

**EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURE OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP FROM
BULGARIA TO TURKEY IN 1989 THROUGH FOOD MEMORY AND FOOD
IDENTITY**



Çağla ÇOLAKOĞLU

APRIL,2022

**EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURE OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP FROM
BULGARIA TO TURKEY IN 1989 THROUGH FOOD MEMORY AND FOOD
IDENTITY**

Çağla ÇOLAKOĞLU

SUPERVISOR

Dr. Arzu DURUKAN

MASTER THESIS

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY

APRIL-2022

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date : 09.05.2022

Name/Surname: Çağla Çolakoğlu

ABSTRACT

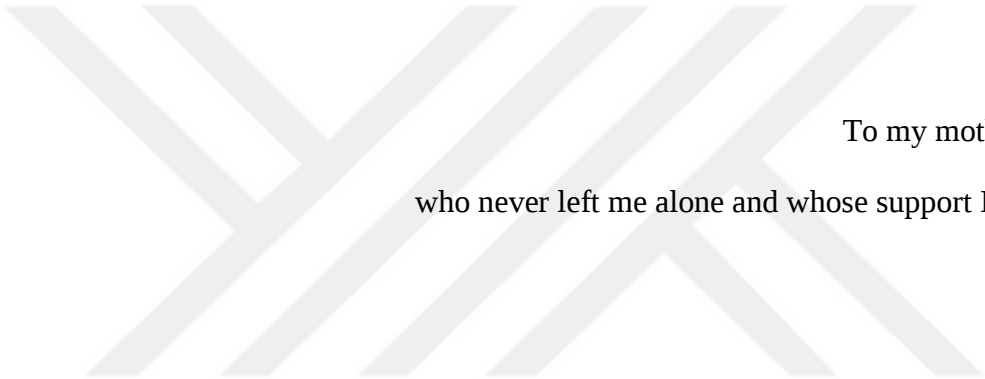
Food is a cultural phenomenon as well as a biological need. Questions such as what we eat, when we eat, and how we eat form part of our cultural identity. The sense of belonging of individuals who experience identity confusion as a result of migration may weaken. Immigrants, who feel rootless after migration, begin to seek a sense of belonging to a place and a life where they can feel safe. Food is one of the biggest phenomena at this point. The purpose of this study is to determine the effect of the changing/unchanging food cultures in the memory and on the identity of the 1989 Bulgarian immigrants who settled in the Gebze region. Thus, it was aimed to reveal the food phenomenon, which is an important part of cultural identity, and the relations of life and belonging.

Keywords: Migration; culture; food memory; food identity

ÖZET

Yemek, biyolojik bir ihtiyaç olduđu kadar kültürel bir olgudur. Ne yediğimiz, ne zaman yediğimiz, nasıl yediğimiz gibi sorular kültürel kimliğimizin bir parçasını oluşturur. Göç sonucunda kimlik karmaşası yaşayan bireylerin aidiyet duygusu zayıflayabilir. Göç sonrasında kendilerini köksüz hisseden göçmenler, kendilerini güvende hissedebilecekleri bir yere ve bir yaşama ait olma duygusu aramaya başlarlar. Yemek bu noktada en büyük olgulardan biridir. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Gebze bölgesine yerleşen 1989 Bulgaristan göçmenlerinin kimlikleri üzerinde değişen/değişmeyen yemek kültürünün etkisini belirlemektir. Böylece kültürel kimliğin önemli bir parçası olan yemek olgusu ile yaşam ve aidiyet ilişkilerinin ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç; kültür; gıda hafızası; gıda kimliği



To my mother and father,
who never left me alone and whose support I always felt...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Arzu DURUKAN, who was with me from the beginning to the end of this study, who constantly encouraged me, made me confident, sheds light on my path with her experience and knowledge, and I am proud to be her student.

I would like to thank Hülya CEYLAN for always trusting me, encouraging me, and, above all, being my mother. I am grateful to my dear father, Çağatay ÇOLAKOĞLU, who helped me find myself when I was lost, increased my self-belief in myself, and whose knowledge I always trusted.

I would like to express my gratitude to the esteemed participants, who spared time for me during the fieldwork, shared their lives, and were one of my greatest helpers in the formation of my thesis.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Ali Murat YEL and Asst. Dr. Gözde Dalan POLAT who accepted to take part in my thesis jury and I am thankful for their interest, support and valuable criticisms.

