People have caused many wars for the symbols they regard as holy. The sanctity of a geography is the total of symbols people have formed there for centuries. The Middle East has a significant place in this regard. The fact that three great religions emerged in this region have made this area more distinct as a religious geography. The most remarkable example in this regard is Jerusalem. The case in Jerusalem regarded as the conflict between two groups is reviewed as the subject of three great religions in negotiations.⁹

Let us try to explain what Jerusalem means for these religions.

1- Judaism

Judaism is the first religion in the chain of Abrahamic religions. According to holy Jewish texts, Israeli people represent the superior race selected by God, and they have the right to manage other nations.¹⁰ However, according to them, God got angry when Israeli people tested God's patience, and God banished them from the "promised lands" named as the place of peace.¹¹ Since that day, these people have made efforts to use any opportunities they had to return back to holy lands as they could not perform their religious practices thoroughly outside Palestine in line with the orders in the Torah.¹² Another reason why the promised land is religiously and geopolitically important for Judaism and Judaism practices is that the temple determined by God and built by Suleiman (r.a). According to Judaism, animal

⁶ Halil Aldemir, *Kur'an-ı Kerim'e Göre İhtilaf*, Kitâbî Yayınevi, İstanbul 2010, p. 57.

⁷ Şinasi Gündüz, "Hristiyanlıkta Şiddetin Meşruiyet Zemini", *İslâmiyât Dergisi*, 2002, volume: 5, issue: 1, 35.

⁸ Gündüz, *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹ Davut Kılınç, "Ortadoğu'nun Dinî Jeopolitiği ve Günümüze Yansımaları Üzerine Bir Deneme", *Fırat Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Elazığ 2008, issue: 13/1, p. 66.

¹⁰ *Kutsal Kitap*, Ohan Matbaası, İstanbul 2007, p. 13.

¹¹ *Kutsal Kitap*, p. 299-300.

¹² Kılınç, *ibid.*, p. 67-68.

sacrifice can only be performed there.¹³ It is worth looking at the historical course of the idea that bloodshed is permissible for the sake of this belief.

After the revelation of the holy book, Jewish religious authorities either changed or suspended certain sections of the Torah as they did not suit the Jerusalem-based holy lands (Arz al-Mawud) and certain laws related to the Temple. These authorities did not force people to follow the rules in the Torah except the bans on idolatry, adultery, and murder. Religious authorities such as Musa ibn Maymun stated that Jewish people might adopt religions which do not contain idolatry if they were forced. Thus, Judaism left no open doors to violence following the revelation of the Holy Book.¹⁴

In the early 19th century, fundamentalist Zionists reinterpreted the Jewish belief of the Messiah following the Holy Book and started to mention that efforts should be made to found a Jewish state in the holy lands even if it had no full function. According to Agudat Israel, no real Israeli state can be founded until the Temple is reconstructed and a new David succeeds to kingdom. The foundation of such a state depends on the appearance of the Messiah in this regard. However, Ritzhak Kook supported the idea of making efforts to found a Jewish state even before the Messiah. The success of Jewish in 1967 Six-Day War made the Nationalist Jews quite hopeful. They managed to control almost all the lands mentioned in the Torah. However, Palestinians still occupied certain sections of the lands promised to Israeli people, which constituted a great issue among them.¹⁵

According to Rabbi Kook, Palestinians can be regarded as Canaan people and Ismailis. Therefore, Palestinians had three options: Accepting Jewish dominance, fleeing and taking refuge in another Arabic country, or fighting. Canaan people preferred fleeing and vanished in time. Those who oppose Judaism ideals will face the same. The Israeli state, however, acted contrary to the expectations after the Yom Kippur War that occurred in October 1973. Jewish supporters of Kook who were disappointed in this case caused the emergence of violence-oriented Gush Emunim movement. In addition, Rabbi Meir Kahane who was thinking of founding a religious state in a region covering the West Bank where Palestinians lived stated that a canonist could make decisions in this regard as there were no religious institutions to declare war, and that he was the right one for this position. His decision made the war against the Arabs legal. Another religious authority of the same idea stated that anybody including women and children could be targeted in this war because everybody is a potential soldier in such a war. Gush Emunim movement justified its actions. To them, fighting to save the holy lands comes before the aim of protecting the self.¹⁶

¹³ Kılınç, *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁴ Baki Adam, "Yahudilik ve Şiddet", *İslâmiyât Dergisi*, 2002, v. 5, issue: 1, p. 30.

¹⁵ Adam, *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ Adam, *ibid.*, p. 32.

According to Jewish people who support these ideas, three significant events will happen as promised by God. The first of these is the foundation of an Israeli state on Israeli land. The second is the regrouping of all Jewish people in the promised lands, and the third is the construction of the third Temple on the same location on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, like the first and second Temples. The first have occurred despite not covering the entire borders promised by God to Abraham. The second is in the progress, and the third will occur in a short period of time.¹⁷

This idea was also reflected by the most authorized people of Israeli. Statements of Shimon Peres, who rose to the office of president in Israel, will clarify this topic: *"Judaism is a complete and united system. It appears as an entirety of undertakable liabilities, like believing in an integral God and a certain language, such as Hebrew, or committing self to a certain country like Israel. There is no difference between the concepts of nation, religious state or belonging to somewhere in regard to geography, language and history. The Jewish identity cannot be achieved thoroughly without speaking Hebrew, believing in a single God or Living in the state of Jewish people or in the place where Judaism was born"*.¹⁸

The greatest issue between the Palestinian and Jewish people is the belief of a third Temple to be constructed in place of al-Aqsa Mosque and Qubbat as-Sakhrah. In the late periods of 1998, Jewish people of such belief stated in the weekly journal entitled Voice of Temple Mount that they aimed to get rid of Islamic temples and construct a Judaism temple in the area.¹⁹ All states in this area that opposed to this aim were (and are) regarded as an enemy. Syria, Egypt and all other Arabic states are accepted as the potential opponents of Israel.²⁰

These Jewish people believe that they will have a great fight with the Arabs for the construction of the Temple. According to them, the next war will be the last one for Israel against its enemies. God will punish the enemies of Israel using nuclear weapons. A new era will begin after that war. The Third Temple, God's Home, will be constructed on the Temple Mount. Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Israel. Palestinians and all other Muslim nations aim to make Jerusalem the capital of Palestine. However, the construction of a third temple is critical for the existence of Israel. God will make this place the center of Israel, which will happen after the Third Temple is constructed on the Temple Mount where the First and Second Temple were established.²¹ People of this belief even set a pilot to bomb a mosque from the air. According to their plan, a pilot was to steal a plane and bomb al-Aqsa

¹⁷ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, 1999, p. 1-2

¹⁸ Robert Littel-Şimon Peres, *Bir Politikacıyla Söyleşi*, trans.: Nihal Önoel, Milliyet Yayınları, İstanbul 1998, p. 20-21.

¹⁹ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, p. 3.

²⁰ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, p. 2.

²¹ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, p. 3.

Mosque, and soldiers were to control the Mosque later. Even handmade explosives were tested at that time.²²

Religion has had a significant place in the reasons for the wars between the Israel and Arabic worlds. According to Jewish people, they have the right to take action in the region as the Palestinian lands were promised to them. Moreover, the nations in the regions should be banished, no matter how. This perception causes people to keep on fighting and migrating to other places.

2- Christianity

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians during the era of Umar, was conquered in 637. Western countries made certain attempts against Jerusalem later. The idea of saving the holy places was embedded in people's minds to ensure participation to Crusades (1096- 1291), the main reason of which was economic. Therefore, this movement was regarded as a religious war for the financial interests of the Western world.²³ G. W. Bush called the operations following the 9/11 attacks "a new Crusade".²⁴ G. W. Bush's statement is actually the reflection of how the Western world regards the Middle East. It is also the evidence for the claim that such perception has maintained its presence in the West.

The main issue is the view of new Christian trends toward the region. Eschatological expectations which are based on the events to occur before and after the second arrival of the Messiah have a significant place in Christianity traditions. The main reference of these expectations is the relevant texts in the New Testament. Letters of Saint Paul and Bibles, particularly the Book of Revelation referred to John the Apostle, contain significant explanations regarding the last periods of the world and events that will take place in these periods. The expectation regarding the Messiah's second arrival (Parousia) has an important place in Christianity, a Messiah belief-centered (Christo-centric) religion. Saint Paul states in his letters that the second arrival of the Messiah is about to happen and warns his congregation to be ready. He even thought that this would happen when he was alive. According to him, the Messiah will descend upon the trumpet sound from God, and the dead will be resurrected in eternal bodies while the living will be immortal after changing their mortal bodies. Jesus Christ (the Messiah in Christianity), who will descend with the strong angels in flames, will judge people, terminate all sorts of administrations and deliver the sovereignty to the Father. Those who believe in the

²² Grace Hallsell, *Tanrıyı Kıyamete Zorlamak*, trans. Mustafa Acar, Hüsni Özmen, Kim Yayınları, Ankara 2003, p. 89.

²³ İhsan Süreyya Sırma, *Emeviler Dönemi*, Beyan Yayınları, İstanbul 2010, p. 17.

²⁴ Amy E. Black, "With God on Our Side: Religion in George W. Bush's Foreign Policy Speeches", American Political Science Association, Chicago 2004, p. 5.

Messiah will rise to the sky in clouds and be with the Father and the Messiah eternally.²⁵ Moreover, all enemies of the Messiah, including death, will lay under his feet. Accordingly, certain indications will appear, and wars will occur before the arrival of the Messiah. All nations will hate the believers. The events mentioned by the Old Testament prophets such as Daniel will occur one by one. Then, the Messiah will gloriously descend with the angels, rise to his throne and separate the nations before him like shepherds separating sheep from goats.²⁶

Evangelic Christianity is the most distinct movement among the ones of the same ideology. The roots of this movement date back to the era of Martin Luther and establishment of the Protestant church. According to them, Judgment Day will come in the 2000s after a chaos in the Middle East. Therefore, they support any sort of actions that will cause chaos in this region. According to this belief, Jesus Christ will only descend after the chaos breaks out in the world. They believe they could control the world only through this way. In addition, Jewish people need to have the lands promised to them for the return of the Jesus Christ. Evangelists are supported by the Orthodox Jews for that purpose.²⁷

According to this belief, certain actions should take place for the second arrival of Jesus Christ. These actions include the return of Jewish people to Palestine, the establishment of Israel, preaching the Bible to all nations of the world including Jewish people, a disaster period to last seven years, and ascension of church believers. Jesus Christ will descend after these happen. Trips to Israeli lands are organized to make sure these ideas are spread more. Israeli Ministry of Tourism encourages these trips under the name "Tour of Bible Lands" to influence the American Christian Lobby.²⁸

Evangelists consider the demolition of al-Aqsa Mosque and Qubbat as-Sakhrah, and construction of the Third Temple as the order of God. They do not assume any responsibilities in this regard because God's orders should be fulfilled.²⁹

All plans for the Temple to be built where Qubbat as-Sakhrah and al-Aqsa Mosque are present are ready. Even the constructional materials are ready and hidden somewhere. Many shops have had a role in producing the hand-made materials to be used in the new temple. Even the dresses to be worn by the religious authorities have been produced.³⁰ Rabbis teach young people how to sacrifice animals in a school named Yeshivat Ateret Cohaim — Crown of Priests. This practice was also performed in the period of Suleiman (r.a). The purpose here is to

²⁵ *Kutsal Kitap*, p. 1510.

²⁶ Şinasi Gündüz, *Dinsel Şiddet*, Etüt Yayınları, 2002, p. 53- 54.

²⁷ Ensar Çetin, "Hıristiyan Fundamentalizmi ve Ortadoğu'da Tanrı'yı Kıyamete Zorlama Stratejisi", *Karatekin Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Çankırı v. 5, issue:1, p. 2-3.

²⁸ Çetin, *ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁹ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 86.

³⁰ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, p. 2.

revive his period.³¹ People even raise single-color heifers to sacrifice them in the Third Temple. These preparations indicate how serious the people with this belief are.

Moreover, these temples need to be demolished for the outbreak of the World War III. Demolition of these temples by the Orthodox Jews will severely trigger the Muslims and therefore, they will declare war against Israel. The world will be more chaotic, and Jesus will ascend to take an action against this chaos. In other words, God will bring Judgment Day.³²

According to this belief, at least 200 million Eastern soldiers and more than 200 million Western soldiers will pass away in the war. Jesus Christ will strike those who destroy Jerusalem, his home city, and he will fight the armies which will gather in Megiddo or Armageddon valley. The blood flowing from Jerusalem to onwards will be as long as 200 miles, and blood level will reach the head of a horse. Combat vehicles, bodies of animals and humans, and blood will fill the place of war. Some of the world's largest cities such as London, Paris, Tokyo, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago will perish.³³ Moreover, approximately nine million Jewish people will die in Armageddon wars, and 144,000 remaining Jewish people will adopt Christianity. The reason is that they need to be purified by God. God wants them to bow down before Jesus, God's only son.³⁴

The results of the surveys conducted by different institutions of the Christians in the USA are interesting in regard to indicating how common these expectations related to the end of the world are. Studies indicate that approximately 30% of the Christians in the USA believe that the world will reach an end with the Battle of Armageddon, and some of these people think that this battle will occur when they are alive. Certain USA presidents are among these people, which is highly significant.³⁵

Evangelism, which is still highly fundamentalist, includes every one of four adult American adults today.³⁶ The spreading rate of Evangelic Christianity has surpassed the rates of all religions including Islam.³⁷

3- Islam

It should be noted that the region is also important for the Muslims. Palestine, which is important for Jewish and Christian people, made people

³¹ *The Voice of The Temple Mount*, p. 2.

³² Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 82.

³³ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁴ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 98.

³⁵ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁶ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁷ Hallsell, *ibid.*, p. 22.

generate different scenarios for it, and this country was conquered during the era of Umar (17/ 637). The public of the region were granted the status of emania by Umar himself.³⁸ However, the city was captured by the Crusaders in 1099, and approximately 70,000 people were killed.³⁹ The city was reconquered by Salahaddin Ayyubi from Crusaders in 1187.⁴⁰ This region has many holy places for the Muslims. Al-Aqsa, the first qibla of Islam, and Qubbat as-Sakhrah are located here. These two temples need to be demolished based on the plans of Jewish and Evangelist Christian people. Muslims would inevitably react to these plans and attempts because Palestine was controlled by the Muslims from the era of Umar to 14 May 1948, excluding the period when ruled by Crusaders. The region was even related to the identity of being Muslim, which means the fight to exist for Muslims. It is clear that wars will continue for longer if the believers of three religions keep on perceiving the case from their points of view, which reflects the fact that migrations will continue.

Conclusion

Certain people from both Christian and Jewish groups have certain plans over the Middle East. These plans are regarded as religious necessities, and people act accordingly. Therefore, the Middle East has always been a place of conflicts and combats. The following figures reflect how these conflicts have affected the migration movements after having turned into wars.

There are 1,396,368 migrants in Middle East. Of them, 341,494 live in ten camps in Jordan while 226,533 live in 12 camps in Lebanon, 127,831 live in nine camps in Syria, 197,763 live in 19 camps in West Bank, and 197,763 live in eight camps in Gaza. These figures were obtained from the official records of The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNVRWA). The unofficial records indicate that this figure is 4,766,670.⁴¹ These figures are important as they indicate how religious interpretations indirectly affect the process of migration. We are of the belief that adaptation of the culture of coexistence, ensuring the religious and conscious independency and accepting people as how they are will have a key role in overcoming this tragedy.

³⁸ Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balazuri, *Futuhu al-Buldan*, trans. Mustafa Fayda, Siyer Yayınları, Istanbul 2013, p. 188.

³⁹ Ibn al-Asir Abu al-Hasan Izaddin Ali ibn Abi al-Karam Muhammad ibn ash-Shaybani al-Jazari, *al-Kamil fi at-Tarih*, trans. Komisyon, Hikmet Yayınları, Istanbul 2008, VIII/418.

⁴⁰ Ibn al-Asir, *ibid.*, IX/507.

⁴¹ Fatma Tunç Yaşar, Sevinç Alkan Özcan, Zahide Tuba Kor, *Siyonizm Düşünde İşgal Gerçeğine Filistin*, İHH İnsani Yardım Vakfı Yayınları, Istanbul 2010, p. 102.

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Hijra as an Obedience Action in Islam and Muhajir People*

Mehmet DEMİR**

Abstract

This article deals with Hijra (immigration) in Islam and immigrants. I demonstrated the linguistic and conventional meaning of hijra and the importance and necessity of hijra. I also stated hijra historical benefits as the Muslims of Mecca encountered various difficulties upon leaving their home to new ones; hence, hijra was praised in the Quran and the muhajereen (immigrants) received glad tidings from Allah Almighty. In Islamic traditions, the event when the earlier Muslims left Mecca is not an ordinary immigration, rather it is a blessed one. Those who leave their homes are true immigrants. As such, a discussion starts as whether anyone who leaves their home or land is considered a true immigrant or not. In this article, I studied a group of Syrian refugees who have been forced and obliged to leave for other countries for years; are they refugees or muhajereen (true immigrants.) I approached the aforementioned issue in the light of the Holy Quran, Sunnah and Islamic fiqh as related to hijra divisions, types, causes, and history in the age of Islamic legislation and commentaries of the commentators. From a religious point of view, not all immigration is a pure hijra. That is, immigration happening for the sake of the religion, the self and money must be included in the comprehensiveness of the true immigration or hijra in Islam.

Key Words: Asylum, Hijra, muhajir, Syrian refugees

Bir İtaat Eylemi Olarak İslam'da Hicret ve Muhacirler

Özet

Bu makalede, İslâm'da hicret kavramı, hicret hükümleri ve Muhacirler ele alınmıştır. Hicretin sözlük ve terim anlamı ve önemi hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Tarihte Mekkeli Müslümanların türlü zorluklarla karşılaştıklarında vatanlarını terk edip yeni yurtlara göç edişini ifade eden hicret, Kur'ân'da övgüyle zikredilmiş, Muhacirler de Allah'ın müjdelere

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Bir İtaat Eylemi Olarak İslam'da Hicret ve Muhacirler" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Mehmet DEMİR, "Bir İtaat Eylemi Olarak İslam'da Hicret ve Muhacirler", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 159-184.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Occupational Teacher at Gaziantep Ömer Özmimar Male Anatolian Religious Vocational High School. Gaziantep Provincial Directorate of National Education, Member of Equivalence Commission. Harran University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Basic Islamic Sciences, Doctoral Student of Tafsir Studies.

mazhar olmuşlardır. Bu nedenle İslâm geleneğinde ilk Müslümanların Mekke'yi terk edişleri sıradan bir göç değil, mübarek bir "hicret", göç edenler de göçmenler değil, gerçek "Muhacirler"dir. Binaenaleyh yerinden, yurdundan her göç eden kimsenin bu kapsama girip girmeyeceği tartışma konusu olmuştur. Zorunlu sebeplerle son birkaç yıldır ülkemize gelen Suriyelilerin durumu buna dair bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Çalışmamızda Kur'ân, Sünnet ve İslâm fihhına göre hicretin gayesi, sebepleri ve çeşitleri üzerinde durulmuş ve İslâm tarihinde -özellikle Asr-ı saadetteki- hicretler müfessirlerin değerlendirmeleri bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Bu çerçevede İslâmî açıdan hicretin salt bir göç olarak tavsif edilemeyeceği; din, can ve mal maslahatı gereği yapılan göçlerin gerçek "hicret" kapsamına dâhil edilmesi gerektiği temellendirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İltica, hicret, muhacir, Suriyeli göçmenler.

Introduction

Hijra (emigration in Islam) represents the periods witnessed through various occasions by people and experienced by all prophets and their followers to pray to God as required. Prophets and their believers were forced to emigrate by their enemies, and they left their countries and properties for their commitments to God.¹

The term "hijra" is used to mean "Abandoning the Quran",² "leaving a person or group",³ "abandoning malevolent things and actions"⁴ and literally "emigrate to somewhere else for God"⁵. People who emigrate are called "muhajir", the plural of which is "muhajirin or muhajirat"⁶. Muslims who emigrated from Mecca to Madinah were mentioned in most of the verses based on hijra.⁷

Tyrannical societies have always employed illegal methods to control other societies and to exploit them.⁸ They have made attempts to capture their natural underground and ground resources and seek new lands.⁹ Therefore, they have caused the emigration waves which have been continuing throughout history. Terror, fear, bloody wars, exploitation on one hand, and on the other hand, people who are forced to emigrate their homes while being unable to resist. These tyrannical societies have seized almost whatever the exploited people had and caused various problems for them. The perpetrators of these actions should be prevented and held responsible for what they have done for humanity, no matter

¹ Araf, 7/88; Yunus, 10/90; Hud, 11/80, 81; Ibrahim, 14/13; Hijr, 15/65; Isra, 17/76-77; Taha, 20/77, 78; Shuara, 26/52-67; Ankabut, 29/26.

² al-Furqan, 25/30.

³ an-Nisa', 4/34; Surah-Maryam, 19/46; al-Muzzammil, 73/10.

⁴ al-Muddaththir, 74/5.

⁵ al-Baqarah, 2/218, 97; Ali 'Imran, 3/195; an-Nisa', 4/89, 97; at-Tawba, 9/20.

⁶ an-Nisa', 4/100; at-Tawba, 9/100, 117; an-Nur, 24/22; Al-Mumtahanah, 60/10.

⁷ Önkal, Ahmet, "Hicret", DİA, İstanbul 1998, XVII, 458.

⁸ al-Qasas, 28/4.

⁹ Mustafa Muslim et al., *at-Tafsiru al-Mawduiyyu li Suwari al-Qur'an al-Karim*, Jamiatu ash-Sharika, al-Imaratu al-Arabiyyatu al-Muttahida, First Edition, 2010, II, 181-182.

who they are. Humanity is going through a great test against this harsh reality, and particularly, Muslims have great duties and roles in this regard.¹⁰

Emigrations affect social, financial, political, and cultural structures,¹¹ which is clear in the countries receiving immigration. Turkey is among the most distinctive countries in this regard. The current state indicates that Turkey will keep on receiving refugees and immigrants. However, some sections in Turkey have been making statements and attempts against immigrants following the Syrian refugee waves. Hijra as an obedience action and its importance for Islam should be known, remembered and kept on the agenda by the Muslims while determining the attitude regarding the emigrations.

There are certain international laws regarding the people who have abandoned their countries. Refugees and immigrants have meant a different case in the emigration subject. The legal regulations regarding them were mentioned in the universal legal declarations, and the convention of the legal status of refugees and immigrants were signed in 1951 and executed in 1954. The 1967 convention on their legal status was signed later. However, Islam formed regulations and practices regarding the refugees, emigrants and muhajirs 14 centuries ago. Accordingly, the Prophet first let the Muslims go to Ethiopia, and all Muslims emigrated from Mecca to Madinah upon God's order, which constitutes a significant place in Islamic history. Judgment tafsirs and fiqh books have also examined hijra, and they have formed certain rules regarding it.¹²

This study reviews "Immigration and Refugees as an Obedience Action" and focuses on the states of refugees, immigrants and muhajirs. Hijra becomes obligatory when people are unable to live in their countries, religions, and beliefs and when they have no life and property safety. People sometimes emigrate from one place to another when they desire a better life. Researchers have made efforts to explain the terms "hijra" and "muhajir" as obedience-related concepts in line with Sunnah and canonists' ideas. Syrian immigrants as refugees and muhajirs are the important examples in this regard.

1. Hijra From a Conceptual Perspective

The term "hijra" derived from the base "Hajara" (هاجر) is a noun from the infinitive "hijran" (هجران) meaning "abandoning, leaving, and ending relationship".¹³ However, it is often used to mean leaving a place and emigrating

¹⁰ Ali 'Imran, 3/110.

¹¹ As reflected in press and media work, Western countries have been making efforts to close the doors to Syrian immigrants.

¹² Özel, Ahmet, "Hicret" DİA, Istanbul 1998, XVII, 463-464.

¹³ al-Jawhari, Abu Nasr Ismael ibn Hammad, *Taju al-Lughati wa Sihahu al-Arabiyya*, inv. Muhammad Muhammad Tamir et al., Daru al-Hadith, Cairo 2009, p. 1189.

somewhere else.¹⁴ It also indicates leaving somewhere through emigration,¹⁵ which might take place physically, linguistically, or spiritually.¹⁶

“(الهجرة) ‘Hijra’ means ‘moving from one place to another and preferring the second place or having the purpose of abandoning the first place’. (هجر) ‘Hajr’ means ‘ending relationships’. Hijra is a noun. Moving from one place to another and preferring the second one means (مهاجرة) ‘muhajarat’, which is emigrating. ‘Tahajur’ means ‘ending relationships mutually.’ Anybody saying “‘Muhajarat’ means going from deserts to cities’ would make a great mistake, because this is generally specific to Arabic people. Moreover, according to people making this statement, people from Mecca cannot be muhajir.”¹⁷ “Muhajarat” is actually based on “mufaala”; it was used to reflect the end of the relationship between two people due to a mutual grudge, hostility, and hatred, but this was later used to mean anything one dislikes and abandons.¹⁸

Hijra conceptually indicates moving from Daru al-Harb to Daru al-Islam.¹⁹ It also reflects emigrating from a non-Muslim country to an Islamic country in general, and the emigration of the Prophet and Muslims from Mecca to Madinah. Muhajirs were named so as they left their houses, relatives, and families.²⁰ Muslims who emigrated from Mecca to Madinah are called “Muhajir”²¹ while the Muslims from Madinah who helped the Prophet and muhajirs were named “Ansar”^{22,23} The Quran orders the following in this regard: “*And the first forerunners [in the faith] among the Muhajireen and the Ansar and those who followed them with good conduct - Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them*

¹⁴ al-Isfahani, Raghīb, *al-Mufradat*, inv. Muhammad Sayyid Gaylani, Daru al-Ma’rifa, Beirut, p. 537; Jawhari, *as-Sihah*, p. 1189; Ibn Manzūr, Abu al-Fadl Jamaluddin, Daru Sadir, Beirut, *Lisanu al-Arab*, V, 250-257; Fiyruzabadi, Majduddin Muhammad, *al-Kamusu al-Mukhit*, inv. Muhammad Naim al-Arkasusi, Muassasatu ar-Risalah, Eighth Edition, Beirut 2005, p. 495; Hasan Izaddin al-Jamal, *Mu’jamun wa Tafsirun Lughawiyyun li Kalimati al-Qur’an*, al-Hay’atu al-Misriyyatu al-Amma li al-Kitab, First Edition, Cairo 2008.

¹⁵ Ibn Faris, Abu al-Husein Ahmad, *Makayisu al-Lugha*, inv. Abdussalam Muhammad Kharoon, Daru al-Fiqir, VI, 34; al-Jawhari, *as-Sihah Taju al-Lughati wa Sihahu al-Arabiyya*, p. 1189; az-Zamahshari, Abu al-Qasim Jarullah, *Asasu al-Balagha*, inv. Muhammad Basil Uyun as-Suud, Daru al-Qutubi al-Ilmiyya, First Edition, Beirut 1997, II, 362.

¹⁶ al-Isfahani, *al-Mufradat*, p. 536; Razi, Muhammad ibn Abi Baqir, *Mukhtarun as-Sihah*, Maktabatu Lubnan, 1986, p. 288; Önkal, Ahmet, “Hicret”, DİA, Istanbul 1998, XVII, 458.

¹⁷ al-Qurtubi, Abu Abdillah Muhammad, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, inv. Abdullah b. Abd al-Muhsin at-Turki, Muassasatu ar-Risalah, First Edition, Beirut 2006, III, 432.

¹⁸ at-Tabari, Abu Ja’far Muhammad ibn Jarir, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta’wili Ayi al-Qur’an*, inv. Abdullah b. Abd al-Muhsin at-Turki, Daru Hijr, First Edition, Cairo 2001, III, 667.

¹⁹ Ibnu al-Arabi, Abu Baqr Muhammad, *Ahkamu al-Qur’an*, inv. Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Ata, Dar al-Qutubi al-Ilmiyya, Third Edition, Beirut, 2003, I, 101; Ibn Qudama, Muwaffakuddin Abi Muhammad, *al-Mughni*, inv. Abdullah b. Abd al-Muhsin at-Turki-Abd al-Fattah Muhammad al-Huluw, Daru Alam al-Qutub, Third Edition, Riyadh, 1997, XIII, p. 149; al-Jurjani, Ali ibn Muhammad as-Sayyid ash-Sharif, *Mu’jamu at-Ta’rifat*, inv. Muhammad Siddiq al-Minshawi, Daru al-Fadila, Cairo, “Hicret”, p. 214.

²⁰ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayân an Ta’wili Ayi al-Qur’an*, III, 667; Ibn Abbad, Ismael, *al-Mukhitu fi al-Lugha*, inv. Muhammad Hasan Al Yasin, Alamu al-Qutub, First Edition, Beirut 1994, III, 372.

²¹ Ibn Faris, *Makayisu al-Lugha*, VI, 34; az-Zabidi, Muhammad Murtaza al-Huseini, *Taju al-Arus*, inv. Abd al-Alim at-Tahawi, Matbaatu Hukumah, Kuwait, XIV, 397.

²² az-Zabidi, *Taju al-Arus*, XIV, p. 224-225.

²³ Önkal, Ahmet, “Hicret” DİA, Istanbul 1998, XVII, 458.

gardens beneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever. That is the great attainment."²⁴

"Ansar is an Islamic term. Anas ibn Malik was asked the following: "What do you think about people calling you Ansar? Is this a name given to you by God or were you called so also in the days of ignorance?" He replied as follows: "No, this is the name God gave u in Quran."²⁵

God reflects that those who emigrated for God will be granted a nice place on earth and awards in the eternal life,²⁶ and those who died or were killed after emigration will be granted blessings and placed somewhere they will like²⁷. Emigration from the place of torment and malevolence to another place occurs either voluntarily or obligatorily. If emigration takes place by exiling somebody or being forced to abandon a place, those suffering from torment would have the right to defend themselves.²⁸ God mentions that sins of those who emigrate, are exiled from their countries, suffer from oppression and torment, fight and get killed will be covered for sure²⁹.

The term "hijrat" is not mentioned in the Quran but it has different derivatives meaning "becoming lonely",³⁰ "reclusion",³¹ "migrating",³² "departing",³³ "abandoning",³⁴ "facing",³⁵ and "insulting".³⁶ It has been derived from the base (هجر) "hajr".³⁷

Certain Quran sections where the derivatives of hijra are used are as follows:

*"And their Lord responded to them: Never will I allow to be lost the work of [any] worker among you, whether male or female. You are of one another. So those who emigrated or were evicted from their homes or were harmed in My cause or fought or were killed - I will surely remove from them their misdeeds, and I will surely admit them to gardens beneath which rivers flow as reward from Allah, and Allah has with Him the best reward."*³⁸ The term (هَاجِرُونَ) "hajaru" in the verse means "those who abandon the tribes and families of the deniers for God and follow the believers of God and Prophet in the emigration", which reflects

²⁴ at-Tawbah, 9/100.

²⁵ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, X, 343-344.

²⁶ an-Nahl, 16/41.

²⁷ al-Haj, 22/58-59.

²⁸ Ali 'Imran, 3/195; al-Isra', 17/76-77; al-Hashr, 59/8.

²⁹ Ali 'Imran, 3/195.

³⁰ Maryam, 19/46; an-Nisa', 4/34.

³¹ al-Muzzammil, 73/10.

³² an-Nisa', 4/100.

³³ al-Ankabut 29/26.

³⁴ al-Muddaththir, 74/5.

³⁵ al-Ankabut, 29/26; an-Nisa', 4/34.

³⁶ al-Mu'minun, 23/67; al-Furqan, 25/30.

³⁷ ad-Damaghani, Husein ibn Muhammad, *Kamusu al-Qur'an*, inv. Abd al-Aziz Sayyid al-Ahl, Daru al-Ilim li al-Malayin, Fourth Edition, Beirut 1983, p. 471-472; Razi, *Mukhtaru as-Sihah*, p. 288; Önköl, Ahmet, "Hicret", DVI, Istanbul 1998, XVII, 458.

³⁸ Ali 'Imran; 3/195.

the muhajirs banished by Quraysh polytheists from Mecca.³⁹

Regarding the verse "...But those wives from whom you fear arrogance... first advise them; then [if they persist], forsake them in bed; ..." ⁴⁰ and the term (وَاهْجُرُوهُنَّ) "wa'hjuruhunna" were used to mean abandoning the women of arrogance and stop talking to them or randomly talking in a cruel and rude tone, making fun, turning back to these women and rejecting them, and "tying them" based on the statement "tying the front and rear legs of camels for controlling".⁴¹

"And whoever emigrates for the cause of Allah will find on the earth many [alternative] locations and abundance. And whoever leaves his home as an emigrant to Allah and His Messenger and then death overtakes him - his reward has already become incumbent upon Allah. And Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful."⁴² This verse also has the terms (يُهَاجِرُ) "yuhajiru", "those performing hijra" and (مُهَاجِرًا) "muhajir". Both terms were used to mean "abandoning physically, linguistically and spiritually", "leaving the place and people of polytheism", and "going to a Muslim environment and living with the believers there through the methods and ways made legal by God".⁴³ The term (مُرَاغِمًا) "muragham" in the verse indicates "those who object to their tribes after choosing Islam". In this case, leaving these tribes for emigration is called (مُرَاغِمًا) indicating the place of migration. Arrival to the environment of the Prophet was also called hijra.⁴⁴

"[His father] said: "Have you no desire for my gods, O Abraham? If you do not desist, I will surely stone you, so avoid me a prolonged time."⁴⁵ The statement (مَلِيًّا وَاهْجُرْنِي) "wa'hjurni maliyyan" in this verse means "so avoid me a prolonged time"⁴⁶.

Regarding the verse "In arrogance regarding it(verses) and conversing by night speaking evil",⁴⁷ the term (تَهْجُرُونَ) "tahjurun" was used to mean "delirium, evil, nonsense"⁴⁸. Al-Qurtubi explains this verse as "You start to get fascinated and excessive after hearing my verses, and you fail to believe in Quran."⁴⁹

"And the Messenger has said: O my Lord! indeed my people have taken this Qur'an as [a thing] abandoned."⁵⁰ The term (مَهْجُورًا) "mahjur" in this verse was used to mean "abandoned,"⁵¹ "backbit" and "nonsense and delirium".⁵² In other words, they said

³⁹ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, VI, 322.

⁴⁰ an-Nisa, 4/34.

⁴¹ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, VI, 700-707.

⁴² an-Nisa', 4/100.

⁴³ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, VII, 391.

⁴⁴ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, VII, 66.

⁴⁵ Maryam, 19/46.

⁴⁶ Muqatil ibn Suleiman, *Tafsir Muqatil ibn Suleiman*, inv. Abdallah Mahmood Shahhata, Muassasatu at-Tarishi al-Arabi, Second Edition, Beirut 2002, II, 630; at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, XV, 552-555.

⁴⁷ al-Mu'minin, 23/67.

⁴⁸ al-Jurjani, Abdulkahir, *Darju ad-Durar fi Tafsiri al-Qur'ani al-Azim*, inv. Talat Salah al-Farhan-Muhammad Adib Shakoor, Daru al-Fiqir, Edition 1, Amman 2009, II, 350.

⁴⁹ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, XV, 64.

⁵⁰ al-Furqan, 25/30.

⁵¹ al-Jurjani, Abdakahir, *Darju add-Durar fi Tafsiri al-Qur'ani al-Azim*, II, 385.

Quran was a book of magic and poems, making a totally false statement. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet will say "They abandoned Quran, failed to perform practices in Quran, left me and refuted me."⁵³

*"And let not those of virtue among you and wealth swear not to give [aid] to their relatives and the needy and the emigrants for the cause of Allah. and let them pardon and overlook. Would you not like that Allah should forgive you? And Allah is Forgiving and Merciful."*⁵⁴ The purpose in the terms (وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ) "wa'l-Muhajirun" and "muhajirs" in this verse reflects the sluggish muhajir Mistah ibn Asasah who participated in the Battle of Badr and who is the son of Abu Baqr' aunt, and it also covers all muhajirs⁵⁵.

Regarding the verse *"O Prophet, indeed We have made lawful...the daughters of your paternal uncles and the daughters of your paternal aunts and the daughters of your maternal uncles and the daughters of your maternal aunts who emigrated with you"*⁵⁶, the term (هَاجِرَاتٍ) "hajarna (those who emigrate)" was used to mean the daughters of Prophet's uncles and aunts from father and mother sides.⁵⁷

*"And be patient over what they say and avoid them with gracious avoidance."*⁵⁸ The statement (وَاهْجُرْهُمْ هَجْرًا جَمِيلًا) "wa'hjurhum hajran jamilan" in this verse means "do not attack them and do not waste time expecting them to be rewarded or punished". The case here is abandoning the invitation to God's religion. Abu ad-Darda stated the following: "We smile or laugh at certain people, but our hearts hate them or even curse them."⁵⁹ This verse indicates being patient toward the torments, insults, mockery, and statements of the polytheists from Mecca and abandoning them in the proper and benevolent way.⁶⁰ The action of abandoning here covers all sorts of abandoning in this regard (physically, linguistically and spiritually) and means "you are free to do whatever is fine in a proper way".⁶¹

*"And avoid (fa'hjur) uncleanness."*⁶² The term (فَاهْجُرْ) "fa'hjur" in this verse means "avoiding or abandoning". Tabari mentions that the term (الرُّجْزُ) "ar-Rujza" in the verse means "polytheism and idols" and reflects "malevolence".⁶³ Therefore,

⁵² al-Mawardi, Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Muhammed b. Habib, *an-Nuqat wa al-Uyun* (Tafsiru al-Mawardi), inv. as-Sayyid ibn Abd al-Maksood ibn Abd al-Rahim, Daru al-Qutubi al-Ilmiyya, Beirut, *an-Nuqat wa al-Uyun* (Tafsiru al-Mawardi), IV, 143.

⁵³ as-Sa'labi, Abu Ishaq Ahmad, *al-Kashf wa al-Bayan*, VII, 132; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, XV, 405.

⁵⁴ an-Nur, 24/22.

⁵⁵ as-Sa'labi, *al-Kashf wa al-Bayan*, inv. Halid ibn Ali al-Ghamidi, Daru al-Fiqir, First Edition, Jeddah, 2015, VII, 132; al-Mawardi, *an-Nukat wa al-Uyun*, IV, 84.

⁵⁶ al-Ahzab, 33/50.

⁵⁷ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, XVII, 179.

⁵⁸ al-Muzzammil, 73/10.

⁵⁹ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, XXI, 334-335.

⁶⁰ at-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, XXIII, 380.

⁶¹ al-Isfahani, al-Mufradat, p. 536-537.

⁶² al-Muddaththir, 74/5.

⁶³ at-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, XXIII, 410-412.

this verse means “avoid all sorts of polytheism, idols, and malevolent actions physically, linguistically and spiritually”.⁶⁴

2. The Purpose, Reason, Forms, and Importance of Hijra

People, particularly the Muslims, do not emigrate for any purpose or reason. The action of emigrating should have certain purposes, reasons and forms.

Emigration may arise from natural disasters and wars with financial, sociological, demographic, geographic, and psychological reasons. The forms of emigration can be classified as the internal and external emigrations between at least two countries, emigrations based on free will and obligations in the nature of migration, and duration-based permanent and transitional emigrations. In addition, the relationships between emigration and financial developments, the relationships between emigration and educational activities and authorization, and the relationships between emigration and residence, all of which directly relate emigration, are important.

2.1 The Purpose and Reason of Hijra

Every action has a beginning and purpose. If an action is based on Islamic belief, it reflects obedience and closeness to God. What makes people perform the action should be their belief instead of traditions, enthusiasm, praise, and popularity. Physical emigration in Islam is based on the hijra to God and the Prophet.⁶⁵ This world is also based on certain purposes and intentions which one desires to fulfill. Nothing, particularly the humans, are created without a reason⁶⁶ and inanely⁶⁷, and nothing is left to their own consciousness.⁶⁸ Hijra has a purpose. God orders the following in this regard: “*O My servants who have believed! Indeed My earth is spacious, so worship only Me.*”⁶⁹ This verse means, in other words, that if you cannot reside in a place you can change and if you cannot obey me there, leave there and go to another place you can comfortably obey me.⁷⁰

Hijra has been performed in almost every section of history. It has been performed in any places where emigrants fought for the right and against the superstitions. According to Quran, all prophets and their followers abandoned their countries, houses and properties for performing their prayers in line with their beliefs.⁷¹ The Quran reflects that “*And those who disbelieved said to their messengers,*

⁶⁴ al-Isfahani, *al-Mufradat*, p. 537.

⁶⁵ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *ar-Risalat at-Tabukiyya* (Zadu al-Muhajir ila Rabbihi), p. 9.

⁶⁶ Ali ‘Imran, 3/191; Sad, 38/27.

⁶⁷ al-Mu‘minun, 23/115.

⁶⁸ al-Qiyamah, 75/36.

⁶⁹ al-Ankabut, 29/56.

⁷⁰ at-Tabari, *Jami al-Bayan an Ta’wili Ayi al-Qur’an*, XVIII, 433.

⁷¹ al A’raf, 7/88; Yunus, 10/90; Hud, 11/80, 81; al-Hijr, 15/65; at-Taha, 20/77, 78; ash-Shuraa, 26/52-67; Al-‘Ankabut, 29/26.