I would like to thank my dear wife, İlker ASLAN, who trusted me when I felt inadequate and stood by me with his unconditional love.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my friends, whom I run to whenever I am bored, who always makes me laugh, but most importantly, who always love me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ÖZET	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
1.INTRODUCTION	1
2.LITERATURE	1
2.1. Migration Theories	1
2.2. Migration Studies	4
2.3. Turkish Immigration from Bulgaria to Turkey in 1989	6
2.4. Food Anthropology	7
2.5. Diaspora.....	8
2.6. Identity.....	10
2.7. Memory	14
2.8. Gender	16
2.9. Generation	17
3. MATERIAL AND METHODS	19
3.1. In-depth Interview	20
3.2. Examination of Own Society	21
4. RESULTS & DISCUSSION.....	22
5. CONCLUSION	39
REFERENCES.....	41

1. INTRODUCTION

The most important feature that distinguishes humans from other living things is cooking by combining different foods. Food is one of the basic phenomena that human beings have resorted to maintaining their lives from the moment they exist (Durukan, 2013). Over time, food, which has gone beyond being a biological need, has turned into social sharing and communication (Samancı A., 2019). Mankind has transformed the effort of nutrition into a culture within the possibilities offered by geography (Durukan, 2013). The culture is very determinant in the food preferences of the person. Food culture has a symbolic value as it expresses belonging to a certain group (Poyraz Tacoğlu et al., 2012). This has an important place in the identification of the individual.

This study was carried out on immigrants who settled in the Gebze region after migration and formed a subculture there. Immigrants who had to migrate from Bulgaria in 1989 stated that they had to go through many traumatic processes. This has led them to identity confusion. At this point, the main aim of the study is to determine to what extent the food cultures and food memories of the participants affect their identities. Another aim of the study is to determine whether it is the food cultures built from childhood memories that connect immigrants who define themselves as "rootless" to their roots, make them belong to a group, and ultimately make them feel safe again. In the interviews, it was tried to focus on the reasons for food preferences and it was aimed to make an analysis of the symbolic codes of the food. It has been tried to understand the memories of the meals they consume on special days such as holidays, birthdays, and New Year's, and their relationship with identity.

2.LITERATURE

2.1. Migration Theories

The concept of migration is quite old. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that it dates back almost to human history (Akıncı et al., 2015). In short, migration is a social phenomenon that has very complex dimensions, is almost identical with human history and affects all societies (Bulut, 2021).

Internal migration is mobility that takes place within the same country borders but Lewis (1982:15) defines emigration as migration towards another country by crossing the political borders of one country. Lee, the author of the article "A Theory of Migration", defines migration as "changing the place of residence in general, permanently or semi-permanently" (Lee, 1966). Özcan defines migration as "people leaving their place of residence and going to another place where they will

live continuously”. According to him, migration includes place and time. In addition, he dealt with the problems caused by the place, time and working status (Özcan, 1997: 80).

The seven migration laws that Ravenstein mentioned in his article "The Laws of Migration" can be summarized as follows (Ravenstein, 1885, akt. E. Özcan, 2008:188-189)

- 1- Most of the migrants migrate to nearby places. Their migration is mainly due to the attractiveness of large industrial and commercial centers.
- 2- People living in the area close to cities migrate to cities. The empty rural areas are filled with people coming from afar.
- 3- This process is like the process that engulfs migrations, even if it is in reverse.
- 4- Every migration flow creates a counter current to itself.
- 5- In long distance migrations, immigrants prefer to go to large trade centers.
- 6- People living in rural areas are people with a higher tendency to migrate compared to people living in urban areas.
- 7- While women tend to migrate short distance, men tend to migrate long distance. Males are more migratory than females.

Referring to Ravenstein's work, Peterson emphasized that the most general expressions that can be used regarding migration can only be put forward in a form of typification rather than a law (1958: 57).

Although this study of Ravenstein is the first in terms of comprehensive migration theories, it is not sufficient for social scientists in terms of understanding the phenomenon of migration, which has a very complex structure.

Lee introduced the push - pull theories of migration (Yalçın, 2004):

- 1- Factors related to the place where you live,
- 2- Factors related to the place to go,
- 3- Obstacles involved in the work,
- 4- Individual factors.

Accordingly, the factors that cause pushing are described as negative, and the factors that cause pulling as positive. Therefore, it is the age, gender, education, race etc. that determine the advantages and disadvantages for migration at the personal level. The evaluation of demographic

factors such as age, gender, race, education is very important for the push-pull theory (Çağlayan, 2006: 73). Lee uses obstructive factors in his theory by dividing them into two as macro and micro. Macro factors that hinder migration are higher-level factors that migrants may encounter, such as strict migration laws, migration systems that refer to race or national identity, physical fitness for migration and resilience checks (Todaro, 1980: 17-18).