"We will surely drive you out of our land, or you must return to our religion", and that God gave a promise to the prophets stating "We will surely destroy the wrongdoers."⁷² The Quran also has the following verse in this regard: "And indeed, they were about to drive you from the land to evict you therefrom. And then [when they do], they will not remain [there] after you, except for a little. [That is Our] established way for those We had sent before you of Our messengers; and you will not find in Our way any alteration."⁷³

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet stated the following in this regard: "Practices are based on intentions. Everybody has intentions they can fulfill. Thus, whoever plans to get closer to God and the Prophet can do so. But, whoever wants to get closer to a mortal object or women they would marry can do so."⁷⁴ This hadith reflects that hijra would gain a meaning based on one's intention, and that the real hijra is the one performed toward the God and the Prophet. Again, the Prophet also stated the following: "Hijra will not stop as the fight with the disbelievers continues."⁷⁵ This hadith indicates that wars are among the reasons for hijra. The hadith "Hijra will not stop as long as tawbah continues, and tawbah continues until the sun rises on west"⁷⁶ indicates that hijra have been continuing.

The latest alternative in Muslim societies' efforts to survive and religiously develop in a place is hijra. When the possibility of existing or improving is no longer present in an environment for Islam and the efforts in this regard are futile, a person or group may decide to abandon that place.⁷⁷ Moreover, God grants the creatures the ability and right to escape from any torments that would make them suffer. If somebody is afraid that they will suffer, they are permitted by God to escape that threat so that they do not suffer in such a situation.⁷⁸ From that perspective, it is true that Syrian emigrants abandoned their countries for different reasons and purposes, and these reasons are generally based on the civil war in Syria. Accordingly, it is fair to state that they have the right to take refuge in or emigrate to neighboring and other countries where they will live safely after abandoning their countries for saving their own lives. The first hijra to Ethiopia occurred similarly. Should not the countries receiving immigrants avoid such situations and fail to take care of them? Is the opposite possible for humanity, let alone Muslim people?

⁷² Ibrahim, 14/13.

⁷³ al-Isrâ', 17/76, 77.

⁷⁴ al-Bukhari, Wahy 1; Muslim, Abu al-Husein Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, *Sahih Muslim*, inv. Baytu al-Afkar ad-Dawliyya, Riyadh, 1998, İmaret 33; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, inv. Muhammad Abd al-Kadir Ata, Daru al-Qutubi al-Ilmiyya, First Edition, Beirut 2008, I, 307.

⁷⁵ *Nasai*, Bay'at, Bab 45, VII, 7747.

⁷⁶ Darimi, Abu Muhammad Abdallah ibn Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Fadl ibn Bahram, *Musnadu ad-Darimi*, inv.

Asadu'Darani, *Siyar*, 70, III, 2555; Abu Dawud, Suleiman ibn al-Ash'as al-Azdi as-Sijistani, *Sunanu Abi Dawud*, inv.

Shuaib al-Arna'ut-Muhammad Kamil Karabelli, Daru ar-Risalat al-Alamiyya, First Edition, Damascus 2009, Jihad 2, IV, 2479.

⁷⁷ Mir, Mustansir, *Kur'ânî Terimler ve Kavramlar Sözlüğü*, İnkılâp Yayınları, İstanbul 1996, p. 85.

⁷⁸ Ibnu al-Arabi, *Ahkamu al-Qur'an*, I, 610; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, VII, 70.

The Prophet and Muslims suffered from the oppression and torment of the people in Mecca.⁷⁹ There were even the members of sahabah who fell martyr in this period.⁸⁰ They stated that they abandoned the religion of Mecca people by saying the Kalimaah Tawheed *La ilaha illallah Muhammadur Rasoolallah*. They adopted Islam, rejected all sorts of idols and made efforts to pray to God only. Kalimaah Tawheed was not a random statement said by the Muslims. This was highly important for both Muslims and people from Mecca.

After realizing that their order would be distorted and they would lose their positions, the people of Mecca increased the rate of insults, mockery, torment, and embargo against Muslims.⁸¹ Leaders from Mecca and their followers employed all sorts of oppression and torment to divert the Prophet and Muslims from their path.⁸² Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet decided that Muslims could go to Ethiopia ruled by a Christian leader named Najashi, who was known to be fair and merciful, to ensure that they would be saved from the situation there and could have a sigh of relief again. This was the first hijra of Muslims.⁸³ The first verses reflecting hijra were revealed then.⁸⁴ The hijra to Ethiopia was a great relief for the Muslims. This process had an interesting point: The freedom of adopting any religions, which is not present in most of the Islamic countries, can be found in non-Islamic countries. Christian Ethiopia was an evidence in this regard. Although it was not an Islamic country, Muslims abandoned Mecca and immigrated there (twice). Those who immigrated were called muhajir.⁸⁵

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet explained Islam to six people from Madinah in a place called Aqaba in pilgrimage season, and they believed and followed the Prophet. Then they returned to invite people to Islam.⁸⁶ God opened a new path for Muslims upon this occasion. Islam was spread in Madinah in time later.

Then, Muslims secretly emigrated from Mecca to Madinah in certain times upon the encouragement of the Prophet.⁸⁷ They were on a route to a future, without knowing what to see, in a full commitment and obedience to God. Thus, they emigrated and left Mecca, following the order of the Prophet. Finally, only the Prophet, Abu Baqr and Ali were left in Mecca. The Prophet, awaiting the

⁷⁹ Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad, *as-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi*, inv. Suhail Zakkar, Daru al-Fiqir, First Edition, 1978, p. 209-231.

⁸⁰ Ibn Ishaq, *as-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi*, p. 192-193.

⁸¹ Ibn Ishaq, *as-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi*, p. 144.

⁸² Ibn Ishaq, *as-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi*, p. 189-196.

⁸³ Ibn Ishaq, *as-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi*, p. 213-215; Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad, *at-Tabakatu al-Qubra*, inv. Ali Muhammad Umar, Maktabatu al-Hanji, First Edition, Cairo 2001, I, 172-173.

⁸⁴ az-Zumar, 39/10; an-Nahl, 16/41, 42.

⁸⁵ Muhammad Jasim Abd, *Ahkamu al-Hijrati fi ash-Shariat al-Islamiyya*, Majallatu Abhasi Qulliyatu at-Tarbiya al-Asasiyya, Kulliyatu al-Imam al-A'zam, 2008, v. 8, issue:1, p. 98-99.

⁸⁶ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, inv. Umar Abd as-Salam Tadmuri, Daru al-Kitabi al-Arabi, Third Edition, Beirut 1990, II, 76-78.

⁸⁷ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, II, 109; Ibn Sa'd, *at-Tabakatu al-Qubra*, I, 192.

permission from God to abandon Mecca and to immigrate to Madinah, moved⁸⁸ to Madinah with Abu Baqr after receiving the permission of God.⁸⁹ The Quran reflects this as follows: *"If you do not aid the Prophet - Allah has already aided him when those who disbelieved had driven him out [of Makkah] as one of two when they were in the cave and he said to his companion, "Do not grieve; indeed Allah is with us." And Allah sent down his tranquility upon him and supported him with angels you did not see and made the word of those who disbelieved the lowest, while the word of Allah - that is the highest. And Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise."*⁹⁰ Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet's departure from Mecca was the result of an obligation arising from the polytheists in Mecca. He had to leave Mecca later.⁹¹ It was reported that the Prophet stated the following in this regard on his camel when he stopped in Hazwara⁹²: *"O Mecca, you are the most beautiful and benevolent place of God. I would not leave you if I was not forced."*⁹³ Thus, almost all Muslims left Mecca and gathered in Madinah under the leadership of the Prophet.

Hijra is not a simple concept. It is the movement from superstitions to truth, darkness to light, ignorance to knowledge, oppression to justice, malevolence to benevolence, ugliness to beauty, and polytheism to Islam's light. In other words, hijra is the escape from sacrilege and polytheism and to performing prayers and displaying obedience to God, and it is a significant travel enabling people to declare Islam in further places. Believers were able to do so in Madinah.

Syrian emigrants and similar people who were forced to leave their countries by their enemies can be evaluated similarly in this regard. They had no possibility to live Islam and protect their lives and property in the environment of war. The fact that they left their homes to escape and avoid from all sorts of sociological, psychological, financial and cultural pressures and harms may assign them the status of muhajir.

2.2. Importance and Forms of Hijra

Hijra as an obedience action has an important place in Islam. The Quran orders the following in this regard: *"They wish you would disbelieve as they disbelieved so you would be alike. So do not take from among them allies until they emigrate for the cause of Allah. But if they turn away, then seize them and kill them wherever you find them and take not from among them any ally or helper."*⁹⁴ The term (حَتَّى يُهَاجِرُوا) "hatta yuhajiru" meaning "until the hijra" can be interpreted as the physical hijra from a

⁸⁸ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, II, 109.

⁸⁹ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, II, 121; Ibn Sa'd, *at-Tabakat al-Qubra*, I, 194.

⁹⁰ at-Tawbah, 9/40.

⁹¹ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, X, 211.

⁹² The name of a bazaar in Mecca.

⁹³ *Ad-Darimi*, Bab: 67, III, 2552.

⁹⁴ an-Nisa, 4/89.

place to another and Daru al-Harb to Daru al-Islam and spiritual hijra to God and the Prophet. The desires, malevolent morals and sins are abandoned and rejected in this regard.⁹⁵ The order in the verse “So do not take from among them allies until they emigrate for the cause of Allah” indicates avoiding from those who want Muslims to be similar or equal to themselves in sacrilege and polytheism.⁹⁶ Quran orders the following in regard to polytheists: “And when it is said to them Come to what Allah has revealed and to the Messenger,” you see the hypocrites turning away from you in aversion.”⁹⁷

The Quran orders the following in this regard: “Indeed, those whom the angels take [in death] while wronging themselves - [the angels] will say, “In what [condition] were you?” They will say, “We were oppressed in the land.” The angels will say, “Was not the earth of Allah spacious [enough] for you to emigrate therein?” For those, their refuge is Hell - and evil it is as a destination.”⁹⁸ The verse indicates that those who did not leave Mecca and stayed with the polytheists there, despite being a Muslim, after the Prophet emigrated did not follow the hijra orders, that God did not accept their excuses and that they will go to hell for that reason.⁹⁹

When this verse was revealed, it was obligatory for Muslims to immigrate to Madinah until the conquest of Mecca. This verse was related to certain people who became a Muslim in Mecca and did not emigrate when emigration was obligatory.¹⁰⁰ Accordingly, residing as how the polytheists please is a great sin and oppression to self even if it is not a direct sacrilege. According to the statements of the tafsir authorities, this verse indicates that one needs to emigrate when one has no chance to practice one’s religion. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet ordered the following: “Anyone who escapes from a place for the sake of religion is entitled to enter heaven, even if it is a place he goes to.” Their fathers would be the companion of the Prophet Abraham and the Prophet Muhammad.”¹⁰¹

According to Shafii movement, residing in Mecca was not unlawful as hijra was not obligatory in the period following the hijra to Madinah. Oppression and torments against the people that did not emigrate increased after jihad, which had been permissible, was made obligatory for the people who was physically and financially able to emigrate. The verse reflects the situation and future of the people who did not follow this order as it was important for the future of the first Islamic society.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ as-Sa’labi, *al-Kashf wa’l-Bayan*, X, 506-507; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *ar-Risalat al-Tabukiyya* (Zadu al-Muhajir ila Rabbih), p. 16; al-Isfahani, p. 537.

⁹⁶ al-Anfal, 8/72; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, VI, s. 506-507.

⁹⁷ an-Nisa, 4/61.

⁹⁸ an-Nisa, 4/97.

⁹⁹ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta’wili Ayi al-Qur’an*, VII, 381; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, VII, 61.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Ishaq, *as-Siyar wa’l-Maghazi*, p. 309.

¹⁰¹ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, VII, 64.

¹⁰² Özel, Ahmet, “Hicret” DİA, Istanbul 1998, XVII, 463.

Qurtubi stated the following in regard to the verse *“Was not the earth of Allah spacious [enough] for you to emigrate therein?”*: *“Such a questioning reflects that they died as the Muslims tormenting themselves by abandoning the order of hijra, which could not be stated for them if they die as polytheists. The reason these people are not regarded a Sahabah Keeram is the severity of the situation they faced, uncertainty regarding their beliefs, and the possibility of abjuration under this situation.”*¹⁰³

According to Ibn Qudamah, this verse indicates the obligation to emigrate for those who could. Emigration is obligatory for the people who cannot live their religions and perform religious practices among the polytheists. Performing religious practices is obligatory for those who physically and spiritually could. Hijra is an obligation and complementary element of religion. Therefore, the object or action defined with the obligation is also obligatory.¹⁰⁴

*“Except for the oppressed among men, women and children who cannot devise a plan nor are they directed to a way.”*¹⁰⁵

*“For those it is expected that Allah will pardon them, and Allah is ever Pardoning and Forgiving.”*¹⁰⁶

Regarding the term (لا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ حِيلَةً) “la yastatiuna hila” meaning “those helpless” (حِيلَةً), the terms “trick” and “solution” are the general concepts used in regard to certain ways of salvation. The terms (سَبِيلًا) “fountain” and “path” indicate the “path to Madinah”.¹⁰⁷ There is a belief that these terms are the general concepts regarding all paths. The meaning in the order *“For those it is expected that Allah will pardon them”* reflects the innocent (poor) people who cannot emigrate. A belief that people need to suffer extreme issues for hijra may emerge to such degree that people who do not bear these issues may face penalties. God removes such a misconception in this regard because there is no need to bear extreme difficulties. On the contrary, hijra is not obligatory when necessary supplies and a mount are absent Accordingly, this verse means the following: God does not meticulously judge them in a way that is against them. God orders the following: *“and Allah is ever Pardoning and Forgiving.”*¹⁰⁸

These two verses mention poor people, such as women and children, who cannot emigrate due to disease, poverty, and obligation to stay, and to whom emigration is not obligatory. However, it cannot be said that the obligatory stay in the country of sacrilege is appropriate when one cannot emigrate. Emigration is not obligatory but appropriate for those who stay in Daru al-Harb and performs the

¹⁰³ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, VII, 63.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Qudamah, *al-Mughni*, XIII, 151.

¹⁰⁵ an-Nisa, 4/98.

¹⁰⁶ an-Nisa, 4/99.

¹⁰⁷ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, VII, 385.

¹⁰⁸ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, VII, 65.

practices of Islam because they can help Muslims in activities of jihad against the polytheists, increase the number of Muslims there, decrease the number of disbelievers without joining their groups, prevent their malevolent actions and provide the ability to escape from them. Emigration is thus not an obligation for them as they have the chance to perform their religious practices there. Accordingly, Stayed in Mecca despite being a Muslim. When Nuaim an-Nahham wanted to emigrate, his public named Benu Adiy came to him saying: "Stay with us, and we will prevent those who try to oppress you. Keep on what you are doing for us." He was taking care of the orphans and widows of Beni Adiy. But he did not give up emigrating. Instead, he emigrated later. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet said to him: "Your public's attitude toward you is more benevolent than that of my public because my people banished me from Mecca and wanted to kill me. However, yours protected you and prevented those who attempted to torment you". He responded: "O! Prophet! On the contrary, your public banished you to obey God and perform jihad against God's enemies. However, my people prevented me from emigration and obeying God".¹⁰⁹

*"Indeed, those who have believed and emigrated and fought with their wealth and lives in the cause of Allah and those who gave shelter and aided - they are allies of one another. But those who believed and did not emigrate - for you there is no guardianship of them until they emigrate. And if they seek help of you for the religion, then you must help, except against people between yourselves and whom is a treaty. And Allah is Seeing of what you do."*¹¹⁰ There are three interesting terms in this verse, namely, (هَاجِرُونَ) "hajaru" "those who emigrate", (لَمْ يُهَاجِرُوا) "lam yuhajiru" "those who do not emigrate" and (حَتَّى يُهَاجِرُوا) "hatta yuhajiru" "until the emigration". According to the statement in the verse "And if they seek help of you for religion", believers who stay in Daru al-Harb and do not emigrate are to be helped when they ask for military aid for saving their lives or financial aids. This is an obligation, meaning they cannot be left helpless. However, if they request assistance against a disbeliever nation with which they have an agreement, they are not helped against those disbelievers and the agreement with the disbelievers is not violated until the end of the agreement period.¹¹¹ The statement in the verse "they are allies of one another" is explained as that they are their protectors in heritage-related issues.¹¹² Ansar people and muhajirs used to be their protectors due to hijra. The term "walayat" here is used to mean "helping" and "having a connection of lineage." Similarly, "wilayat and walayat" are used to mean "emirate and governorship".¹¹³

According to Ibn al-Arabi, if the believers seeking help from us are captive and poor, we have to help them as our friendship with them continues to exist. If we can, we should save them from captivity until there are no lands to conquer, or

¹⁰⁹ Ibn Qudaymah, *al-Mughni*, XIII, 151-152.

¹¹⁰ al-Anfal, 8/72.

¹¹¹ at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, XI, 294; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, X, 86-87.

¹¹² at-Tabari, *Jamiu al-Bayan an Ta'wili Ayi al-Qur'an*, XI, 293-294; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, X, 86.

¹¹³ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an*, X, 85-86.

we lose both of our eyes, have no coins left or spend all our wealth. This is the common belief among Ibn Malik and all religious authorities. We can say nothing but “inna lillah wa inna ilayhi rajiun” to the disasters arising from the cases where people leave their brothers and sisters to captivity although they are wealthy, have property more than they need and can fight as their power and number are adequate.¹¹⁴

*“But those who have believed and emigrated and fought in the cause of Allah and those who gave shelter and aided - it is they who are the believers, truly. For them is forgiveness and noble provision.”*¹¹⁵ The term (حَقًّا) “haqqan” meaning “true” in the verse is an infinitive. In other words, they strengthen their beliefs by performing hijra and helping others. Their true beliefs are confirmed with the statement of God *“For them is forgiveness and noble provision”*.¹¹⁶

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet has many hadiths regarding the importance of hijra including the following:

*“If it was not for the honor of hijra, I would wish to be a member of Ansar.”*¹¹⁷ *“God does not accept the practices of a disbeliever as long as he/she does not join the Muslims leaving the disbelievers even if he adopts Islam.”*¹¹⁸ *“One man asked the Prophet: ‘O! Prophet, what type of hijra is more benevolent?’ The Prophet answered, ‘Abandoning what God prohibits’ and added: ‘Hijra has two forms: Hijra of the urban people and hijra of the desert people. Hijra of the people living in desert means performing the duties and orders. However, the case is more severe for the people living in cities. The award for them is more and higher.”*¹¹⁹ *“Praying in a chaotic environment is like getting close to me.”*¹²⁰ Abdullah b. Abbas states that *“The Prophet, Abu Baqr and Umar (and Prophet’s companions) were among the muhajirs because they left the disbelievers. There were muhajirs among the Ansar people because they visited the Prophet accepting the case in Aqaba as Madinah was a place of polytheism.”*¹²¹ Moreover, the Prophet mentioned a person who foreswore after killing a hundred people, stayed with the people of benevolence, died in their environment, and was forgiven.¹²²

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet said the following: *“There is no such thing as hijra to Madinah after the conquest of Mecca. There are only jihad and relevant intentions. Follow when you are called to fight in*

¹¹⁴ Ibnu al-Arabi, *Ahkamu al-Qur’an*, II, 440; al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, X, 86-87.

¹¹⁵ al-Anfal, 8/74.

¹¹⁶ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, X, 89.

¹¹⁷ *Muslim*, Zaqat 12; *ad-Darimi*, Siyar, III, 71.

¹¹⁸ *Ibn Majah*, Abu Abdallah Muhammad (207-275 h.), *Sunanu Ibn al-Majah*, inv. Muhammad Abd al-Baqi, Daru Ihyai al-Qutubi al-Arabiyya, Hudud 20, Bab: 2, II, 2536.

¹¹⁹ *Nasai*, Bay’at, Bab: 15, VII, 7740; *Abu Dawud*, Vitr 345.

¹²⁰ *Muslim*, Fitan 52; *Tirmidhi*, IV, Fitan 30; *Ibn Majah*, Fitan 36, Bab: 14, II, 3985.

¹²¹ *Nasai*, Bay’at, Bab: 45, VII, 7741.

¹²² *al-Bukhari*, Anbiya 60; *Muslim*, Tawbah 46; *Ibn Majah*, Diyat 21, Bab: 2, II 2621.

the path to God".¹²³ The hijra movement which was indicated to have ended in the hadith is actually the one performed from Mecca to Madinah. Hijra is an action performed as a prayer under the appropriate conditions regardless of the place and time.¹²⁴ Although the hadith nullified hijra from Mecca to Madinah, migrating from every place of sacrilege where Muslims are oppressed to another Islamic country is still an obligation.¹²⁵

Hijra has a couple of forms: 1- The hijra performed to Madinah to help the Prophet. 2- Muslim's avoidance from the objects or actions indicated as unlawful by God. Accordingly, the Prophet also stated the following: "Muhajir is the person who avoids from what God prohibits."¹²⁶ These two hijra forms still exist with their provisions. 3- Threatening, avoiding, and disregarding the disobeying people until they start to obey God and foreswear for what they have done is another type of hijra. Accordingly, Prophet acted so against Kaab ibn Malik and his two friends.¹²⁷

Ibnu al-Arabi's assessment regarding the verses and hadiths related to hijra is also interesting. He classified hijra into two based on purposes as fleeing and demanding, and divided the hijra-related provisions into five, namely, necessary, optional, permissible, abominable, and unlawful. al-Qurtubi accepted this classification almost as is and included in his tafsir.¹²⁸ Both tafsir authorities examined hijra in terms of Islamic law and provided important information. They performed the following classification in this regard:

1- Going from Daru al-Harb to Daru al-Islam. 2- Abandoning the land of innovation. 3- Abandoning the place where unlawful actions are dominant. 4- Escaping the physical torment: The first person to do so is the Prophet Abraham. When he feared his public, he said: "Indeed, I will emigrate to [the service of] my Lord."¹²⁹ Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet Abraham also stated the following according to Quran: "Indeed, I will go to [where I am ordered by] my Lord; He will guide me."¹³⁰ Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet Moses was reported as follows: "So he left it, fearful and anticipating [apprehension] ..."¹³¹¹³²

¹²³ al-Bukhari, Jihad wa's-Siyar 1; Abu Dawud, IV, Jihad 2; at-Tirmidhi, III, Siyar 32; Nasai, Bay'at, Bab: 45, VII, 7745; ad-Darimi, Siyar 70, Bab: 69.

¹²⁴ Ibn Qudamah, al-Mughni, XIII, 150-151.

¹²⁵ al-Jawzi, Abu al-Faraj Jamaluddin, *Zadu al-Masir fi Ilmi at-Tafsir*, al-Maktabatu al-Islami, Third Edition, Beirut 1984, II, 156; Abu Dawud, (Footnote), IV, 2480; Ibn Qudamah, al-Mughni, XIII, 150.

¹²⁶ al-Bukhari, Iman 4; Riqaq 26; Abi Dawud, IV, Jihad 2; Ibn Majah, II, Fitn 36, 2934.

¹²⁷ al-Qurtubi, al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an, VI, 506-507; al-Bukhari, Maghazi 79; Muslim, at-Tawbah 53.

¹²⁸ Ibnu al-Arabi, *Ahkamu al-Qur'an*, I, p. 609; al-Qurtubi, al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an, VII, 65-72.

¹²⁹ al-Ankabut 29/26.

¹³⁰ al-Saffat, 37/99.

¹³¹ al-Qasas, 28/21.

¹³² Ibnu al-Arabi, *Ahkamu al-Qur'an*, I, 610-612; al-Qurtubi, al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur'an, VII, 69-70.

3. The Social, Cultural, and Religious Aspect of Hijra

God ordered the following, stressing the relationship between the Muslims emigrating from Mecca to Madinah and Muslims living in Madinah: *“And [also for] those who were settled in al-Madinah and [adopted] the faith before them. They love those who emigrated to them and find not any want in their breasts of what the emigrants were given but give [them] preference over themselves, even though they are in privation. And whoever is protected from the stinginess of his soul - it is those who will be the successful.”*¹³³

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians After the Prophet had come to Madinah, he signed an agreement of cooperation and solidarity with the people of the region.¹³⁴ This agreement indicates the importance Islam gives to peacefully coexisting with the Non-Muslim societies and establishing good relationships with them. Again, Prophet established a brotherhood relationship between the Muhajirs and Ansar people. According to this relationship, Muslims from Madinah gave half of their properties to their muhajir brothers¹³⁵, which is second to none in the history of humanity. Thus, the first Islamic society in Madinah was based on brotherhood, cooperation and solidarity.

Al-Qurtubi provided the following information in regard to the tenth verse of Surah al-Mumtahina: *“God did not let Muslims be friends and allies with the polytheists, which made it obligatory for Muslims to leave the country of polytheists and emigrate to a Muslims’ country. As marriage is the most concrete reason for establishing a friendship with someone, God reflected the orders regarding the hijra of women with the following verse: “O you who have believed, when the believing women come to you as emigrants...”* Polytheists from Quraysh and the Prophet made an agreement regarding the People from Mecca who were to be directed to Quraysh when they came to the Prophet. A statement in this regard indicates that Ummu Gulsum escaped from her husband Amr ibn al-As with her two siblings Ijarah and al-Walid. The Prophet returned to the siblings but accepted Ummu Gulsum. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet was asked: *“Give her to us, too, our agreement.”* Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet replied as follows: *“The conditions in the agreement are valid for men, not for women.”* Upon that, God revealed this verse.¹³⁶

Emigration socially, financially, politically, morally, and culturally affects societies, which is clear in the countries facing such an issue. Turkey is among the countries receiving the highest number of immigrants. The number of immigrants coming to Turkey is increasing nowadays due to the incidents in Syria and Iraq.

¹³³ al-Hashr, 59/9.

¹³⁴ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, II, 143-144.

¹³⁵ Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, II, 146; Ibn Sad, *at-Tabakatu al-Qubra*, I, 204-205.

¹³⁶ al-Qurtubi, *al-Jamiu li-Ahkami al-Qur’an*, XX, 410-411.

The most suitable places where poor people whose lands are occupied, under- and over-ground resources are controlled, religious practices are prevented, and lives are threatened by invaders will take refuge will be the neighboring countries with which they have religious, moral, cultural, historical, geographical and traditional similarities. This is the most appropriate action considering the conditions. This case is similar to that where Muslims were forced to immigrate to Ethiopia first and Madinah later in the era of the Prophet. The case of Syrian immigrants who have come to Turkey is quite similar to the state of the first Muslims considering the historical facts. Syrian emigrants who can be regarded as muhajirs and who were forced to leave their countries on one hand, and Turkish people who should treat Syrians like Ansar people did on the other hand.

Conclusion

The term “hijra” has many meanings. According to Islam, hijra is performed to God and the Prophet. Hijra arises from the torment, oppression, and violence against the Muslims and inability to declare and spread Islam among the people. Hijra becomes either obligatory or optional, or neither obligatory nor optional based on the conditions for Muslims. It is obligatory if one has no chance to live their religions and protect their lives and properties, or optional in cases where one can perform their religious duties. If one becomes ill, weak or poor or is kept by force in this case, then hijra is neither obligatory nor optional. However, people who need help for practicing their religions while staying in the country of sacrilege should be helped, or else the Muslims who can help them become liable in this case.

Hijra is one of the most important historical events which helped Muslims leave the problematic days behind and live with the Ansar people in Madinah in friendship, brotherhood, solidarity, and cooperation. Muslims reached a safe environment and became more powerful, and they could make others recognize them under the leadership of the Prophet. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet made agreements with the people living in Madinah and around and ensured that the authority belonged to Muslims.

The state of Syrians coming from various countries is a significant example regarding the continuation of hijra. They had no life and property safety in their own countries due to the oppression of invaders and political authorities, and they suffered the most severe torments. They abandoned their countries and homes due to the common instances of disunion, corruption and disorder, and inability to perform obligatory Islamic practices and duties. Therefore, they can be regarded as muhajirs. Some of them and Turkish people were found to be unaware of the Islamic aspects of this emigration movement, which were observed to have caused certain social problems. States and governments may prevent the related harms by producing correct strategies and solutions in this regard, which is possible by

forming a serious, realist, reliable, social, financial, political, moral, cultural, and legal unit, avoiding from any sort of racist, xenophobic and exclusionary acts, and adopting an embracing, correct and humane language.

It is highly important for the Turkish people to know the role of muhajirs and Ansar people during the era of the Prophet and remember the importance of hijra in case of the Syrian emigrants. Turkish people have religious, moral, cultural, historical, and geographical unity with the Syrians, but certain differences based on communication, customs and traditions have occasionally caused certain problems. This and similar issues can be overcome by the nations with the same belief and geography and similar cultures only through the concept of the Islamic ummah¹³⁷. In other words, such issues can be overcome by considering and practicing the orders of God, namely, *"The believers are but brothers."*,¹³⁸ *"The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong"*,¹³⁹ and the Prophet's statements, namely, *"Muslims are the brothers and sisters. They do not oppress one another or leave one among themselves to the tormenters. Whoever stands with her brothers and sisters will be helped by God. Whoever solves the problems of a Muslim will see one of his/her issues getting solved by God during the Judgment Day. God will cover the offences of a person whoever covers an offence of a Muslim"*,¹⁴⁰ *"Muslims resemble to a body in terms of loving, pitying and protecting one another. When a part of the body becomes ill, the other parts become ill, too, and cause temper"*¹⁴¹. Taking necessary measures to teach Turkish to immigrants, making efforts to learn Arabic and mutual tolerance will provide a more comfortable social environment and enable living the life better as brothers and sisters.

As the Muslims from different nations, everybody has their own values, but the importance of all these Muslims becomes clear under the unity of Islam.

¹³⁷ Ali 'Imran, 3/110.

¹³⁸ al-Hujurat, 49/10.

¹³⁹ at-Tawbah, 9/71.

¹⁴⁰ *al-Bukhari*, Mazalim 3; *Muslim*, Birr 58; *Abu Dawud*, Adab 45, VII, 255, 4893; *at-Tirmidhi*, Hudud 3, III, 254, 1487; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 7943.

¹⁴¹ *Muslim*, Birr 66, 2586; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, VII, 18890; Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, VII, 18930.

Hijra as an Obedience Action in Islam and Muhajir People

TABLE							
The questionnaire table including 51 people and reflecting the reasons for the emigration of Syrian people in Gaziantep							
Number	Reason and Purpose of Emigration مواد سبب الهجرة وغايتها	1Degree درجة واحدة	2degree درجتان	3degree ثلاث درجات	4degree أربع درجات	5degree خمس درجات	Total and Percentage
1	Rejecting the Religious Beliefs رفض العقائد الدينية	13.72%	1.96%	9.80%	5.88%	23.52%	54.90%
2	Absence of Life and Property Safety عدم أمنية النفس والمال	0%	1.96%	1.96%	5.88%	88.23%	98.03%
3	Oppression of Political Authority ضغط السيطرة السياسية	0%	1.96%	9.80%	5.88%	80.39%	98.03%
4	Sectarian Fanaticism and Violence التعصب المذهبي وشذته	3.92%	5.88%	7.84%	11.76%	45.09%	74.50%
5	Propagation of Disunion, Corruption and Disorder انتشار النفاق والفساد والفتنة	3.92%	5.88%	5.88%	3.92%	62.74%	82.35%
6	Presence of Inappropriate Morals الأخلاق السيئة وجود	13.72%	5.88%	5.88%	7.84%	37.25%	70.58%
7	Committing Crimes (الجريمة) ارتكاب العقوبة	5.88%	1.96%	9.80%	9.80%	19.60%	47.05%
8	Education and Training التربية والتعليم	7.84%	3.92%	9.80%	7.84%	35.29%	64.70%
9	Trade التجارة	11.76%	3.92%	1.96%	1.96%	11.76%	31.37%
10	Relatives and Marriage الأقرباء والزواج	15.68%	3.92%	5.88%	3.92%	7.84%	37.25%
TOTAL OF GRAND AVERAGE		7.64%	3.72%	6.86%	6.47%	41.17%	65.88%

The percentage values in the table were found through the interviews including 10 questions, which were related to the reasons of emigration and scored with the points ranging from 1 (least important) to 5 (most important), performed with 51 Syrian emigrants. The results indicate that according to the majority (98.03%), the most important reason is the absence of life and property safety and oppression of the political authority.

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Migration from Syria to Turkey: Reasons, Results and Hopes*

Muhammad Sheikh Muhammad NECCAR**

Translated by: Tuba ERKUT***

Abstract

Emigration is a very old phenomenon, which means a person leaving his place of birth to live apart from his family, friends, and relatives. There are various factors - that may either be beyond a person's control or that are simply arbitrary - which force a person to move to other lands. Immigration has positive or negative consequences for countries that welcome new populations from outside. The same argument can be made about what has been the greatest influx of people in recent times, namely the "Wave of Migrants from Syria to Turkey." Syrians were either forced to move to different regions in Syria or emigrated to other countries. And Turkey was among the most popular destinations for the emigrants. Indeed, Syrian immigrants coming to Turkey far outweigh those going to Europe. The majority of Syrians emigrated to southern Turkey because of its proximity to Syria while a considerable portion of them moved to big cities like Istanbul. There are certain political, religious, and geographical factors that come into play when considering why Syrians chose Turkey as their new abode.

This study will provide a brief description of migration, make a case for the need to do more research on the subject, focus on special or general reasons why Syrians have decided to make Turkey their new home as well as dwelling on the positive and negative effects of the latest immigration wave of Syrian to Turkey. The study will also address the expectations of Syrians from Turkey as well as their concerns and make a series of suggestions to make life easier for both sides. The conclusion section will contain a summary of the study.

Keywords: Migration, Refugee, Ansar, Syrians, Turks, Syria, Turkey

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Suriye'den Türkiye'ye Göç: Nedenler, Sonuçlar ve Umutlar" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademisi*. (Muhammad Sheikh Muhammad NECCAR, "Suriye'den Türkiye'ye Göç: Nedenler, Sonuçlar ve Umutlar", *İlahiyat Akademisi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 185-198.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Asst. Prof. Gaziantep University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Arabic and Rhetoric, muhamednajar@gmail.com.

*** Res. Asst., Gaziantep University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Tafsir, tubahatip@hotmail.com.

Suriye'den Türkiye'ye Göç: Nedenler, Sonuçlar ve Umutlar

Özet

Göç, kişinin doğduğu yeri, eş, dost ve akrabalarının yaşadığı diyarı terk etmesi anlamına gelen çok eski bir olgudur. Kişiyi buna iten zorunlu veya ihtiyarî birçok sebep bulunmaktadır. Göç, hem terk edilen yer hem de göç edilip yerleşilen bölge açısından olumlu veya olumsuz neticeler doğurmaktadır. Son yılların en önemli iltica hareketi olan "Suriye'den Türkiye'ye göç" konusunda da aynı şeyi söylemek mümkündür. Suriyeliler gerek ülke içindeki farklı bölgelere ve gerekse ülkeleri dışına göç etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu hususta özellikle de Türkiye tercih edilmiştir. Nitekim Suriye'den Türkiye'ye yapılan göç, Avrupa'ya yapılan göçe oranla çok daha fazladır. Türkiye'ye göç eden Suriyelilerin çoğunun, Suriye'ye yakınlığı dolayısıyla ülkenin güneyini tercih ettiği; yine azımsanamayacak kadar kişinin de İstanbul ve diğer şehirlere yöneldiği görülmektedir. Suriyelilerin, göç yeri olarak özellikle Türkiye'yi tercih etmeleri siyasi, dini ve coğrafi sebeplere dayanmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada kısaca göçün tanımı, bu konuda araştırma yapmanın gerekliliği, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye göç etmesinin özel veya genel sebepleri ve göçün Türkiye ve Suriye üzerindeki olumlu-olumsuz etkileri üzerinde durulacaktır. Çalışmada Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye dair endişeleri ve Türkiye'den beklentileri de ele alınacak ve bu konuda çeşitli öneriler sunulacaktır. Sonuç kısmında da çalışmanın özetine yer verilecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Göç, Mülteci, Ensar, Suriyeliler, Türkler, Suriye, Türkiye

الخلاصة:

الهجرة بمعنى ترك بلد الولادة وإقامة الأهل والعشيرة ظاهرة قديمة جديدة؛ لها أسبابها المفضية إليها، سواء أكانت اختيارية أم قسرية، ولها نتائج سلبية وإيجابية على البلد المهاجر منه وإليه، والأبرز في السنوات الأخيرة هجرة السوريين داخل البلاد وخارجها، وتحديداً إلى تركيا فنسبتهم أضعاف ما في البلدان الأوروبية من مهاجرين سوريين.

ومن تركيا اختار معظم المهاجرين جنوبها المحاذي لبلدهم ففيه جُلُّ السوريين، وأثر قسم ليس بالقليل الإقامة في إسطنبول وغيرها من المدن التركية، ثم إن سبب هجرة السوريين إلى تركيا المجاورة ترجع لعوامل سياسية ودينية وجغرافية.

وهذا البحث يتناول تعريف الهجرة بإيجاز، وسبب الكتابة فيها، وواقع المهاجرين السوريين في تركيا وهجرتهم إليها من حيث الأسباب الخاصة والعامة والنتائج الإيجابية والسلبية على الأثرak وتعرضت لما يتخوف منه السوريون في تركيا وما يتمنونه، ثم ذكرت. وتركيا والسوريين وبلدهم والخاتمة وفيها خلاصة البحث -وهي أشبه بالأمنيات- الحلول والبدائل، وأنهيت البحث بالتوصيات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: هجرة، مهاجرون، أنصار، سوريون، أتراك سورية، تركية.

Introduction

The term (الهِجْر) is the opposite of the verb “rejoining”, and it is from the first grade in this regard. Hajarahu - yahjuruhu- hajran- hijranan means “S/he ended this/that.” The termination of the relationship between two people is verbally indicated as “yahtajirani” and “yatahajarani”. The term “hijran” is also used as the noun form of the term “hijrat”. The term “tahajur” means “getting interrupted”.¹

Ibn al-Faris says the letters (ح, ج) have two bases. One of them means being estranged and ending the interest while the other indicates pulling and tying something.²

The literal meaning of the term is “to abandon a place and migrate to another for certain reasons”. Migration has two forms, physical and spiritual, both of which can be performed simultaneously at certain times. In addition, migration occasionally occurs permanently or temporarily. Ibn al-Haris states the following: “The statement that ‘people moved from this place to that place’ means abandoning the current place for another environment. Just like the emigration of muhajirs from Mecca to Madinah.”³ These emigrations are under the scope of permanent, physical, and spiritual migrations. Immigration to Ethiopia was temporary, physical, and spiritual.

Ibn Manzur makes the following statement: “A hadith reflects that ‘people should not be estranged from one another no longer than three days’ [The term “hijra” is used to indicate estrangement in the hadith].” “Hijra” here is used to reflect the “opposition of reuniting”. This indicates that it is not appropriate for Muslims to be estranged from each other for longer than three days. Those who follow the people supporting innovation and the self should be avoided until they abjure and follow the true path. Accordingly, Prophet ordered his people to avoid from Kab ibn Malik and his friends for 50 days thinking that they might have been in disunion as they fell behind the Expedition to Tabuk. Moreover, the avoided his wives for a month for certain reasons.⁴ The spiritual emigration that is permanent is performed against the followers of innovation. It is permanent as long as they do not abjure, and it becomes temporary when they abjure following the true path. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet explained the concepts of permanent and temporary hijra following the conquest of Mecca as

¹ Muhammad ibn Muqarram ibn Ali Abu al Fadil Jamaluddin ibn Manzur (h. 711), *Lisanu al-Arab*, “hcr” art., Daru Sadir, Third Edition, Beirut (h.) 1414, 252/5; Zainattin Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abi Baqr ibn Abd al-Qadir al-Hanafi al-Razi (h. 666), *Muhtaru as-Sihah*, inv. Yossef Sheikh Muhammad, al-Maktabatu al-Asriyya, Fifth Edition, Beirut-Saida, 1420/1999.

² Ahmad ibn Faris ibn Zakariya al-Qazwini ar-Razi, Abu al Husein (h. 395), *Makaisu al-Lugha*, inv. Abd as-Salam Muhammad Kharun, Daru al-Fiqr 1399/1979.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *Lisanu al Arab*, “hcr” art.

follows: "Muhajir is the person who avoids from what God bans."⁵ This hadith removes the so-called contradiction in the following statement by the Prophet:

"There is no such thing as hijra to Madinah after the conquest of Mecca. There are only jihad and relevant intentions. Follow when you are called to fight in the path to God"⁶

Purpose of the Study

Migration of Syrians or their exile from their countries is one of the clearest and most tragic forms of emigration in the 21st century. As this emigration has fearsome effects and threats regarding the future of both Syria and other countries, the case of Syrian people affects anybody who is sensitive and cautious. Even talking in this issue is sorrowful. The crises of Syrians in Syria and other countries created a great emigrant crisis in the world. According to certain authorities, the number of Syrian emigrants reached 13 million people. Half of them live in Syria while more than six million live outside the country.