Another migration theory belongs to Peterson who formed the basis of the classification of migration by separating the push-pull polarity according to whether the migration movement is innovative or conservative, and by including individuals' willingness to migrate (2008: 194). Accordingly, he defined 5 types of migration as follows (Peterson, 1958: 55-65):

- 1- Primitive Migration: It is the migration that occurs due to the push created by the geographical necessities.
- 2- Forced Migration and Impelled Migration: Forced migration is forced by state institutions. In managed migrations, migrants make their own decisions to go or stay.
- 3- Free Migration: Compared to other types of migration, the will of the migrants to stay or to go is valid. Therefore, they make this decision by themselves.
- 4- Mass Migration: It is migration in which a large number of people participate. It is the type of migration brought about by technological and because of developments in transportation networks developments. It expresses the situations in which migration has become a form, an established pattern and an example of collective behavior instead of being individual (Özcan, 2017:194).

In the theory of migration systems, there is an exchange of migrants in two or more countries. This theory is used in the analysis of regional migrations. Migration movements emerge based on the relationships that existed before migration (Çağlayan, 2006). This theory, which attaches importance to international relations, political economy, collective action and institutional factors such as world systems theory, is used in the analysis of regional migration movements (Özcan, 2017:201). It is argued that international migration occurred especially between the colonial states and the past colonies of these states (Toksöz, 2006: 20). At the center of an international migration system there is a receiving region, usually consisting of a country or group of countries, and around this region, there is several sending countries connected to it by migrant flows of unusually large sizes (Fawcett, 1989). The theory argues that migration flows are caused by economic and political

relations between countries, and whether the countries are geographically close or not, does not matter.

The NELM (The New Economics of Labor Migration) theory is a theory developed by Stark who opposes some of the assumptions of the neoclassical approach. He argues that migration decisions are made by the family or household in general, not by isolated individual actors (Stark, 1991).

In the studies conducted by Harbison (1981), Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978), the influence of the household was emphasized while making the decision to migrate. While Harbison does not see this decision as a strategic one, Sandell and Mincer, on the other hand, state that considering the economic contribution of migration, if the total income increases, the household will easily decide to migrate together.

The new economic theory also admits that decisions are made by households, but it goes a step further, arguing that households do not migrate together, one or more of their family members are sent as immigrants (Özcan, 2017:201-202). According to this theory, the household thus minimizes the risks while maximizing the common income and prestige (Hagen-Zanker, 2008: 12).

2.2. Migration Studies

When we look at the literature, there are many studies on migration. Different disciplines have put forward many studies by approaching the phenomenon of migration and the migrant from different perspectives.

Cufta (2016) conducted research on the religion and identity problems experienced by the Bosnian youth living in Kosovo upon immigrating to Italy. In the study, an evaluation has been made on the religious and identity perceptions of immigrants. Mostly Muslim Gorali communities (Bosnians) live in the northwest of Kosovo. The most discussed community in the world is the Bosniaks. These are generally Muslims who speak the Slavic (Serbian-Croatian) language. In short, they call them Slavic Muslims in southern Yugoslavia (Gürbaz, 2002). Cufta stated that more than half of the sample group in the study entered the country illegally, they experienced hunger, illness, threats and fear of attack during their journey, and this emotional burden affected them considerably (Cufta, 2016:92-93). The stranger appears as an enemy. Therefore, they will approach the native immigrant with prejudice. Most of the subjects participating in the study "Who am I?" prioritized religious identity with the answer "Muslim" to the question. In the second place, young people identified themselves as Bosniaks, with their ethnic identity. As a result of the study,

young people who went abroad for the first time with worker status settled in Europe permanently and this situation caused many changes along with it. The new generation is lacking in religious education, severing family ties, changing clothing, speaking Italian instead of their mother language, hesitating to go out with headscarves mothers or grandmothers, in short, alienated from their own culture. While the first generation integrates among themselves by creating a subculture within the framework of religious values, the second generation tries to adapt more to the environment (Cufta, 2016:96).

Apak (2015:126), conducted a study on the future expectations of Syrian migrants living in the Mardin region. Due to the war that occurred in March 2011, many Syrians had to leave their country. While some of the Syrians who migrated to Turkey stay in the camps and container cities established on the border lines, most of them are distributed outside the camps, especially in Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Mardin and throughout the country. As a result of the study, they stated that immigrants came to Turkey to meet their basic needs such as education and health, but almost half of the immigrants stated that their expectations were partially met. Almost half of the participants stated that they want to go back to their country, live there and long for a homeland. In this survey, one fourth of Syrian immigrants have no expectations from the Turkish government for the future; The remainder demand financial assistance, determination of their status in Turkey and their uncertainties to be resolved as soon as possible (Apak, 2015:138-139).

Yıldırım (2014), conducted a study to understand the difficulties experienced by Somali immigrants who settled in the United States of America. Although there is not a very clear date in academic circles about when Somalis first immigrated to the USA, it is one of the issues that need to be studied (Kaptejns & Arman, 1990). In the study, difficulties experienced by Somalis in refugee camps during the civil war in Somalia were discussed. Many difficulties awaited the Somalis, who still managed to survive because of the difficulties they experienced in the camps and migrated with the hope of establishing a new life for them. The main problems are the lack of language-education (or even nothingness), economic difficulties (poverty), and cultural and religious conflicts with Columbus residents.