Turkey hosts more than three million of them. Migrants have taken refuge in the cities close to the border such as Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep and Kilis. According to the United Nations, there are a million immigrants in this area. According to the statement of the Governor of Istanbul, there are approximately 500,000 Syrian people in Istanbul. Of them, 400,000 are officially registered.⁷ The number of migrants is still increasing.

It should be known that Syrians' immigration to Turkey is actually an exile that is obligatory due to the tragic state of Syria, rather than their own choices. They state the following for the case in Syria:

I leave you my dear country/with the tears falling down my eyes!

I did not choose to get away/but it is my destiny to live away!

The earth asks, crying:/ did you prefer living somewhere else abandoning me?!

The grief in my heart says:/ I will leave my heart here and go away.

They want to return to Damascus for that purpose.

This study briefly mentions the reasons, positive and negative aspects, solution recommendations and alternatives regarding the migration of Syrians to Turkey, the neighboring country on the north, and it reflects the outcomes.

⁵ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *al-Musnad*, Hadith no: 6515, 66/11; al-Bukhari Iman, 10.

⁶ Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *al-Musnad*, Hadith no: 1991; al-Bukhari, Hadith no: 3077; al-Muslim, Hadith no: 1353.

⁷ <http://www.stunl.com>

The Reasons of Migration from Syria

Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians emigration movements from the era of the Prophet Abraham to the present time have had certain reasons, which might be general or private.

General Reasons

Three of the most obvious reasons of Syrians' immigration to Turkey and other countries, which are valid for any immigrants, are as follows:

First: The absence of any imminent political solution that will meet the needs of Syrian people and the increase of the violent acts by the authority neglecting the demands of the people who desire freedom and by the extremist Islamist organizations. As a result of these tensions, Syria has become an unlivable place and the public has been forced to migrate.

Second: The rejection of many migrants and their families to take part in the civil war in their countries and fears related to the outcomes of this rejection such as compulsory military service. Syrians wanted to ensure that the public achieved the authority in a peaceful way, rather than with arms but this did not occur as how they planned.

Third: The search for the better ways of living and education which they lost in their countries or which significantly deteriorated in time. The direct and rapidly provided opportunities in the host country and priorities for them compared to other migrants. Germany and Canada especially display the same attitude despite the general negative approach of the Europe which was indifferent to the issues in Syria and public calls in Canada and other non-European countries indicating that Syrian refugees should be welcomed sincerely. However, this indifference caused many people to lose their lives. Many people who wanted to immigrate to these countries by sea lost their lives on the voyage. Those who managed to reach the countries they planned lost their properties and beloved ones and shed blood.⁸

However, there were people who understood why and how the western countries welcome the qualified refugees. Certain Turkish academicians stated that certain European countries accepted Syrian academicians and facilitated their procedures for stealing the scientific and technical approaches and studies in Syria.⁹

⁸ Turkey was not the only country used for immigrating to Europe. Moreover, there is an immigration movement from the south of Mediterranean to north. However, Turkey undertook more responsibility than other countries for many reasons, which happened as the western countries did not approve Turkey in terms of establishing a buffer zone, NATO Patriot missiles were drawn back from Turkey, and international aids for the refugees decreased.

⁹ A meeting conducted with the Syrian academicians in Gaziantep University, November 2016.

Particular Reasons of Migration

As soon as the protests for freedom started in Syria, the regime there reacted with oppression and violence, and the roads before the Turkish embassy were filled with people before the war got bigger. More precisely, Turkey has opened its doors to Syrian migrants for religious, political, regional, and humanitarian reasons without any fears. Therefore, most Syrians have taken refuge in Turkey. It is without a doubt that Turkish people, who are the brother of the Syrians, know what hijra and brotherhood mean and are aware of the relation and religious and geographical relationships between both countries. This was also another factor causing Syrians to take refuge in Turkey. Some of the particular reasons of migration include:

- ✓ The growth of the war since the first half of 2012 and increase in bombardment on the northern areas of Syria, particularly Jisr al-Shughur, Idlib. People escaped to Turkey due to the life-threatening case every time bombardments on these areas or the peninsula increased. The number of immigrants reached the maximum level as the war broke out in Aleppo and government aimed to stress its own presence in the rural areas at the northeast.

- ✓ The dense population in the northern Syria, particularly Aleppo.

- ✓ Sincere and official welcome from Turkey and fulfillment of their legal demands without paying attention to race, religion, or sect.

- ✓ Finally, easiness of reaching Turkish borders, or more precisely, facilitation of revolution based on humanitarian reasons, and physical closeness between Turkey and Europe.

Positive and Negative Aspects of Migration

The fact that Turkey has been ruled by a religious government regarding muhajirs as brothers and friends is a great blessing from Allah for the Syrian people as also mentioned by other people. This could be understood from the positive reactions of Syrians when the preference of the Turkish majority became a reality in the polls. What Turkish people wanted was also the wish of Syrians. This satisfaction of Syrians arose from the hope that Turkish people would provide more services to them, introduce laws that would improve Syrians' lives, or the futures of them, their relatives and siblings would be assured. They only wanted stability for Turkey, their second home county in which they will live in safety and peace until they return to Syria following the termination of the dark period there. Syrians did not forget the awful attitude in other countries. This desire of Syrians was clear when they prayed to God for protecting Turkey during the coup attempt and feared that Turkey would end up like Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and other Arabic countries.

Human migrations have positive and negative results for the Syrians and Turkish people in any cases. In addition, negative aspects may be positive for others due to certain features. For example:

1. Increase in Financial Activities and Investments

The immigration of Syrian scholars, financial experts and capital owners to Turkey opened the doors of Turkish economy. Businessmen in the northern Syria moved to Gaziantep, Turkey. According to the recent statistics, Syrians are the leading foreign investors with approximately 4500 businesses and 666 million Turkish liras provided to the Turkish capitals since the beginning of the Syrian crisis. This crisis strengthened the commercial and financial activities and helped increase the investments of Syrians in Turkey and direct the foreign investors to Turkey in the last two years. Official statements indicate that many of Syrian businesses are located primarily in Istanbul and densely in the cities close to the border such as Gaziantep, Mersin, and Hatay.¹⁰ These financial activities arise from the sincere and tolerant attitude from the Turkish people and government which Syrians cannot deny at all.

However, all positive aspects have a negative aspect. For example, opportunities of Turkish workers have decreased as Turkish employers and companies preferred employing Syrians. One of the reasons Syrian workers are preferred is that Syrian manpower is less expensive than the Turkish manpower. While Turkish people do not accept 100 liras a day, Syrians accept approximately half of this fee as they are in need.

The laws prohibit foreigners from working in Turkey without the relevant permissions, but the government neglect these laws for Syrians. No Syrians working illegally or with Turkish employers have been penalized thus far. In addition, the Turkish government makes efforts to close the gap between the Turkish and Syrian workers through the laws and decisions assuring the rights of Syrian workers and making them equal to Turkish workers. The current Turkish government clearly knows what immigration means and responds to it in the best way possible. There used to be Turkish people who immigrated to Europe, particularly Germany, to work. This affected the German people, some of whom even complained about the situation because Turkish people captured their occupational opportunities. Just like what Syrians are doing now in Turkey. The number of people demanding that the government should spare a higher budget for the Turkish people is increasing. However, their calls are not responded. Syrians have constant contributions to the Turkish economy in terms of both manpower and investments and through the businessmen just like how Turkish people form a great society in Germany that needs the support of the Turkish in many economic

¹⁰ <http://www.dailysabah.com; www.turkpress.co/node>

areas. Some of the Syrians state the following: We will act like muhajirs doing our best, with the permission of God, if Turkish people act as Ansar people toward us.

2. Turkey's Use of Syrian Brain Drain

Turkey has attributed great importance to the brain drain from Syria. These people are not less important than the capital owners. On the contrary, they are more important. Turkey has more rights to benefit from these people compared to Europe. It has welcomed these people, enabled Syrian people and those coming from them to enroll at universities, and helped establish bridges between the Arabs and other Muslims. With the latest decisions, the idea of granting Turkish citizenship to scientists and people who are academically competent was adopted. Therefore, the doors were closed to the European human traffickers. Many faculties providing classes in Arabic were opened in many Turkish universities following these decisions. One of these schools is Gaziantep University, and probably the most well-known of these schools is Mardin University. Four faculties, the fee of which is not that high and which provides Arabic classes, were opened this year. Thus, many Arabic and non-Arabic students were collected. Moreover, new Syrian academicians were needed in this regard. However, unfortunately, the education level in Syrian decreased although these educational activities were in favor of the Syrian students and academicians in Turkey.

3. Living Conditions Getting Harder

Syrians moved to southern Turkey, which made the living conditions of Turkey and refugees more difficult. The rates of real properties have increased significantly. Neither Turkish nor Syrian people can deny that the rental fee of a regular apartment increased from 500 to 1000 liras and continued in this rate. This increase in rental fees is annoying for people, regardless of whether they are Turkish or not. Syrians show empathy to the feelings of Turkish people living in rental houses, but they cannot do anything as they also suffer from the same. Turkish people say that rental fees would not have increased if Syrians had not come while Syrians say they do not have the full responsibility in this regard. The responsibilities of greedy and abusive landlords and real estate agencies are more. The increase in rents makes the landlords happy while upsetting the tenants. The following statement by an Arab is an example: The troubles suffered by a society pave the way for abuses from other societies. The increase in rents caused certain students to leave school and university because only a single employed person is not adequate for meeting the expenses of a family, which negatively affects the number of students. A Syrian father says that he has five daughters. They are all at the ages of primary and secondary school. Approximately 500 liras are necessary

just for their transportation expenses. He works in a construction site and his wage does not exceed 1200 liras monthly. How can he send them to school?¹¹

I would say the Turkish people relieved our problems related to living conditions and helped the Syrians in the beginning. However, the load on the shoulders of the government increased, making the issue unbearable. A refugee told me the following: There is a group of young Turkish people who voluntarily bring all sorts of basic materials, tools, and supplies to every Syrian home they help. There are many similar examples. However, as the living conditions got more difficult, the following reactions reflected here without any revisions emerged.

Certain trustworthy refugees state the following: "We appreciate the benevolent and merciful attitudes of the Turkish people. We cannot deny their aids to us in the past. They are hospitable people with strong religious beliefs. We also know the pressure of the eastern and western countries over Turkey. However, this does not mean that we will stay silent against the unacceptable attitudes toward our brothers and sisters. They approach us as tourists in Turkey. Most of the Syrians here are either self-employed or work for a low fee with no social insurance. They are not given the permission to work as they have no valid passport."

Another person living in a tent city in Kilis says the following: "We appreciate and thank Turkish authorities for all formal procedures, ensuring safety and providing services in tent cities whether we like or not. However, despite these, we hope the war in Syrian ends and we can return to our home country." That refugee said the following when I asked about the reason for wishing to return: "Staying away from the relatives and friends is the greatest obstacle. Life conditions are difficult and expenses are high." The refugee also added the following: "I wanted my mother to stay with me in the tent city but she could not adapt to the environment. She decided to return back to where she was born and she is all alone now in Aleppo. Therefore, I will return at the earliest opportunity."¹²

A refugee from Gaziantep makes the following statement: "Due to the fears of being called for military service, I came to Turkey and was employed by a Turkish employer. I was trying to look after my family but my job was not

¹¹ According to what Ercan Demirci, deputy secretary of the Turkish Ministry of National Education, said, the number of Syrian refugee students in Turkey is 450,000 in the current academic year. See: www.turkeyalaan.net. I would say that This is the official number of students registered in schools. According to certain statistics, there are unregistered students as many as the registered.

¹² The following is mentioned in the study entitled "Suriye'ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler" and published by Oytun Orhan in July 2014: "Most of the refugees prefer to live outside the camps despite the positive environment and assurance of meeting the basic needs. The greatest issue is that the life in camps is boring. Refugees are dissatisfied with doing the same in a confined area every day. In addition to getting bored, they also feel their freedom is confined as entrances and exits depend on permissions." See: alsouria.net. Moreover, there are other reasons for them to prefer outside the camps. One of them is that they want to live close to their relatives living in other cities of Turkey.

permanent. Rent, electricity, water, and telephone bills piled up whenever the job was disrupted. In addition to these, I fell ill, and I was hospitalized and operated on a couple of times. I did not pay for these, which was quite nice. I recovered thanks to God but I am still under observation. I am waiting to recover totally to return to Syrian as soon as stability is ensured. My longing for Syria is great at the moment. Life is also expensive here.”

A third person says the following: “We really love Turkey and wish no troubles for Turkey. However, we do not wish for ourselves. We are all beaten up. Life brought all sorts of grief to us. We want to have peace and trust until Turkish citizenship is granted or we demand a temporary Turkish passport to go to other countries at least.”

A fourth person states the following: “We recognized the personalities of certain Syrians. Some are committed to Islam and their principles and positive values. For instance, one of the Syrians in Kahramanmaraş said to me that they did not change their traditions and customs and that they religiously lived in Turkey like how they did in Syria. Some got caught up in the fake attraction of losing the personal and social control and got away from most of the religious principles to adapt to their new lives.”

A fifth person mentions the following: “The greatest obstacle for all Syrians is the inability to speak Turkish. Language is an instrument that enables us to get to know our Turkish neighbors and facilitates the adaptation. Living conditions of a person who can speak Turkish are better than most of the people who cannot speak it well.

Following these interviews I conducted to examine the state of Syrians in Gaziantep, Kilis, and Kahramanmaraş, I realized that everybody I talked to are in a great desire of returning back to Syria, which we cannot condemn. When Bilal al-Habashi migrated to Madinah, he became ill like the other muhajirs. When the disease ended, he laid in the yard of his house and read the following poem:

Will I be able to go to Fah and see plants like

Izhir and Jalil?!

Will I be able to drink Majanna water and see

the mounts Shama and Tufail¹³?

The reasons for Syrians’ desire to return back to their home countries include the following:

¹³ See Ibn Hisham, *as-Siratu an-Nabawiyya*, 1/589; Abu al-Qasim Abd al-Rahman ibn Abdullah b. Ahmad as-Suhaili (h. 581), *ar-ar-Rawdu al-Unuf*; inv. Umar Abd as-Salam as-Salami, Daru Ihya' at-Turasi al-Arabi, First Edition, Beirut (1421/ 2000) 5/31. Fah: A place outside Mecca. Izhir: A plant with a pleasant smell. Jalil: A sort of plant. Majanna: A fair set at an area, which is colder than Mecca, in the south of Mecca during the Days of Ignorance. Shama and Tufail: Two mounts in Mecca.

1. Love for the place where they lived their childhood and youth.
2. The fear that the demographic structure and residents of their home cities may change.
3. High expenses before the war.
4. Difficulties in establishing communication with the Turkish people to the linguistic differences.

During my interview with one of the people who immigrated to Turkey first, the statements of the interviewee reminded me of Abu Baqr's (r.a.) answer regarding the Fay goods Ansar received from Bani Nadir and their beautiful attitudes. Ilya (Jerusalem), which was controlled by the Christians Prophet said the following to the Ansar in a hadith: "Your muhajir brothers and sisters have no goods. I can share both fay goods and your own goods with them if you like. Or I can only share the fay goods with them." Ansar people replied as follows: "O Prophet! Share fay goods with them and help them using our goods however and how much you like." Upon this, the following verses were revealed: "...but give [them] preference over themselves, even though they are in privation.." [al-Hashr 59/9] Abu Baqr stated the following: "O Ansar people! May God be pleased with you! The situation of yours and ours can be explained with the following statement of Ganawi: May God be pleased with Bani Jafar. They did not give up when we were in a hard situation. Even our mothers would give up in those times. They regarded us as one of them and gave us their coolest and warmest rooms".¹⁴

What Syrians feared the most when they immigrated to Turkey is the abuse of their mistakes by the malevolent people when they do one, considering the case of Abdallah ibn Ubay ibn Salul who stated "Our country became over populated. We do not have anything now. Our ancestors say 'don't bite the hand that feeds you!' You should know that if we return to Madinah, the powerful ones will banish the weak. (Turning to the people in his tribe) These muhajirs stay in Madinah thanks to your aids. They will abandon your countries if you cut your aids."¹⁵ However, fortunately, the current Turkish government approach every refugee, without paying attention to their race, group and sect, until the safety is ensured in their countries and they wish to return there.

Solutions and Alternatives

Many countries make efforts to end the tension in Syria, to fulfill the demands of the Syrian people and ensure justice, and to protect the Syrians in their homeland. However, these efforts are only reflected visually in the media.

¹⁴ *Mujamu al Buldan* 1/29; *Adabu ash-Shafii wa Manakibihi*, p. 212.

¹⁵ See Ibn Hisham, *ibid.*, 2/291; Abu Zaid Umar ibn Shabba an-Numairi al-Basri (h. 262), *Tarihu al-Madinah*, inv. Fahim Muhammad Shaltut, Jiddah (h.) 1399, p. 365-365.

Moreover, USA and Russia have secret plans to maintain the war between the government and opposition while stating insignificant excuses instead of ending the conflicts for the wellness of the Syrian people. What is taking place in Syria is like a game arbitrated by the USA and Russia. Turkey, on the other hand, makes every possible effort to ensure Syrian people's demands are fulfilled and refugees return to their countries voluntarily rather than being forced. For that purpose, Turkish authorities work to prepare the basic safety conditions and political grounds that will encourage Syrians to return to Syrian and to rebuild their countries as free and honorable people. However, emigration from Syria will continue as long as a valid political solution is not found, Russia performs obvious military actions, and USA keeps on adopting an attitude that is unclear, or more precisely, that objects to the demands of the Syrian people. The solutions internally and externally mentioned by the Syrian people include the following:

1. Changing the regime through a political solution and conducting an extensive peace process without other countries' interference to Syria's internal operations, without obligating a regime determined by these countries, and without excluding any parties.
2. The youth should be the focus, and scientific and practical organizations should be conducted to overcome these unfruitful years. Young people are men and women of the future. Supporting them financially, scientifically, and politically, or through every possible way, to make sure they are prepared to reconstruct their country.
3. If our first plan does not succeed, positioning Syrians in a safe region after reaching a national consensus and encouraging every Syrian person including those who are scientifically and financially stable to return back to Syria. This safe zone will ensure that most of the Syrian migrants will return to their countries regardless of whether they are in the north or south of Syria.

Recommendations and Conclusion

Syrian refugees consider Turkey as the best place in terms of safety, political, financial and religious standards because The Turkish government and people understand what Syrians have been suffering, the government has provided all sorts of opportunities and adopted the idea of Ansar and Muhajir, and Gaziantep was named as the "Ansar city" by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President of Turkey. As I am a Syrian and live with the Syrians, I can state the following: Syrian people agree on certain things. The following are the three most important among them:

1. Appreciating Turkey that accepts Syrians without performing differentiation among the Syrians.

2. Desire to return back to Syria after the oppression ends, stability is ensured, and rebuilding activities start.

3. Absence of a solution hope that will terminate the pessimism among the Syrians in the near future and ensure that their legal demands are fulfilled.

Syrians also have certain demands from Turkey:

1. Making the country a home for Syrians because the return process may take a long time or may not happen.

2. Performing studies that will serve as bridges between the government and religious and civil organizations to facilitate the adaptation between the Syrians and Turkish people.

3. Using media and encouraging the press to explain the positive aspects of migration from Syria. The Syrian migration is actually a positive case. Despite all sorts of difficulties, this migration serves to strengthen the relationships between two nations in certain areas.

4. Performing studies to facilitate the works of Syrians who come to Turkey from other countries, who stay with their families or who have no other choice.

This study aimed to shed light on the reasons for Syrians' immigration to Turkey, and to indicate that Syrians did not only emigrate to escape from war in Syria for finding a safe place, that this case has positive and negative effects on both Turkish and Syrian people, and that Turkey has been made the target of pressures and criticisms as it has displayed and maintained a supportive attitude for all Syrian people. Moreover, this study also reflected Syrians' ideas and emotions related to Turkey, and their demands from the country. Finally, it provided solutions, alternatives and recommendations.

May God accept and make it successful.

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Case Report

“Religious Reflections of Human Migration: Religion and Religiousness in terms of Syria and Turkey”*

Translation and Interview: Mahmut KAYA**

Human migration includes the changes in geographies and the dynamism in cultures, beliefs and values. Therefore, immigrants bring their beliefs and values to where they migrate and face with the beliefs and values there at the same time. It is fair to state that the asylum-seekers from Syria who immigrated to Turkey have been experiencing the same processes. Although Syria and Turkey have common history and cultural heritage, the religious lives and experiences in these countries may differ.