Although the language and education problem for the younger (second) generations is apparently overcome, the adult (first) generation cannot speak English. In this case, Somalis who had difficulties in communicating preferred to live as a group among themselves. According to the study, the biggest problems were about education. A 17-year-old Somalian, immigrated to the

United States was placed in the 12th grade only by age, without being assessed on language or educational proficiency, which naturally and inevitably made it difficult for that young person to adapt to school and beyond that, so he/she had to drop out. As a result of the study, the author emphasized that each migration story is individual and that generalizations should not be made. Such a categorical quantitative narratives simplifies the migration phenomenon, and causes perceptions and interpretations with immigrants to not go beyond simple bias (Yıldırım, 2014:49).

Kaya (2008), conducted a study on the difficulties experienced by the Turkish workers going to Europe. The one-on-one encounter of the European peoples with the Turks and the interaction of the Turks with other nations as immigrants was largely due to the II World War (Manco, 2007). As a matter of fact, many European countries have accepted that guest workers will no longer return to their countries and have started to take steps towards the integration of immigrants (Kaya, 2008). Having received a warm welcome at first, Turkish guest workers started to be shown as the most important source of many problems with the emergence of economic crises and increase in unemployment (Lucassen L. , 2005).

According to Kaya, the marriages of the 2nd generation mostly attributed the immigrants, who had to cope with many negativities, to their new places. Worker parents chose an "imported groom" or "imported bride" for their children of marriageable age and played an active role in their children's marriage decision (Timmerman, 2007). On the other hand, Kaya stated that most of the second-generation immigrants married someone from Turkey instead of marrying any European or Turkish origin people who were born and grow there, but the success of these marriages is controversial and there are problems due to cultural differences.

As a result of the study, it was concluded that Turkish immigrants were neither assimilated nor integrated. Especially economically, it has been observed that Turkish immigrants show a lot of entrepreneurship and adapt in this way. It is understood that Turks, who tried to use their savings by sending them to Turkey in the past, now invest in Europe and become stronger there (Kaya, 2008:164).

2.3. Turkish Immigration from Bulgaria to Turkey in 1989

The first migration of Turks from Bulgaria to Turkey took place in 1877-1878 (Tuğrul, 1989). According to Tuğrul, it is seen that these migrations were caused by the developments after the Ottoman - Russian war. After these years, until 1908 Bulgarian and Turkish people's commonwhere they lived, both Russians and Bulgarian nationalists for the establishment of a

Bulgarian state, they concluded that the Turkish population with a large proportion of fertile lands should be removed from the region (Köse, 2006). In this context, from the 93 War to the Balkan Wars, the Turkish population in Bulgaria decreased by 50% and fell to around 600 thousand (Turani, 2003). Turkish migrations that continued until the Second World War, show a decrease till 1950. It is known that a total of 21,353 people emigrated between 1939 and 1949 (Geray, 1962). The policy of forcibly changing the name, which Bulgaria started in December 1984 in order to assimilate the Turkish minority living in its country and to create a homogeneous Bulgarian nation, over time, reached the level of banning speaking Turkish and performing religious obligations, exiling and even killing those who violate them (İ. Kemaloğlu, 2012). As a result of all these, in 1989, as a result of mutual agreements between the two countries, border gates were opened and migration started. The economy in the country came to a standstill when the Turks left, due to the Turkish population supplying most of the workforce capacity in agriculture and industry. The Bulgarian government had to first declare mobilization, then bring workers from countries such as Moldova and Vietnam (Atasoy, 2010). Immigrants coming to Turkey were first registered in the family registers. Their passports were taken and they were given immigration documents. The passports received were sent to the Population Directorates together with the filled forms, and the naturalization process ended with the decision of the Council of Ministers (Gündüz, 2013:5)

2.4. Food Anthropology

According to Merdol, "Nutrition Anthropology" is a science that aims to reveal the biological, psychological, geographical, social, economic, technological, traditional, educational, political, and similar factors that affect the food consumption and nutritional status of societies. Studies published in English, which are the basis of Nutrition Anthropology, are at the core of the studies on regional nutritional habits in America after the 1930s (Merdol, 2018).

Food studies have been a vital arena in which to debate the relative merits of cultural materialism vs. structuralist or symbolic explanations for human behavior (Simoons, 1994; Gade 1999). Comprehensive anthropological monographs on food systems are lamentably rare. Audrey Richards's first edition (1939) "*Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*" still remains the model for the field; she and an interdisciplinary team examined food production, preparation, exchange, preferences, symbolism, consumption and nutritional consequences (Mintz & Bois, 2002:101).

In their article "The Anthropology of Food and Eating," Mintz and Du Bois mention that they asked a student to study the place of food in anthropology textbooks from the 1920s to the 1990s. Their findings show that food became a much more concrete and important issue in the late 1950s. In post-1955 texts, one or more chapters are devoted to food, particularly food production, usually in relation to livelihoods (Mintz & Bois, 2002). Mintz, argues that, studies on food items consider foods one by one. For the work written in this way and first published in 1949, he cites R.N. Salaman's book "History and Social Influence of the Potato" (1985) as an example. His book dealt origins, domestication, worldwide diffusion, and political fate in European life (Mintz & Bois, 2002:103).

The effects of broad societal changes on eating patterns, and vice versa, are of growing interest to ethnographers. For example while Çağlar (1999) conducted a study on the changes in Turkish fast-food marketing in Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Ziker (1998) wrote an article discussing food sharing and the moral rules of indigenous peoples in post-Soviet Siberia (Mintz & Bois, 2002:104).

According to Mintz (2002:105), anthropologists have more commonly recognized peoples on move migrants, refugees, and colonizers-as agents of dietary change. For example, Lockwood and Lockwood (2000) suggested that with the change of food providing routes in Arab society, eating habits changed in different ethnic groups within the community. Goody (1998), on the other hand, focused on the changing dietary habits of local people living in the regions where they migrated, rather than the dietary habits of Chinese migrants.

In conclusion, Mintz mentioned that studies on food literature have increased within anthropology. Especially globalization has a great impact on this issue and anthropologists are in a good position to make useful contributions to the development of policy in regard to health and nutrition, food inspection, the relation of food to specific cultures world hunger, and other subjects (2002:111).

2.5. Diaspora

According to the Turkish Language Institution, the diaspora is "the place where members of any nation or faith life as a minority outside their homeland, the branch of any nation that has left their homeland" (TDK, 2019).

Yaldız (2013:290), claims that due to the ongoing global migration movements, diaspora societies will be an important source of conceptual and theoretical debate that will affect the future of international relations.

In his article titled "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return", Safran (1991:83-84) discusses "how" the diaspora is, not "what it is", and lists six basic characteristics of a diaspora group as follows:

- 1- Their ancestors or themselves were separated from a certain center into two or more regions.
- 2- They preserve a common memory or myth about the homeland, such as history and physical location.
- 3- They believe that they are not fully accepted and probably will never be accepted by the host society, and therefore they feel partially alienated and isolated.
- 4- They consider their homeland as their true home; when conditions permit, they or subsequent generations will/should return to the homeland.
- 5- They believe that they should work together for the protection or reconstruction of the homeland and for the security and welfare of the homeland.
- 6- They maintain their ties with the homeland, and they identify their ethnic consciousness and solidarity through this relationship.

In his thesis titled, "Diaspora ve Kimlik: Eskişehir ve İstanbul'da Yaşayan Kırım Tatarları'nda Kültürel Kimliğin İfade Alanı Olarak "Tepreş"" (2008) , Ersoy argues that in order for diasporic societies to love their homeland, they must first recognize the place. With this way, they can create images that connect with homeland. The aim is not only to know the geography, but also to establish a cultural connection. Homeland can be defined as an emotional reference point for the diaspora, which they use to emphasize that they are culturally different from the societies they live in (Ersoy, 2008:18). Salman Rushdie's related words help to understand:

"Bugünüm bana yabancı. Geçmişim ise sisler arkasında bıraktığım o kayıp şehirde kucak açmış beni bekliyor... Bundan böyle bizler, gerçek şehirler veya köyler değil hayali mekânlar yaratacağız, görünmeyen hayali vatanlar"
(Akt; Kaya, 2006:61).

Diasporic identity symbolically provides a power and opportunity to individuals and societies to overcome the limitations and pressures they face in their residence. Diaspora experience creates a multi-identity structure and has an absolutely heterogeneous structure (Ersoy, 2008:19).

Kaygalak, Günlü ve Dilek (2015), conducted a study, which claims that there is a strong link between diaspora and tourism, on travelers to the Balkans. Although the network of relations

established between the homeland and the host country is not always active, the desire of individuals to return makes the relationship with the homeland active. This situation develops the desire of the first migrating generation to keep this bond alive and the effort to transfer their own culture to the second and third generations (Dilek, Günlü, Kaygalak, 2015:439). As a result of the study, it was seen that the participants continued some social and cultural activities of their ethnic origin, but there were intergenerational differences in interest and loyalty to their ancestral lands. Since they are happy to live in better conditions in Turkey, they generally describe themselves as "Turkish citizens of Balkan descent". This reveals the belonging of those participating in diaspora tourism to both geographies (Dilek, Günlü, Kaygalak, 2015:441).

2.6. Identity

Food is the most basic need for living since human beings existed. Apart from the biological need, food is a tool that allows us to feel a sense of belonging socially and culturally. Accordingly, it is part of our identity (Durukan, 2013:48).