Accordingly, this study includes an interview conducted with Muhammad Mazhar Hasan, a Syrian professor and imam, on the issue of religiousness in Syria and Turkey to analyze the issue of human migration through the religious life and experiences. Muhammad Mazhar, the son of Sheikh Ibrahim Naqshibandi Hasan who is the previous mufti of Haseki, settled in Şanlıurfa after giving classes in Istanbul for some time. He still gives Arabic and Quran courses in his school. Another aspect of human migration is of course related to religion and religiousness. Following the human migrations, religious habits meet with the religious orientations of the new place, which ensures religious adaptation and causes religious conflicts. These micro and macro conflicts also cause syntheses and hybridizations. Accordingly, this study aimed to examine the religious experiences of the Syrian asylum-seekers who have been in Turkey for longer than five years. This study now presents how the religious life in Syria and Turkey is perceived by the asylum-seekers in from the perspective of Professor Muhammad Mazhar Hasan.

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Vaka Takdimi: Göçün Dini Yansımaları: Suriye ve Türkiye Bağlamında Din ve Dindarlık" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Translation and Interview: Mahmut KAYA, "Vaka Takdimi: Göçün Dini Yansımaları: Suriye ve Türkiye Bağlamında Din ve Dindarlık", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 199-206.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Asst. Prof. Harran University, Faculty of Science and Literature, Department of Sociology, Faculty Member.

M. Kaya: Could you please introduce yourself?

M. M. Hasan: My name is Muhammad Mazhar Hasan I came to Turkey from Syria. I was serving as a professor in Syria. My father had a school with approximately 400 students in Syria. There was a mosque next to the school. I was both an imam in the mosque and a professor in the school. I gave fiqh and tafsir courses.

M. Kaya: Could you please describe how the general religious life in Syria is?

M. M. Hasan: There are Muslims, Christians, Yazidis and Shiite people in there. There are mosques and churches. Moreover, there are many sects in Syria. People in there perform religious practices based on their own beliefs. The government has made practicing different religions free for everyone.

M. Kaya: Are there any conflicts between these religious groups?

M. M. Hasan: Of course, there are. For example, there are many conflicts between the Christians and Muslims. The theological ideas of Muslims and Christians are not the same. For example, God says in Quran “inna ad-dina indallahi Islam” meaning “the only religion valid before God is Islam”. The verse also states “wa ma arsalna-ka illa rahmatan li al-alamin” meaning “and We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds.” However, Christians did not follow Islam. Their beliefs and practices are totally different.

There are Durzi people, for instance. They regard themselves Muslims but there are differences in certain topics. There is also the concept of Yazidi movement. The followers of this movement have a different theological approach. They speak Kurdish. Their beliefs are also different. Yazidi movement has aspects different than Islam and Christianity. There are certain sects among Muslims such as Sunnis, Shiite, Durzis and Ismailists. These are the sects regarding themselves as Muslims According to the ideology we call as ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-kitap, there are Shafii, Hanbali, Maliki and Hanafi sects.

M. Kaya: Are there any ideological conflicts between these sects?

M. M. Hasan: No, there are no such conflicts between Hanafi, Shafii, Maliki and Hanbali followers. There was no issue between the Sunnis and Shiite. Until this de facto war began. Conflicts emerged between the Sunnis and Shiite.

M. Kaya: Then how was the relationship between these groups before the war?

M. M. Hasan: Most of the Muslims in Syrian are Sunni, and Most are Hanafi and Shafii. However, the government was Shiite. It aimed to spread Shia all over the society. They provided financial supports and assigned positions to those who adopted Shia. Shiite scholars used to come from Iran, make various aids to the poor

people in villages and provide them financial aids. They used to invite people to their sects.

M. Kaya: Were there any differences between the religious ideas of the people in the governmental offices, or were there any forms of discrimination?

M. M. Hasan: As I stated before, Shia had the authority to rule the government.

M. Kaya: Then was it possible for Sunni people to take part in the government?

M. M. Hasan: They could but they did not have much authority. They could not do anything. The authority and main governmental policy were determined by the Shia.

M. Kaya: How long have you been in Turkey?

M. M. Hasan: Approximately four years.

M. Kaya: How would you compare the religious life in Turkey and Syria as a professor?

M. M. Hasan: Turkish and Syrian governments regard themselves Muslim considering their religious lives, Islamic cities and general states. We need to observe Quran and Sunnah if we are to compare the Muslims' states. Muslims of the current times have many deficiencies in their religious lives. There are many religious insufficiencies in the beliefs, social life and other procedures. Muslims in Islamic places have many deficiencies in their practices and beliefs. The general state of a society regarding itself as Muslim indicates that there are many wrongs considering the Quran and Sunnah. For example, there are many cults in most of the Islamic provinces, and each cult regards itself superior stating "I am more correct" or "I am better". They have no relationship with one another. I remember the following hadith of the Prophet in this regard: "The ummah of Jewish and Christian people is divided into 72.5 sections. My ummah will divide into 73 sections. All of them will go to hell except one." When asked about what the section that will not go to hell is, he replied "Those who have faith like me and those that are similar to my companions." The current state of the Muslims and most of their practices and behaviors are not included in the Quran.

M. Kaya: Could you please give an example?

M. M. Hasan: Sure. For instance, the honor and respect paid to people. Approaches and faith of students toward their sheikhs are wrong in many aspects. For example, there are people thinking that their health and blessings are controlled by their sheikhs. There are people who go to mausoleums and wish for a child when they cannot have one, or there are those who demand blessings from the mausoleums. These are wrong. Certain cult authorities also display many wrongs. For example, they call their sheikhs as the "light of earth and sky or the chief of the

universe." However, the lord of the earth, sky, world, afterlife and entire universe is God. There are many verses and hadiths in this regard. These people appear to be Muslims in their daily routines. However, they are polytheists in their spirits, and they commit sacrilege.

M. Kaya: Are these types of wrongs present in Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Yes, both in many places in Syria and Turkey. God calls the Prophet as "**uswatun hasanatun**", meaning **the best model** for us, in many sections of Quran. God also orders the Prophet to say the following in Quran: Say, O [Muhammad]: "I am only a man like you to whom it has been revealed that your god is but one God. Therefore, take a straight course to Him and seek His forgiveness. And woe to those who associate others with Allah!" This indicates that the Prophet is a human, too, but he was revealed verses. Certain people may assign importance to humans more than Islam and shariah do. There are even those who believe that these humans know the unknown, increase the blessings, and ensure they will have children. This common in many places. However, this is totally wrong.

We cannot speak about our own selves, minds, and ideas. Our guide is the Quran and the Prophet. God gave an order to the Prophet as follows: Say, O [Muhammad]: "And if I knew the unseen, I could have acquired much wealth, and no harm would have touched me." Muslims have been in harsh conditions in many wars. For example, the Prophet was harmed in the Battle of Uhud. Many of his friends fell martyr. If the Prophet knew the unseen, he could have prevented this and protected himself and his companions. When the Prophet faced difficulties, he prayed to God for victory and help.

M. Kaya: Are there any other things in Turkey that are different or wrong to you?

M. M. Hasan: God orders the following in the Quran: "Obey Allah and obey the Messenger". The Prophet stated the following in his Final Sermon: "I leave you the Quran and my Sunnah." You will not get confused if you follow the Quran and Sunnah.

M. Kaya: Then could we say that certain Muslims in Turkey and Syria ignored the Quran and Sunnah and adopted different paths?

M. M. Hasan: Unfortunately, yes. Muslims have many deficiencies in this regard. We need to establish a basic principle for ourselves for both our personal and social lives. This principle is the Quran and Sunnah, which we must follow. The Quran mentions many sorts of benevolent practices, but concrete faith is prioritized compared to these practices. God mentions faith before anything else. When our faith is proper, God would accept our practices, but if we do not have proper faith, then whatever we do would be futile. Why? Because religion is based on faith. When our faith regarding God's presence is concrete or when we perceive God in the correct way, we could achieve the first religious degree. The second degree is benevolent practices. Benevolent

and malevolent actions all arise from God's orders. Thus, one should follow God's path, pray to God and avoid from anything else. In addition, according to true hadiths, the Prophet ordered people to pray to God when they needed anything. As I mentioned before, benevolent and malevolent actions all arise from God's orders.

M. Kaya: What would you say about the states of the Muslims in Turkey and Syria if you compare the religious practices in these countries?

M. M. Hasan: The book and Prophet of the Muslims in Turkey and Syria are the same. Therefore, those with correct religious perceptions will be on the right path no matter whether they are Turkish or Syrian. However, to me, people in Turkey are more superstitious. They believe in amulets quite more than Syrians. I think those interested in magic, sorcery, and jinn are more here. There are even people who earn income through these. The number of cults is also higher here. Students assign meanings with degrees higher than what is approved by the shariah to their sheikhs. People get away from religion and deviate from God's path by doing so.

M. Kaya: Let us make the issue more concrete. For example, how would you compare the prayers and mosques in Turkey with those in Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Prayer-related rules and verses and recitation styles depend on people, so these are followed and performed differently. There are people who do not need to consult scholars. They have many deficiencies in terms of prayers. They do not even know how to read surah al-Fatiha. However, some people learn information from scholars and thus pray in the correct way. The main tongue of the people in Turkey is not Arabic for sure. Therefore, many mistakes related to reading Quran emerge. For instance, I witnessed that many imams in Turkey read al-Fatiha wrongly. I even discussed this with them in mosques. An imam should know how to recite the Quran in the best way. Moreover, people coming for condolence recite the Quran incorrectly. I can say almost 90% of them do not recite it correctly. There are many mistakes related to recitation and wording, which causes misunderstandings regarding the Quran's meaning. Reciting even a single letter in the Quran incorrectly, insufficiently, or unnecessarily changes the intended meaning, which is a sin as you know.

M. Kaya: Could you please give information about the condolences in Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Condolence ceremonies are performed similarly to Turkey. Relatives, neighbors, and acquaintances come for condolence for three days. Surah al-Fatiha is generally recited, and scholars and mullahs give sermons and recommendations in condolences. Guests are served with different stuff.

M. Kaya: We have experienced another eid al-Adha this year. Could you please mention how these religious days are celebrated in Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Turkish people pay more attention to eid al-Adha compared to Syrians. Slaughtering animals in these days is not actually obligatory for everyone but Muslims in Turkey have made it a culture, and almost everybody sacrifices animals here.

M. Kaya: What would you say about fasting? You experienced Ramadan in both Turkey and Syria.

M. M. Hasan: It is almost the same, but as Turkish people value astronomy more, it is already determined in which month Ramadan will be celebrated 40 or 50 years later here. However, the beginnings of fasting and religious days are determined through observing the crescent in Syria and many Islamic countries. This is also mentioned in verses and hadiths. There is a difference between Turkey and Syria based on paying attention to astronomy and telescope, and checking the crescent to determine the beginning of these days.

M. Kaya: What would you like to say about the religious reflections over the social life if you compare Turkey and Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Religious practices in social life are also reflected as procedures, which brings many legal approaches including those valid for commercial actions. People in Turkey focus on the bank interests more as the family relationships are weaker in here. For example, as the relationships are closer in Syria, people become indebted through their goods instead of using banks. A person is in debt of a ton of wheat for a period in this practice called "salam". He/she buys a ton of wheat and pays the debt at the end of the period. This is also performed through cotton.

M. Kaya: There is a borrowing method called qard al-hasan, have you ever witnessed this?

M. M. Hasan: Yes, this is practiced in Syria. People borrow from their relatives or acquaintances. No procedure is needed for this process if the creditor is a close relative or an acquaintance. However, sometimes the process is made into a written document and borrowing is done before the witnesses.

M. Kaya: As a traditional mechanism, people in Turkey consult wise people named as "white-bearded" or certain congregations when they have a conflict. Are there similar traditions in Syria?

M. M. Hasan: Yes, there are. For example, there happen to be many problems related to marriage, property, heritage or blood feuds between the people. Trials take quite some time there. Judges in Syria almost have no concepts of justice as justice there operates through money. Therefore, people are fed up with the courts in Syria. Thus, they consult scholars and aim to solve their problems through these

people. These scholars make various decisions based on Islam, shariah, customs and traditions. The problems are solved that way and both sides get satisfied.

M. Kaya: Let us talk about DAESH. As you know well, DAESH regards itself as a Muslim group. How do you assess this organization? What are your thoughts about the theological bases or emergence of the organization?

M. M. Hasan: DAESH defines itself as a Muslim group. They consist of people but when Islam is misinterpreted or false hadiths, superstitions, myths, and dreams are valued, the religion is not practiced correctly and thus becomes different compared to its essence. Moreover, people naturally get worried when religion is reflected as violence toward them. This can be seen in the ideology of DAESH members. Forcing people to wear hijab and cutting their hands or sentencing people to prison or death while stating that they do not follow shariah is against the essence of Islam. Oppressing and implementing violence against Syrian people to follow the rules of shariah while they are tested through hunger, death, and poverty is not in accordance with Islam.

M. Kaya: Which movement or group can DAESH be included in regarding their Islamic beliefs?

M. Hasan DAESH is not a sect. It doesn't accept sects. They define themselves as salafi. There may be some scholars who define themselves as "salafi salihin" in relation to the companions of the Prophet. These companions regarded the Quran and the Prophet as models, so they can be regarded as conservative. However, DAESH regards anyone but themselves as disbelievers and accuses these people of sacrilege. Islam has the following conception in its essence: The Prophet lived with the disbelievers, Jews and Christians in Madinah but he did not kill them and destroy their properties. Instead, he observed their rights and laws.

M. Kaya: Then can we say that DAESH and similar organizations are not included in Islamic ideology, Prophet's life and sunnah?

M. M. Hasan: Yes, you can. The religion they follow, the faith they have, the torments they perform, the people they kill, the bombs they blast... These have nothing to do with Islam. For example, as much as I know, there are many violent acts in Syria and Turkey. In Syria, terrorists killed the babies in cradles and old people by cutting their throats. This is not legal in terms of shariah, no matter whose children or relatives they are. The Prophet orders the following in a hadith: "Do not kill old people and children in a war and cut trees." These DAESH members, however, do whatever is banned by the Prophet. For example, in a wedding ceremony in Gaziantep, innocent women and children were killed by the bombing of DAESH a short time ago. Bombs are exploding in many regions of the world, including Syria, Iraq, and Turkey. Bombs exploded even in al-Madinah al-Munawwara. They killed people coming for pilgrimage. These are not related to the Quran, Prophet or Sunnah. These groups are Ghulat. They reflect Islam as equal to

violence and distort its essence. European people used to adopt Islam and become Muslims as they saw Islam as a religion based on rights and justice. However, DAESH estranged many people in Europe and the USA from Islam and made them fear Muslims. When Islam is mentioned there, photographs of DAESH members come to people's minds. People are afraid of Islam due to them.

M. Kaya: What do you recommend increasing the adaptation and brotherhood between the Syrian asylum-seekers and Turkish people?

M. M. Hasan: God stated that all Muslims are brothers and sisters, which is valid for any Muslim all around the world. Muslims are brothers and sisters. There cannot be any conflicts between them. We have seen benevolence and aids from the Turkish people. Turkish people helped the Syrian immigrants. We cannot deny this. They shared their food and goods with the Syrian people and opened the doors of their homes to them. There are many organizations in Şanlıurfa that distribute supplies to the Syrians. I supported and took part in these organizations. This arises from the ideology of Islam. For instance, Ansar people and muhajirs did the same when the Prophet migrated to Madinah. The aids for Syrian asylum-seekers increased the solidarity and brotherhood between two nations.

M. Kaya: Thank you very much for your time.

M. M. Hasan: Goodbye. May God help all Muslims.

Interview*

Turgay ALDEMİR**

Tuba ERKUT***

T. Erkut: Dear professor, what are your solutions for the issues related to migrants' adaptation to Turkish culture?

T. Aldemir: We should perform conceptualization by observing our own culture and history when we examine the topic of migration. We call them guests. The concepts of immigrant, refugee, or asylum-seeker, particularly the last two, indicate something different generated by the western people. Concepts related to their adaptation to the host culture or their assimilation and integration keep their bodies alive but terminate their cultures and lifestyles. Therefore, we need to define these issues and social movements through our own concepts. On one hand, as the Muslims of the modern times, we need to discuss what immigration or visiting is, what these borders mean for us or whether this is legal for us. On the other hand, we observed that approaches related to assimilating these people as asylum-seekers under the concept of "adaptation" in the host country caused greater traumas among them. Keeping people's bodies alive does not mean a lot to us. Keeping their DNA and their bodies alive is not the same thing. What is important is to ensure that people live in peace and happiness and maintain their cultures, beliefs, and lifestyles.

When these people, who are our guests and brothers, begin their journeys West from Syria and reach there, they lose many concepts related to Syrian culture, lifestyle, art, and literature even if most of them are alive, despite some who get lost in the oceans or are taken by death. Therefore, we are of the belief that we should focus on the coexistence of Syrian and Turkish cultures rather than Syrians' adaptation to the Turkish culture. Anatolia is an ancient region where Turks, Kurds, and Arabs have been living together for more than 1000 years since the arrival of Chaghri Beg in 1011. The main actors of this geography are also the Kurds as much as Turks, and Arabs as much as Kurds. Anatolia, where these three cultures cannot live together by maintaining their cultures, traditions and customs cannot fulfill its essential mission. For that purpose, we have published social adaptation books. We value their ability to live as Arabs or Kurds rather than assimilating them or making them more Turkic. A great area full of

* This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Röportaj: Turgay ALDEMİR" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. ("Röportaj: Turgay ALDEMİR", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 207-222.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** President of Bülbüzade Organization, aldemirturgay@gmail.com.

*** Res. Asst., Gaziantep University, Faculty of Divinity, Department of Tafsir, tubahatip@hotmail.com.

opportunities was created in the tent cities and living areas in Turkey but we could not prepare the environment where a Syrian or a Kurd can raise their children according to their cultures. Children of families with stable financial status go to Turkish schools. An extensive study cannot be conducted for their curriculum. We believe that this issue should be reviewed by the universities and regarding the topics of social adaptation and integration, we consider maintaining different cultures by respecting and tolerating one another under the governance of the state, rather than ensuring that our bodies coexist in the same environment, is a great responsibility of humanity.

The greatest torment against somebody is to ignore their cultural presence, religion, language, and lifestyle instead of their bodies, and to terminate their spiritual personalities. We have been experiencing such a marginalization for 90 years in Turkey. In other words, Muslims saw days when they could not speak their language through the Quran alphabet. Kurdish people experienced times when they could not speak their mother language. However, these are the verses and revelations indicated by the Quran al-Mubin to us. We need to consider our own norms instead of those of Germany, England or France, when we discuss social adaptation matters. I also examined those norms. For instance, Germany teaches German culture to the citizens of different countries they host as asylum-seekers, and Germany wants them to act accordingly. However, according to us, they should learn German culture and the Germans' sensitive aspects but they should be permitted to live by the culture of their own geographies.

T. Erkut: What sorts of fields do your activities as an organization focus on?

T. Aldemir: We had active roles in Syria, Iraq, and Palestine crises. We tried to sympathize wherever people had pain and grief. The Prophet orders the following: "If a Muslim's feet are pricked by a thorn in the East and if the Muslims in the West do not feel this, it means that their faith (in the West) is not concrete." This is the truth. You know, there are certain sayings such as "an ember burns where it falls." We say no to this. From the perspective of the Prophet, we as Muslims say this ember also burns us. We should pay attention to the suffering of others. Tolstoy has a nice statement in this regard: "One is alive if one feels when something touches. But when one feels what happens to the others, then one is a human." What makes us humans is feeling the pain of the others, those who are forced to leave their homes in this case. We, as the members of the organization, aim this.

We provide food supplies, clothes, and sheltering-related aids to people in Syria and other countries. We sent thousands of trucks full of aids for the people there. We also perform the psychological and sociological examinations every aid we provide and we perform revisions accordingly, which is our working system. For instance, our organization has charity shops. Approximately 200,000 people are

provided de facto aids of supply and clothing in Gaziantep. Half of these people are from Gaziantep while the other half are from Syria. People in need visit these shops and get whatever they need. Just like buying something from a shop. We used to deliver the aids to their homes. We saw that the paternal feelings of a father who receives aids before his neighbors or children might get hurt when we aimed to help them. We saw that we distorted the neighborhood relationships. Children lost the respect to their fathers when they were asked "are you the daughter/son of this/that person?" Thus, aids should be provided without exaggerating or showing them. Gods orders the following in al-Baqara in this regard: "Kind words are better than the exaggerated aids." The focus must be not to hurt...