Cultural identity has a social dimension that transcends the individual. The fact that the individual is a social entity, and they can live in human communities organized with different characteristics has made the community represented individually (Erkal, 1997). Ethnic, cultural, or the formation of any identity depends on "local conditions" (Eidhem, 2001) and encounters. Therefore, "identity should be thought of as" a system of symbols and relations not as an "object" (Morley & Robins, 1997).

Beşirli uses the work of Ibn-i Khaldun to explain the relationship between food and identity in his article titled "Food, Culture and Identity" (2010). Ibn-i Khaldun (1988: 271-272) states that the relationship between nutrition and identity affects people's body and moral structure and character, and therefore both the happiness itself and its various states. Accordingly, he divided people into 3 groups:

1. People living in rural, arid, and unproductive lands,
2. People living in fertile plains, and soils with abundant produce,
3. City and townspeople.

The first group must work hard to find food due to the unsuitable climate. For this reason, they become more lively and fit. Their colors are brighter, their bodies are cleaner and smoother, their shapes are more beautiful, more perfect and more handsome, their temperament and characters are

farther from abnormalities, and their minds are sharper in terms of knowledge and cognition. They owe this situation to eating less and working hard (Beşirli, 2010). The second group lives in better climatic conditions, they find food by working less and this is relatively easy. Ibn Khaldun describes the color of such people as pale, dull, and their body structures as shapeless and ugly. Although the third group, like the second group, can find abundant and diverse foodstuffs, they make them finer with various processes such as cooking, salting, drying, that is, they make them thin and remove their hardness (Beşirli, 2010:161). For this reason, people living in the countryside have a harder body structure, while the people of the city are gentler and thinner. As a result, our eating habits shape our character as much as they affect our physical appearance, which is a part of our identity.

Firat, in his article examines the relationship between food and ideology, states that food has become the object of ideologies. In other words, it should be understood as, the food culture is an indicative tool to refer of our ideologies, which are a part of our class/ ethnic/ political identity (Firat, 2014).

Roland Barthes explains the connection between food culture and our ideological identity as follows: “Food constitutes a communication system, a collection of images, usage, situation and behavior protocol that signifies the existing social boundaries and associations in society” (Orkun, 2009). This relationship carries parts of the individual's both personal and collective identity.

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, one of the 18th centuries Master of Food and beverage, expressed the relationship between food and identity as follows in a famous byword: “Tell me what you eat; I'll tell you who you are” (Bober, 2003). Food and identity are inextricably linked. In fact, "you are what you eat" is a proverb that speaks with identity as well as the molecular structure of our body (Stapleton, 2015).

Almerico (2014), in her article shows that the relationship between the food people eat and how others perceive them and how they see themselves is remarkable.

Sadella and Burroughs' (1981) study is as follows: They listed 5 different diet types fed with fast food, healthy foods, synthetic foods, vegetarian, and gourmet foods. Participants associated food preferences with human typing. As a result, it has been concluded that those who eat fast food and synthetic foods are classified as religious conservatives, those who consume healthy food are activists and democrats, vegetarians are peaceful, and gourmets are perceived as libertarian and

developed individuals. In another study, it was seen that food identity appeared in the places where people eat.

Mccomber and Postel (1992) concluded in their study that the person who goes to a place with a playground has a maternal identity or a person who goes to an ethnic restaurant has the ethnic identity.

The food we choose makes us a member of a group. Food choices of different cultural groups are generally linked to ethnic behaviors and religious beliefs (Almerico, 2014: 5). Kittler, P.G., Sucher, K.P. and Nelms (2016) state as "Food is the daily reaffirmation of one's cultural identity", referring to the impact of eating habits on an individual's own spiritual existence.

Greene and Cramer (2011) indicate that we identify with others based on the types of food we eat so that we can feel a common bond with people who eat similar meals.

Bell and Valentine (1997), in a study examining people's food histories, stated that food preferences shape people's identities. They concluded that their food identity also changes when their life cycle changes (such as marry or being a mother), and that young people use food as a way of expressing their ethnic identity.

Gürhan (2017) states that religion is very effective in the formation of food culture. Therefore, our religious identity is the determinant of what we eat. In his study, he discussed how people's religious identities (specific to Islam) affect their diet. Food/ nutrition is an area where traditions and collective identity are kept as a means of harboring and transmitting cultural codes.

Therefore, the food system is an extraordinary means of self-representation, cultural change, and identity formation (Reis, 2012). What we eat is related to the identity of the group we belong to. In the scriptures of religions such as Islam and Christianity, it is shown that the first human, Adam, and Eve, was sent to the world by eating the forbidden fruit, that is, the flout a rule of the food ban as the reason for human birth. Therefore, it is stated that the relationship of man with the world begins with an eating practice (Gürhan, 2017:1208).