We cannot always meet the material needs of people but we focus on earning their hearts. While we were conducting the aid projects in Syria, we saw many deficiencies. What were these? For instance, the children were not educated. There are three million Syrians in Turkey at the moment. The official figure is 2,774,000 but there are also unregistered ones. Of them, 1,550,000 are aged between 0 and 18, and all of them need to go to school. According to the national education data of the previous year, 340,000 Syrian children go to schools. These schools are actually the temporary educational centers. We have such schools in different regions of Turkey. We opened more than 12 schools in Syria. We have just opened such schools in Jarabulus. However, approximately 75,000 of 340,000 students directly go to Turkish schools. We discovered that a great number of children, 1,160,000, do not go to school. How will their future be? If we do not consider those between 0 and 5, there are approximately 800,000 children. They are captured by the terrorist organizations and drug cartels when they are educated. We initiated "children to school" campaigns. We aimed to make sure they go to schools. We have made great efforts in cooperation with the other non-governmental organizations and governorship in Gaziantep, the city where the highest number of Syrians go to school. Approximately more than 50% of the children at school age go to school. However, the others also want to go to schools. There are no schools or organizations in this regard.

We visited the schools assigned to these children or even gave education there, but we saw that children's mindsets did not change. We found a team consisting of five people from the academicians in Turkey and five Syrians. We examined the Syrian curriculum. The examinations we performed in the previous months took six months, and we found out a different process later. We saw that the curriculum in the books studied by the children have serious problems. In other words, historical, literary, geographical, and many books are actually problematic... For example, historical books never mention the Ottoman Empire of Seljuks. They reflect the victory of Gallipoli as the success of imperialist Ottomans. They introduce the empire in that way. There are many similar wrongs in these books. We want them to go to school but they learn this curriculum as there is no other. Religious ideology is not based on rationalism and thinking.

People are stuck in many different details. We worked on this issue and contacted the Ministry, Prime Ministry or even the Presidency and said efforts should be made to teach Syrians what sort of country they are living in. We prepared a social adaptation book for that purpose and aimed to ensure that Syrians get to learn Turkish culture using this book. What does Turkey have? Turkey has architecture, literature, art, traffic, non-governmental organizations, policy, familial structure, and systems in this regard. They should get to learn the country. We published this book in Arabic and Turkish. We are now conducting a new study with the academicians. The BEKAM Research Center has a division for the researches related to the Syrian migration. There we will publish a book on the hundred fundamental problems Syrians face. For example, what will happen when a Syrian has a car accident? Say a Syrian rented an apartment. What should that person do when a problem with the landlord occurs? How will we assess the case legally when Syrians marry here and have children? Say a Syrian will sell his/her car. What will happen? These are serious questions. We examined these on the field, reduced the number of questions to 100 and finished the preparations, and we will print these in Arabic and Turkish.

Another problem is the acceptance of foreigners and Syrians in Turkey by the Turkish citizens. We have problems, too. One of the ways of seeking God's approval is actually related to "stranded people" or "poor people" in our spiritual world, which is a requirement for being an intellectual and modern person, a human and a Muslim for us. We reviewed the books on these issues. Then we met with the Syrian teachers while dealing with the issue of education. We told the necessary points only to see that they do not understand. We have an ideological disharmony. We asked about what they were reading. Syrian intellectuals, scholars, authorities, teachers... We collected the books they read. We realized that they had been reading books on Baath regime, communist system and Shia culture. Another interesting point was the texts translated for them on behalf of Turkey. They translated the works by Aziz Nesin particularly after 1960s. They translated the works by Turan Dursun. They translated the works by Nazim Hikmet in the Baath regime before. Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Pamuk... Translators of some of these works are actually from Turkey. For example, works by Turan Dursun and Aziz Nesin were translated by Ekmelettin İhsanoğlu. They read these and have incorrect Turkey-related perceptions. These works insult the thousand-year-old journey of this nation, make fun of the religion, and aim to make people interested in another culture and communist perceptions. There were even some Syrians who said "We had not known you were Muslims until we came to Turkey." These wrongs were embedded to their minds. There was a teacher educated in line with the Baath culture. We understood that their mindsets need should be changed. We translated certain books for the Syrians. These books include the works by Tolstoy, Rasim Özdenören, Abdullah Ulvan and Aliya İzzetbegoviç. We approximately translated 15 books into Arabic. These works are valid and well-received in Turkey and other

countries. Our translation works are still in progress. We deliver these translations to Syrians, particularly those who go to school for achieving literacy. We formed reading groups among the Syrians to change their incorrect mindsets regarding Turkey. We had also discovered problems in the curriculum for the children. We prepared a training set consisting of approximately 10 books. We had a set named character education, and we worked on a paradigm providing the correct Islamic doctrines to the children in kindergartens and primary schools. We translated this paradigm into Arabic. We deliver these to Syrians through every possible media. Kurdish people demanded it, too, so we also translated the paradigm into Kurdish. According to us, the greatest need of a Syrian or Syrian Arab or Kurd is not material but ideological. If you do not change the mindset, Baath regime or al-Asad is replaced by DAESH. The greatest battle in Syria occurs between the old and new, correct and wrong, and fact and superstition. There are some assimilated traitors appearing as Muslims among us who harm us more than the disbelievers. These are nothing but pawns. We value this ideological issue. Professor Şehmus Demir, one of the administrators of our faculty of divinity, conducted a successful study of this issue. He reviewed the topic of Salafism. We worked together on this issue later. I extend my gratitude to him as he translated this work into Arabic, which was a great foundation for our claims. What is Salafism? What is Takfirism? What is violence? These were among the questions examined. There is an Islamic ideology that confuses murder with jihad. To prevent this to a certain degree, we perform studies on Syrian's educational, cultural and artistic lives. We publish a newspaper in Arabic. Syrian authors, illustrators, cartoonists, journalists, and intellectuals gather here at every 15 days for providing support. We let them express their ideas, regardless of whether they are Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Sunni, Shiite or Christian, in accordance with the justice principle of Islam. There are approximately 200 Arabic newspapers in the area but this is the only one with our perspective. Most of the other newspapers in Syria are published by the Western countries for distorting people's order. There are many sections ranging from feminists to disbelievers, homosexuals to communists who publish newspapers for Syrians. However, the most intelligent or the best Muslim among us is still busy with providing supplies or medical services to Syrians. How about that? We should convey them what sort of Islamic ideology we will employ to rule these lands. For that purpose, Turkey's experience is very important. We achieved a new level by overcoming all kinds of barriers without committing violence in Turkey. This is a priceless experience for Arabic people and Islamic world, including the poor of the entire globe. Studies reflecting these were needed. We prepared these. For that purpose, we also founded a radio channel named Radio Fajr which could be listened even in Lebanon. Turkish and Syrian people there broadcast programs reflecting the common ummah ideology, humanity-related aspects, and one's five most important belongings which are life, property, mind, generation, and religion for each region of Syria. Programs are both Kurdish and Arabic. A few are

Turkish... We also want them to learn Turkish. We are conducting such a broadcasting strategy. Now we are planning to open a culture house. Like a youth center... People can gather and discuss matters there. Young people need to conduct ideological conversations and improve themselves in this regard. Otherwise, Syrian youth always gets directed to violence. We believe books, instead of supplies or weapons, are more important for the Syrians. There are people already providing these supplies, which is a different topic. Delivering books, information and ideas to each point of Syria is a mission for us because if the ideology does not change, the war will not stop.

Another study we conducted in this regard includes the civil society academies which we opened in our Syria division to convey our experiences. We helped Syrian females, males, youth, and elderly people gather and establish more organizations and associations. We established an organization named Minbar Sham with approximately 50 employees. This organization has various members consisting of doctors, judges, prosecutors, and intellectuals. Another organization called Belkis was founded for females. Many organizations conducting studies for the youth, legal experts, doctors, and artists were established in this period. We just opened an artistic exhibition reflecting the peace and war last week. We opened an art exhibition indicating the past, present, and future of this geography. We have an artistic workshop. Syrian artists perform their artistic work such as marbling, calligraphy, and ornamentation there. We founded more than 24 sports clubs for the youth. Matches were played by these clubs. The latest match was played in a stadium with the participation by the Minister of Youth and Sports, the governor, members of the parliament, and ex footballers. We offered certain youth associations in Turkey to play a game against these teams. We offered them to play a game against the Syrian youth under the organization named "Turkey Brotherhood Cup". The ball has no language or religion. Football is a common ground for them...

For instance, we went to Jarabulus a short time ago. We brought a ball there. Turkish people among us started to play but nobody joined them. They just stared through the windows and doors. But, after some time, they started to join. The number of players reached 50 later. A social adaptation was founded between them... Children played street games. They were not used to laughter due to the torments by DAESH and al-Asad. We asked them why they did not join at first. They replied DAESH cut the head of our acquaintances in this square and played with the head as a ball. They had such a trauma. We cannot overcome these traumas just by feeding them.

For example, we founded a drama group for the Syrians. We are conducting many studies on many sports fields for these people. They meet with the academicians and professors from the university many times. We conduct these activities in Syria. The basis for our logic is that we do not regard Syrians as a problem. They are the opportunities sent by God for us. God blesses us with many

opportunities and abundance thanks to Syrians, just like how God made Yasrib into Madinah through the Sahabah and the Prophet. We believe so. We made Syrians a part of the solution rather than approaching them as a part of the issue.

We have 23 commissions as an organization and all of them have Syrians. We work with them. They transfer their experiences to Syria. Our purpose here is not to take Syrians somewhere and control them. Instead, it is to make sure that they control their countries as Syrians. We do not pick the intelligent or educated ones among them just like how western people do. We teach them professions. We teach them their own social cultures. They maintain their cuisine cultures, for instance, when they meet. We are making efforts to help Syrians open an exhibition regarding the Syrian cuisine culture. We opened that in a few spots in the city.

Let the Aleppo live. It is the oldest city in the world... They are demolishing this city. They do not destroy Syria or kill people only. They distort humanity, people's experience of coexisting, architecture, aesthetics, Islamic art, and even the sky. This war is something else. We need to illuminate the minds that have already recognized this.

These are some of the activities we have conducted for the Syrians, as much as I can remember now. We are conducting intelligent and rational activities where they can act as how they are. We help Turks, Arabs, Christians or Armenians gather there. We are cooperating with them in many fields to ensure that they can also live here as how they did in Syria on the condition that they do not betray Turkey, go against the grateful people of Turkey, cooperate with the western people, and act as the pawns of western powers.

T. Erkut: What are your activities for the women and children regarded as the disadvantaged groups?

T. Aldemir: Our training programs for the children continue. We are conducting social adaptation activities to ensure that orphans share the same environments with our children. We are conducting rehabilitation programs to help them overcome their war traumas. There are hundreds of children whose mothers or father died in Syria. We are talking with them at a school some time ago. The governor was also with us. We sat next to one of them. The child cried for quite some time. We asked why that child cried. They replied that the mother was killed in a bombardment six months ago. We were the first people showing mercy after the mother. We also cried as the child did the same. That child is now the most successful student of the class.

We met many Syrian people who miss compassion and mercy. They ask us what Syrian need the most. We say whatever we need is also needed by them. Syrian children need love and attention just like our children. They are our children, too. God left them to us. We witnessed many young people suffering at certain stages of life. We are having cultural activities and trips for them. There are many

successful organizations and associations for this issue in Turkey. We are making an effort to ensure the rehabilitation of the Syrians. Our aim is to overcome the war trauma. We saw many injured children who lost their memories or families here... These children are just seeking a branch to hold onto. We, particularly the females of our organizations, conduct family-based activities in this regard. They are conducting extensive activities. We aim to be a family for orphans or disadvantaged women wherever they are. We are providing care to 10,454 orphans and 1600 families at the moment. We help these women become qualified in a profession without paying attention to whether they are Turkish or Syrian. We provide maternal education first, thanks to our experienced mothers. We do not collect them in a class... Instead, the mothers of Anatolia serve that purpose. We also provide aids for their houses first as they can meet their needs later in time. We conduct awareness meetings to organize these people.

Contrary to the general belief, among the eastern countries, the literacy rate in Syria is the highest after the one of Palestine. The rate was between the 93-94% before the war... This rate, for instance, is 58% for Egypt. Syrians are conscious people but we left them ignorant as we had not educated them for six years. We are experiencing such a period. The rate of literate women in Syria was higher than that of Turkish women. I went to Syria many times in 2000s and before. Most of the Syrian women were driving. Their social lives were no different. They are no different here in Turkey either. There are many women who are doctors, lawyers, legal authorities, political experts, linguists or engineers. They are also quite intellectual. We conducted many studies to make sure that Syrian women take part in social life in Turkey, that their diplomas are approved, and that they can receive work permits. We have progressed quite a lot thanks to God. Syrian women are in extensive cooperation with Turkish women. We are conducting active programs in Turkey and Syria because these women are the ones who will raise the future of Syria. The late great Alija Izetbegovic says women who are left ignorant cannot raise bright generations of the future. If we cannot raise them, blood is shed and fights always occur. These all arise from ignorance. Religious misperceptions have a role, too. Imperialist educational systems affect them, too. These systems do not include morals and ethics. Morals are also taught by mothers. We saw what the most intellectual people of Turkey did on July 15 as they were unaware of family discipline. Discipline is provided by mothers in Turkish culture. Grandmothers and grandfathers discipline the fathers and mothers who also discipline their children accordingly. Knowledge is not sufficient by itself. We are conducting studies to protect the family structure in Syria.

T. Erkut: Are there any activities your organization conducts for the Syrian students or for ensuring the integration between the Syrian students and Turkish students in schools which also educated Syrians?

T. Aldemir: There are certain governmental schools and temporary educational centers called “İyilik Okulu” which we opened in Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Adıyaman, Malatya and Adana with the cooperation of the governorships there. We ensure the teachers there improve through the in-service trainings after receiving approval from the ministry. However, we believe Syrians need to go to Turkish schools instead of receiving education at separate schools. There is a serious integration problem here. There is no harmony between the books and backgrounds. We are conducting negotiations for that purpose. They need a space where Syrian children can express themselves. We experienced similar issues in the past. There used to be one child from nursery in every class. Nobody knew that child’s name. They called the child “the one from the nursery.” By doing so, they caused great anger for the child who turned into a killer, pickpocket or thief.

The decisions made in Ankara do not solve the issue. What will heal the wounds of the heart is volunteering and non-governmental organizations. You can heal open wounds through the governmental organizations. You can heal them in hospitals but the grateful Anatolian public and Turkish nation has a mission here. We should start campaigns that provide the right to live to any Syrians with compassion and mercy. We are conducting different programs to raise awareness among educators, children, and young people in Turkey for the purpose of indicating that Syrians are as valuable and special as our children with their own names and cultures, and that Syrians are entrusted to us by God. Otherwise, the campaigns of marginalization and violence against them may turn into a great anger and protest toward us, which, God forbid, would terminate the relationships between two nations. We are conducting educational activities for that purpose.

T. Erkut: Did the contact of Bülbülzade organization with the migrants start with the migration from Syria?

T. Aldemir: No, we welcomed the Kurdish people coming from the northern Iraq in Khabur during the First Gulf War. We set up tents for them. We did not have the knowledge, opportunities, and experiences of today but we were still there. We went to Halabja to help the people there. We visited Palestine and refugee camps there. We went to many working areas in Africa in this regard. We even went to Asia. We organized works on the field during the refugee crisis arising from the Bosnian war. These aid and non-governmental activities helped us be more experienced in Syrian issue, conduct more studies in more fields and work in coordination with the governmental institutions and relevant non-governmental organizations in Turkey.

T. Erkut: Are there any Syrian or Iraqi scholars who take part in a non-governmental organization and work with you?

After the beginning of the civil war in Syria, we planned to invite Syrian scholars first for the solution of the issue. Approximately 100 Syrian scholars came to our organization. We conducted a two-day study. We wanted to make sure the scholars prevent the incidents in Syria. Many problems occurred in the first plan as they never saw each other before. Some of them did not want to be together in the same meeting hall, which is basically the reason why the disintegration in Syria began. I cannot say the Syrian scholars undertook responsibilities regarding the Syrian civil war adequately. There are, of course, exceptions. I got to know many brave, valiant scholars. Some of them were even martyred fighting in Syria. They said they would fight instead of staying in Turkey. However, there were many Syrian scholars who escaped to Arabic or western countries. They abandoned their society.

There are Syrian scholars also in Turkey. We meet with them and make an effort to ensure that Syrian youth or children do not stay ignorant and get deprived of education during this process. There is something we learnt from the Prophet which is that The Prophet did not sustain the activities for the companions who were interested in trainings even in the most critical war. He left a group there. The logic here was that these people should become more intellectual so that they can educate the children and elderly people behind and rehabilitate the veterans. We saw that this mechanism was not sufficiently organized by the Syrian scholars inside and outside of Syria, or wherever Syrians were present. If this was not the case, those coming back from the wars would have stayed away from educational activities while those left behind would have thought nothing but their lives. Accordingly, we invite the Syrian scholars to undertake responsibility in Syrian lands.

T. Erkut: What are the most important problems of the immigrants in this city? Do you think the immigrants living inside and outside the camps have adequate living conditions?

T. Aldemir: We do not approve of hosting our guests in tent cities. A 10 or 15-square meter area where people's social needs are collectively met cannot be humane and Islamic. People cannot live a family life there. Children who were born here cannot establish the Madinah of Islamic civilizations. They cannot gain the self-confidence to fight against the imperialist western nations. Yes, we help them survive here, and May God be pleased with whoever has a role in this regard. The government has done a great job in this period. But tents are temporary places. One cannot stay in tents for five or six years. According to our theological approach, Don't do to anyone else what you don't want done to yourself. You should not give anything as alms which you would not accept with satisfaction. I cannot live with

my family in those tent cities and I do not want anyone to live there. In this case, we need to take a further step and force the government in this regard. These tent cities are temporary adaptation environments. People should be moved to cities in six months after they were located there.

It would be wrong to establish separate neighborhoods for them as there is no such thing as “they or them.” These borders were set through Sykes-Picot Agreement. Mr. President mentions Lausanne. Syria, however, was a place, the governor of which was assigned by the Ottoman Empire 100 years ago. I do not say we should assign again but while conducting the Operation Euphrates Shield, we are building walls between two nations. These are the initiatives that split our cultural codes. Gaziantep is a significant example in this regard. I extend my gratitude to our esteemed governor, mayors, those who took responsibility in this regard, non-governmental organizations and, particularly, the people of this city. They all regarded Syrians as brothers and embraced them.

The safety-related data here, which I always follow, indicate that Syrians’ crime rates are lower than those of Turks. The number of Syrians begging in our streets is lower. We have worked on this issue. These beggars were found and taught specifically in terms of certain occupations. The number of beggars begging in traffic lights in Istanbul or Ankara are at the highest level as the authorities there do not fulfill their duties.

Syrians are not beggars, thieves or uneducated, and culture-less people. Not all of them are beggars. God orders as “...And these days [of varying conditions] We alternate among the people...” Accordingly, we have great friendships with the Syrians in this period when Syrian and Turkish societies are together. Such great friendships... There are approximately 900 Syrian businesses in this City. They work and provide value to the economy. There are more than 40 major businesses. There are Syrians working in every sector. These are hardworking, intellectual people. There are parasites or problematic people for every society. There will be one for the Syrians, too. This is a city where people have mercy. I have rarely seen a homeless Syrian here. I once witnessed something beautiful around Kilis Bus Station. It was nighttime when a Syrian family could not find a place to stay. I saw two people there fussing and saying that I would take them to my home. These men were the real heroes. They agreed in the end. One of them said “Okay. Host them today but bring these guests to me tomorrow.” People from Gaziantep entrusted their daughters, children or wives to Syrian people during the Independence War.

Are there problematic ones among us? Yes, there will always be. But I think we are doing good in this test. We have wrongs, deficiencies or moments when we hurt Syrians’ feelings. We are making efforts to solve these by talking or communicating with them. We are not experienced either. No country has ever lived collectively with so many foreign people before. Gaziantep hosts 350-400,000 Syrians, indicating that one-fifth of the population is Syrian. But, thank God, there is harmony between them. Europeans conduct referendums to accept 10, 20 or 50

people. They protected their borders whereas we protected humanity. We did not discriminate them as rich, poor, educated, Intellectual, Christian, Muslim, non-Muslim or Armenian. I learnt that some of the people we cared for were Durzi, Marooni and Christian a year later. We work collaboratively in the organization. One of them asked "Do you know who I am?" He was Hafiz Karput, a Syrian director. Some said "I am not Muslim" while the other stated "I am Durzi." But they were humans. We embraced them. Gaziantep is a city where people make an effort to maintain different cultures, belief groups, and lifestyles. However, the ambassador of USA points different concepts of actions as targets. DAESH uses bombs. PKK attacks. For what? They even bombed a wedding ceremony. They just aim to create a war between Kurds and Turks or Shiite and Sunnis, and to distort the peace. They want to distort Gaziantep's model but they will not be able to do so because we do what we do while being aware of their aims. We believe this is their aim. We do what we do for our paradises.

T. Erkut: Considering the evidence that the war will take longer, does Turkey promise a future for the immigrants or will the immigrants move toward the western countries?