The attitude of individuals towards the food ordered and prohibited by their religion is symbolic (Beşirli, 2012: 57). According to this, religion attributes sacred meanings to food and people's food preferences turn into a belief system in this way.

Merdol states that the beliefs and values of societies related to foods are the factors that affect their food selection (2018: 17-22). An example of this is that people belonging to a particular religion

should be fed according to the conditions of that religion (for example, Muslims do not eat pork). According to Gürman, since pork and alcohol are accepted as haram for people belonging to the religion of Islam, consumption of these products is considered to cause contamination of religious belief and their consumption is prohibited. The food we consume is to protect our religious identity, to remain pure and to remain members of that religion. In Gürman's words, religion, which has a great impact on our diet, also affects us and other positions.

Some foods can be associated with health, morality, and spiritual purity (Beardsworth & Keil, 2011). In her work "Purity and Danger," Douglas classifies food as edible that is pure and inedible that is dirty, according to religious phenomenon.

Food and food-related taboos and dishes specific to that region are used to define neighbors (Goody, 2013: 111). If the individual acquires the eating habits of the group, he or she will acquire a group identity. Kanik (2016) states that mass hunger experienced during fasting periods reinforces the group's sense of belonging. This practice creates deep feelings within the group and turns into an indicator of religious identity.

There is a deep link between migration and identity phenomena. Tacoğlu, Arıkan and Sağır (2012) stated in their study on the Bosnians living in "Fevziye Mahallesi" that the migrants brought their identity with them to the place where they migrated. As stated in the study, it is a fact that especially the first generation that migrated felt the problem of identity and belonging more intensely compared to the next generations. It is stated that the migrants are described as "giaour" by the locals because they do not speak Turkish, and the migration affects the religious identity along with it. The definition of "the other" focused on religious identity by the indigenous people has caused their interactions with the local people to be quite limited, friendship-neighbor relations could not be established (Tacoğlu, Arıkan, Sağır, 2012: 1952). Another important finding of the study is that while the identity of "migrant" or "Bosnian" comes to the fore in the first generation, the second generation is in search of identity. Participants stated that they experienced changes in many spiritual cultural elements, but now the only difference is language and food. This situation can be explained with the concept of acculturation, "the process of cultural and psychological change or changes that people belonging to a certain culture experience in contact with people from another culture" (Bilgin, 2003). According to the statements of the participants, the traces of the Bosnian culture are mostly seen in the meals. Bosnians in Fevziye still cook dishes such as

pita, patatesli iclavak, kabaklı iclavak, patatesli dila, kolayça, gömme, içli gözleme, ruzitsa (dessert), maslensa, gobeta (Tacoğlu, Arıkan, Sağır, 2012: 1961).

In the study of Balaban and Mehmed (2014), the problems experienced by Bulgarian immigrants on identity are discussed. In the study, especially the culture that is transferred through language is emphasized.

Through language, the culture inhabited is learned, the ways of communicating are adopted, naturalized, and while language enables people to transfer cultural ideas and symbolic meanings from one generation to another, this also allows the creation of new cultural ideas (Tabakçı, 2009). Balaban and Mehmed stated that while Bulgarian Turks live in Bulgarian culture and speak Bulgarian, they also know Turkish and try to preserve their Turkish cultural identity. Immigration took place as a result of pressures such as the prohibition of religion and customs and finally the obligation to change names (Balaban, Mehmed, 2014:14). Considering the differences experienced after migration, it is revealed that there are differences in terms of rituals. Considering the differences experienced after migration, it is revealed that there are differences in terms of rituals. Immigrants stated that they still continue to cook most of the dishes they cooked in Bulgaria and that there are some things they learned here as well. (Balaban, Mehmed, 2014:18).

Rabikowska (2010) conducted a study on the food buying and preparation rituals of Poles living in England. Data are presented that these rituals create the perception of the homeland in individuals and that individuals thus realize identity construction. In the research, it was observed that Polish immigrants cook Polish food using local products in England. In this way, they connect to the past and conjure up memories of their homeland through food. However, they redefine their identity with the feeling of being away from home.

A similar study was conducted by Fuentes and Bassols (2016:171) on reviving Catalan cuisine. According to the study, Catalan cuisine is resisting the catering industry. Because memories of the past are recalled through the processes of purchasing and preparing food, while identity is redefined and constructed through the feeling of being away from home. Catalans are against this industry in the name of preserving their cultural identity (Cengiz & Türkan, 2019:955).

2.7. Memory

The taste, smell and texture of a meal can take us to places in our memory that we think we might have already forgotten. Food is an effective trigger of deeper memories of feelings and emotions, internal states of the mind and body (Allen, 2012). Holtzman (2006) defines memory in its simplest

form as the destabilization of reality through remembering the past and says that it is remembered for constructing the present. When looking at the relationship between the individual and the society, it can be understood that food is also a part of the cultural structures in which the person is (Fischler, 1988).