T. Aldemir: The flow of immigrants to the West has stopped. West is a dream for them but some of the people who went there returned. As Turkey took further steps... For instance, people talked about the possibility of granting a work permit to academicians. There were more than 5000 applications in a week. Some of these applicants were in the West. They said I need to work in Turkey even if my wage would be the half of what was offered in the west. Turkey, however, did not act in time. I cannot forgive the bureaucrats. We work on certain issues, prepare files and send these to them, but these files get lost in the corridors of governmental bodies like a river flowing through a desert.

There is no such thing as Syrian issue. This also concerns the future of Turkey or this geography. The safety of Damascus is also the future of Turkey. Not the safety of Aleppo but Damascus. As long as Damascus is in this state, Turkey cannot be in peace. Security corridors do not start from the borders. Mr. President has been mentioning this, too, in recent times. If we do not establish an order beyond our borders, we cannot talk about security here. Therefore, we need to accelerate the process of granting work permits to Syrians, which does not mean that Turks will be unemployed. There are relevant promotions. For instance, Turkey cannot find workers or entrepreneurs in many fields. A majority of our lands are not cultivated. Syria's hardworking people can contribute to production even if we temporarily assign these lands to them. We have organic agriculture and language village projects. Syrians will work, produce, and learn languages in these. There are three million Syrians speaking Arabic, but whenever we see an Arab, we keep our heads down thinking the language of our religion. If we can use the opportunities in this

regard... I think Turkey has been taking positive but slow steps in this regard recently.

The Syrian issue is not just a matter of safety for Turkey. Three million Syrian Arabs, Kurds and Turkmens, who are among the nations that move around the world the most, are a great opportunity for Turkey to strengthen its place in the Islamic geography. We should use this opportunity to contribute to our internal peace, Islamic peace, and global peace.

T. Erkut: How would you assess the financial aids of the government and non-governmental organizations toward the Syrian immigrants?

T. Aldemir: Of about three million Syrians, 274,000 live in tent cities. The government spends more on these places. Nine-tenth of Syrians live in cities, and they are helped by the non-governmental organizations and public. There are three million more Syrians living on and beyond the border with the support of the non-governmental organizations and Anatolian people. We are actually dealing with six million Syrians. The population is ten times higher in the borderline. There are many tent cities there. Turkey is also meeting the critical needs of these cities. Therefore, the aids mean serious financial figures although there are still many deficiencies. However, I believe that the rate of these aids, which have been reported to have reached 20 billion dollars, is not managed well. For instance, according to the data of the Prime Ministry, about 70% of these aids are delivered as food aid to Syrians, while 15-20% are delivered as medical aids and the remaining are delivered as sheltering aids. There are also educational aids which are too minor to be regarded in the percentage. They have no culture, workhouses, art or even cinemas.

For instance, Dervish Zaim, one of the most important directors in Turkey, came here and roamed around the field with us. We worked on a Syrian movie reflecting what has happened in Syria and Turkey. Such a movie has not been made before. There are no pieces of work reflecting what we have done for the Syrians. TRT or private channels have had no initiatives. However, westerners have some. There are three movies in Switzerland about a man who gives three bottles of water to refugees I invite the government and relevant non-governmental organizations to focus on this issue. Syrians say they find something to eat in some ways. They need help in other areas. They should have rights to association or opportunities to reflect their fights.

For instance, we examine 550 questions and study history aloud under the guidance of Dervish Zaim and Kemal Öztürk. We just started this project again. We are recording approximately 100 prominent Syrian scholars, intellectuals, journalists, females, children, young people or anyone with a story. We address them 550 questions, and they reply. Some of them even cry their eyes out due to the questions we ask although they even forgot most of these incidents. We need to work to declare the crime against humanity occurring there to the world and to

make sure this crime goes down in history. Actually, we are not the ones who have to do that. This should be done by the government. However, nobody thinks about that. Everyone is just bragging about tent cities, but nobody asks what happened in Syria, what was done, what happened yesterday, what happened today. We are recording what is happening in Jarabulus. We are creating our records gradually. That place is becoming alive like the leaves in spring. The environment was black and white in the first week. But we built a playground and school there. We will also plant trees. These are the real activities there. We are doing these activities with the Syrians.

We need to grow our scale as the Turkish non-governmental organizations and take one step further the supply, cloth, El-Eid and other aids. We need to prioritize the studies that focus on the people's spirits, minds, ideas, cultural aspects, ideologies, Islamic faith, and common thoughts regarding humanity and that examine maintaining cultures. We're going all over the world to help with food but western nations go and deliver books after us. We feed people's stomachs while they feed refugees' brains. As long as we do not focus on these areas, people whose minds are exploited by the imperialists will distort the peace of the region even if the war ends. For example, the USA collected certain Kurds from Northern Iraq during the First Gulf War, educated them, sent back to there, and founded a mini USA there. They are also doing the same for Syria. We need to be aware of this situation.

T. Erkut: What are your opinions regarding whether the negative thoughts of the Turkish society toward the Syrians are based on justified reasons?

T. Aldemir: There are some concerns. They may be incorrect. However, we have the following in our culture: Wrongs are not exaggerated and mistakes are covered instead of being revealed. This behavior brings us closer to God. There may be some Syrians who make mistakes. Some may do it due to their needs. Some were managed by an autocratic regime under war-related conditions but they found a free environment here. There may be some Syrians who make mistakes due to misperceptions toward this free environment. However, not all Syrians are like that. Turkish people should be educated in regard to Syrians and different nations. There should be classes regarding the social adaptation of Turkish people in schools. Universities are conducting social responsibility projects nowadays. We are performing these studies with many university students. They have many different ideas. We were sitting here a couple of days ago. Two lecturers were talking about this issue, saying "Syrians cannot understand this/that." We have an artistic workshop here. This workshop also has Syrian lecturers. I introduced these Syrian lecturers to Turkish lecturers. Those Turkish academicians who did not approve Syrians are now receiving lessons from them.

People object to what they do not know. We have to tell them. Therefore, the press is important. Unfortunately, our press does not reflect good actions as news. Instead, it exaggerates a couple of negative incidents. Unheard good stories should be immediately told to people. The grateful characteristics of Syrians should be reflected to people. I witnessed the following: There are many Syrians who do not accept our aids, stating that we should give these aids to someone else, or a Turkish person, who needs these aids more so that the people around will not misunderstand them. This issue can be understood better if Turkish people are informed. As Omer Seyfettin noted, Turkish people are not scholars but wise people. They can understand if they are informed. They proved this in the past. Certain intellectuals or people who benefit from the government more than anyone else made these negative aspects of the issue more distinct. The public has no problems. The issue arises from those who become strangers to their public as their educational status rises. I believe this process will change as these people learn the facts.

T. Erkut: How do you assess the position of Syrians in regard to citizenship or ummah concepts? Is a legal definition certainly needed for granting legal rights to immigrants or will it be enough to keep the ummah concept alive?

T. Aldemir: The modern definitions of citizenship, state and nation state cause the emergence of many problems. We are collectively living in this world as humans. Anything that we cannot choose when we were born cannot be the reason for superiority. It does not matter if I was born in Turkey or Syria... What matters is sharing and working. For that purpose, we need a legal system that will support the statement of Mr. President regarding the conscience, mercy, and sensitivity of Turkish people in this regard. The current constitution does not even include the Kurds, let alone the Syrians. Therefore, we need to form a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, and multi-religious constitutional system quickly once again. Syrians and Iraqi people should not be forgotten in this system. Anatolia has been the capital of many civilizations and empires. Let us not confuse here with another European country. This environment has been a host for every nation, race, group and culture. Therefore, Syrians are not a threat to us. The resources here will suffice for all of us and the chaos and imperialism of Europe can be terminated if we can make a philosophy of justice, freedom, mercy, and conscience for everyone dominant in accordance with the ancient justice theory.

Anatolia is the capital of our home depiction. It can be the place we regard as our spiritual geography. The countries in Africa, Asia, Middle East, Balkans... They all have borders, but ideas conscience or mercy cannot have borders. If there is a suffering, we cannot approach it by asking whether the sufferer is Turkish or Syrian. If there is a suffering one, a dead person or an injured, we should not pay attention to their nationalities. Are they humans? Yes. Are they creatures? Yes. We cannot

Interview

even group them as humans or animals. We can exist as long as we help them survive. Therefore, our ancestors said "Help people survive regardless of their sects, spirits or religions so that the government can survive, too." We should make this ideology dominant again.

Book Review

*Strangers at Our Door**

Mehmet AKSÜRMEĪ**

Yokluk beni mecbur etti,

*Gurbeti ben mi
yarattım?¹*

Muhlis Akarsu

You have to understand,

That no one puts their children in a boat

Unless the water is safer than the land.

Warsan Shire

Strangers at Our Door is a book by Zygmunt Bauman, emeritus professor of sociology at the University of Leeds. Bauman is one of the most influential sociologists of our age, who wrote many books and articles in various topics. Bauman is the advocator of late modern social theory and he conceptualizes the age that we live in as a “liquid modern” time or era. I think that especially last several books of Bauman are efforts to express and contextualize his social theory and liquid modernity concept through different themes like morality, love, utopia, and social inequalities. This book also has the same intention and it can be considered as a late modern social theorists’ view on the current refugee crisis.

The book, which has no introduction and preface, consists of six chapters. Although the chapters are not directly related to each other, there are some common concepts. In that sense, first chapter is more like an introduction chapter. Concepts like stranger, moral panic, massive migration and relations between these concepts are presented in the first chapter. Bauman identifies migration for martial

* Zygmunt Bauman, Kindle Edition, *Polity*, 2016, 120 p, ISBN: 9781509512201

This paper is published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Mehmet AKSÜRMEĪ, “Kitap Deęerlendirmesi: *Strangers at Our Door*”, *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 223-226.) The paper in Turkish issue should be referred to for citations

** Arş. Gör. Gaziantep Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi, aksurmeli@gmail.com.

¹ Impossibilities forced me, did I invent the foreign land?

reasons as a modern phenomenon and mentions that “refugees from the bestiality of wars and despotisms or the savagery of famished and prospectless existence have knocked on other people’s doors since the beginnings of modern times” (p. 8-9). The ones who come from ‘outside’ and knock the other peoples’ doors for mandatory reasons are the strangers “for people behind those doors” (p. 8-9). On the other hand, being strange or stranger, in essence, is a source of anxiety for indigenous people. According to Bauman, this anxiety stems from a very fundamental state. Strangers are “fearsomely unpredictable, unlike the people with whom we interact daily and from whom we believe we know what to expect; for all we know, the massive influx of strangers might have destroyed the things we cherished – and intend to maim or wipe out our consolingly familiar way of life” (p. 9-10). Moreover, this anxiety and the sense of insecurity are somehow neutral, because “one cannot help but notice that the massive and sudden appearance of strangers on our streets neither has been caused by us nor is under our control” (p. 16-17). Briefly, the people, who leave their homeland and migrate other countries, are being perceived as strangers and hosting strangers are the cause of anxiety for native people. Till that point, I have summarized how Bauman conceptualizes and explains the main mechanism of migration for our society. Bauman, moving from that point, criticizes exploiting the anxiety and the sense of insecurity rooted by refugees by politicians and different institutions. He exemplifies different cases for this exploitation, and mentions how populist politics and governments are “beefing up the anxiety” of citizens rather than “allaying their citizens’ anxieties” (p. 28-29). Bauman sees migration as a mandatory result of modern times. Instead of exploiting anxieties of people and fostering ‘us and they’ divide in society, he points out that people should be aware of the age we live in. Globalization (or cosmopolitization), individualization, and detraditionalization are the main trends in late modern social theory. In other words, globalization (and mentioned trends) should be essentially considered, before analysing today’s social phenomenon. Moreover, those trends are in the roots of turmoil that we live in our age. Bauman, in that vein, considers migration and refugees as a reminder of this fact. He mentions that “nomads – not by choice but by the verdict of a heartless fate – remind us, irritatingly, infuriatingly and horrifyingly, of the (incurable?) vulnerability of our own position and of the endemic fragility of our hard-won well-being” (p. 16-17). He also mentions that refugees and mass migration “make us aware, and keep reminding us, of what we would dearly like to forget or better still to wish away: of some global, distant, occasionally heard about but mostly unseen, intangible, obscure, mysterious and not easy to imagine forces, powerful enough to interfere also with our lives while neglecting and ignoring our own preferences” (p. 18-19).

This is a short and accessible book for the readers. It has no heavy sociological concepts or debates in it. On the contrary, time to time, Bauman quotes newspapers, TV broadcasts and public surveys; and these bring a fluid reading experience. The book’s potential reader can be academic world or general public.

For both group of potential reader, this book can create inspiration, sociological perspective and awareness on migration issues. To me, although the book has weak sides, it is an important contribution to the literature. Firstly, writing such a book and questioning moral panic and public fear makes this book important. Especially, his critique of exploiting the moral panic is one of the significant aspects of this book. I also think that this book is not a pessimistic book that brings readers to conclusions of the end of the world, chaos, persistent turmoil etc. Rather I found it an optimistic study that calls humans to be aware of structural changes and social transformations of the age we live in. The only weak side of the book is its inability to portray tragedy of current migration crises. During ongoing Syria conflict (or Syrian civil war), according to *Humanitarian Needs Overview*², 13.5 million people are in need of help (6.5 millions of this people are children) (p. 3). This conflict created 4.18 million refugees till that time, according to the same report (p. 5). Basically, the report mentions that those numbers means that “more than half of Syria’s population has been forced to leave their homes” and this is “one of the largest population displacement since World War II” (p. 4). Those numbers are statistical indicators of the problem. Besides that, since starting of this ongoing Syrian conflict, I have been living in Gaziantep, a city in Turkey that has border with Syria. I have been witnessing “strangers”, and I live among them. For that reason, also, I evaluate this book as an inadequate attempt to portray and discuss the problem of migration.

² United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2015). *Humanitarian Needs Overview*. Retrieved from https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/system/files/documents/files/2016_hno_syrian_arab_republic.pdf.

Book Review

*Being a Muslim, Staying German: Religion and Nationality in New Europe, and Changing Religion.**

Zeynep Serap TEKTEN AKSÜRMEĒİ**

This work by Dr. Esra Özyürek was first published in English by Princeton University Press in 2014¹ and in Turkish by İletişim Yayınevi in 2015. Before analyzing the content of the work, I would like to mention an interesting point regarding the cover of the book. We see a picture of a woman on the covers of both editions. However, there is not a single emphasis on femininity or feminine experiences even in the title of the book. According to the data transferred to us by the book, the significant points are mostly reflected by the women. After reading the entire book, we understand that being a female along with choosing Islam and staying a German is a significant factor making this experience quite different. However, there is no separate title depicting and explaining the points where female and male experiences differ. One of my few criticisms regarding the book emerges here. The data of the book clearly reflect that being a female differs the experience of being a Muslim German. The author indicates that she is well aware of the case. Therefore, if a separate section focused on this difference, the authenticity of the data could be reflected better.

If we continue reflecting the messages of the cover, we can find another interesting point, which is that there is a female image that differs from the classic Muslim female perception of Europeans in the cover of English edition. The woman on this cover who is believed to be around 50 years old, holds a cigarette and wears red nail polish and lipstick, a long hijab and baggy clothes and stares directly into the lens. The ambitious expression in her body language and eyes catch the attention of the readers. This cover of the English edition published by Princeton University Press in 2014 aims to reflect the remarkable portrait of being both a Muslim female and German to the international readers who will read the book in English. The Turkish edition of the book published by İletişim Yayınevi in 2015

* Esra Özyürek, İletişim Yay., First Edition. Istanbul 2015, 272 p., ISBN-13: 978-975-05-1797-6.

This paper is the English translation of the study titled "Kitap Değerlendirmesi: Müslüman Olmak, Alman Kalmak: Yeni Avrupa'da Millet, Din ve Din Değişirme" published in the 4th issue of *İlahiyat Akademi*. (Zeynep Serap TEKTEN AKSÜRMEĒİ, "Kitap Değerlendirmesi: Müslüman Olmak, Alman Kalmak: Yeni Avrupa'da Millet, Din ve Din Değişirme", *İlahiyat Akademi*, sayı: 4, 2016, s. 227-230.) The paper in Turkish should be referred to for citations.

** Res. Asst. Gazi University, Department of Sociology, zeynepTekten@gazi.edu.tr.

¹ Özyürek, E., *Being German, Becoming Muslim: Race, Religion, and Conversion in the New Europe*, Princeton University Press, 2014.

reflects a less-interesting female portrait for the Turkish readers. Instead of a woman with yellow hair who holds a journal in her hands, the cover reflects a woman with a German city in the background. While displaying a dramatic portrait for the western people in the English edition, a Muslim girl is portrayed for the Turkish readers who are already accustomed to such details.

This book review could be written based on different main themes. This book's main themes include the limits of accepting the converted Germans by German society, the issues they have in Germany, and these people's experiences of being excluded by the German public. The other themes we can find in the book are the organizational styles of these converted Germans based on their Muslim identities, spreading Salafism in Europe, Islamophobia and new traditions that emerge while experiencing Islam as a German. Each of these themes can be the focus of different book reviews. This review will focus on converted Germans' arguments of purifying Islam which we often see in the data of the book, Eurocentric orientation causing this perception, and Germans' relevant desires of being separated from the migrant Muslims. The claims of the book include that Eurocentric orientations are not specific to westerns and that converted Germans also have this orientation. To sum up, the statement that the relationship between the converted Germans and migrant Muslims continue on the Eurocentric level will be reviewed. The author indicates this point as one of the main themes of the book which clearly demonstrates that

converted Germans regard themselves as responsible for representing the "true Islam" in Europe. The discussion "this is not true Islam", which we often see in Turkey, is also valid for the converted Germans, according to the book. Then, what is the definition of Islam which these Germans consider as "false"? They claim that the grounds for the terrorist actions cannot be related to Islam. In addition, they state that "false" Islam is lived by the immigrants. The book also reflects that converted Germans regard themselves as better Germans than the Muslim immigrants. This can be an expected because converted Germans experience the process of socialization throughout their lives. These converted Germans sometimes hint that they see themselves as better Muslims than the Muslim immigrants. The converted Germans believe that immigrant Muslims know very little about their religion, that they do not make an effort to learn, and that they fill the gaps in their ignorance with the traditions of their ethnicity. The practices they explain as filling the deficiencies arising from ignorance with the traditions are regarded as contrary to their "pure" form of Islam.

The author's examples in the analysis regarding the tension between the converted Germans and immigrant Muslims indicate that gender inequality is important for the converted Germans in regard to the differentiation between the Islamic - traditional concepts. The converted German women who state that practices of gender inequality such as honor killing, female circumcision, obligation to wear burqa, preventing girls' educational activities and women's employment,

and women trafficking arise from non-Islamic cultural traditions represent the majority. The desire of purifying Islam from immigrants' non-religious traditions can be found in many examples related to females for converted Germans.

The Desire of Being Separated From Immigrant Turks

While indicating the tension between the converted Germans and Muslim immigrants, the author particularly stresses the place of Turks. The reaction of a converted German interviewee's father upon seeing her daughter in a hijab, "You look like a Turkish women", has a particular meaning for German society. The concepts of Muslim and Turkish are interchangeably used in many fields in Germany². The author states that the concept of Turkish is used to indicate the uneducated immigrants from the working class (p. 128). The author's comments indicate that the statements toward Turkish people in Germany are affected from the practices that Turkish women do not talk to Germans, walk behind their husbands, have many children and fail to act kindly in public areas (p. 112).

The author who mentions that Turkish people mostly constitute the section with the lowest educational status indicates that a social status loss took place after converted Germans became Muslims. Converted Germans want to be separated from the group of poor and excluded immigrants so as not to be compared to them.

In conclusion, Germans who became Muslims later consider themselves responsible for making Muslim immigrants better Muslims and Germans to represent Islam in Europe better. I see this case as an Eurocentric orientation and desire of teaching "modernity" to immigrants. The book reflects the points observed by a converted German not to represent Islam in a bad way in daily life and the cases where Muslim immigrants represent Islam in public areas negatively. The points observed include "dressing elegantly", "being kind and helpful", "being employed" and "not receiving unemployment aid from the government" (p. 101). Converted Germans regard these characteristics which are often expressed as the negative statements regarding the Muslim immigrants in Germany as the immigrants' actions of negatively reflecting Islam to the German society. Converted Germans make an effort to appear as rational Muslim Germans in order not to seem as one of these Muslim immigrants. In short, while being defined as the others among the German people, Muslim immigrants also become the others of converted Germans. Finally, the Muslim immigrant definition of converted Germans do not significantly differ from the popular human migration definition in German society.

² Yurdakul, G. & Korteweg A., Gender equality and immigrant integration: Honor killing and forced marriage debates in the Netherlands, Germany and Britain, (2013), *Women's Studies International Forum* (41), 204-214, s. 208.