Sutton points out the gap in this area, saying “the most clicked sites when you write about food, memory, and senses are those related to foods that still strengthen memory, and psychology studies claiming that evolutionary psychology explains the link between food and memory” (Sutton, 2019).

Halbwachs, in his classic work published in 1992, stated that no food and taste are just a sensory experience, they are within the practices known by the whole community that enable the whole community to establish such a strong connection between food and memory. Food is also linked between space and time, and for many immigrants, food is an essential component of maintaining home connections (Vallianatos & Raine, 2008).

In her book "We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans", in which Gabaccia (1998:54), study Colonial Creoles, Native Americans and ethnic groups. Historically contextualizes the ethnic, regional, and national relations of agriculture as well as food practices and preferences of many immigrants. According to her, losing traditional culinary practices is equivalent to abandoning “society, family and religion”.

A study on Iranian restaurants in Ankara reveals interesting results about food memory and diasporic individuals (Deniz & Öksüz, 2017). One Iranian student’s views about the restaurants is as follows:

“İçeri adımımı atıyorum, o yemek kokusu burnuma geliyor ya, sanki evime gelmişim. Okuldayken bir kelime duyuyorum mesela Farsça ama Türkçeye geçmiş. Ona seviyorum, her duyduğumda istemsizce dönüp bakıyorum. Restorana ilk geldiğimde de Farsça hep konuşuluyor, ben şaşkın şaşkın bakıyorum. İçerisiyle dışarı bir garip oluyor” (25 years old, female).

It is seen that taste and smell strengthen the sense of cultural belonging in diasporic individuals and create a center of remembrance. Sutton (2001) stated that food is a nostalgic element because it satisfies the longing for home. According to Holtzman (2006:372), these restaurants prevent the loss of the rituals created by the daily practices of immigrant groups for a long time and create a food-centered memory.

Apart from all these, memory occurs not only in eating but also in the cooking process. Studies reveal that cooking in many cultures is a period for telling stories and transmitting cultural knowledge among women. For example, Beoku-Betts (1995:543) describes the teaching / learning / transferring processes that take place at different levels during daily food preparation among the Gullah people living on the islands of South Carolina, USA. What is important here is not only cooking, but also conveying a wider social knowledge.

2.8. Gender

There are many studies examining the relationship between food and gender. Considering the home organization, women responsible all kinds of kitchen-related business. Nonetheless, it is possible to see men more in the sector in professional terms (Durukan, 2013:47).

Zubaida wrote in his work "Culinary Cultures of the East" that women whose husbands are far away do not eat meat unless their husbands come home. Also, women eat mainly vegetables, and the vegetables they eat are not luxury vegetables (Zubaida, Tapper 1994:160). The difference of the gender affects the food choices. While lighter foods and beverages are perceived as specific to women, more fatty, heavier, hard foods and beverages cause to be perceived as specific to men (Abdurrezzak, 2014: 12). In the study conducted by Vallianatos and Raine (2015:361) on immigrant women, a participant Arab woman summarized the responsibility of the gender role as follows: "We have more obligations to our family, we cook for our husband and children, we believe that family comes before everything." So supplying food and especially cooking is a practice by which femininity is built. Therefore, the participant stated that cooking is a way of conveying love and respect to family members.

Goody (2005:173), in his book "Food", explains the relationship between gender and food as follows: "In American popular culture, men eat meat and potatoes and avoid white meat "quiche". As can be seen, while meat is associated with men and is considered appropriate to be eaten, foods like chicken and pastry are associated with women.

In her article Eker describes the functions of food through food culture, she states that food is a means of determining sexual identity from a gender perspective (2018: 171). Our eating habits become a cultural symbol of the human being as a social being, and gender is a decisive phenomenon at this point (Eker, 2018:182).

For Hindu South Asian women, preparation of food has been described as spiritual significance, like an act of worship, consequently the act of cooking and serving food has symbolic power (Ray,

2004). Similar patterns of deference in Muslim South Asian women's food work have also been described. The sanctity of food preparation can be seen for women as a reflection of their respect for their husbands (Mandelbaum, 1988).

In the relationship between food and power, it is possible to see that the role of individuals in the food supply process can be determinative, as well as the relationships that ruler and ruled managed are reflected in the food (Beşirli, 2010: 162). Abdurrezzak (2014:6) in a study conducted to examine the direction of food with communication, stated that the most preferred part of the meal was reserved for the most respected person in the family and even it was clear who would sit where at the table. Because it is a show of strength. In male-dominated societies, even if women work, the man has become the person who speaks the last word but is served the first meal. Due to the sociocultural structure, women and young girls have roles of food preparer and presenter, adult men and boys generally have the roles of breadwinning (Özdemir, 2005). As it can be understood here, men are the people who breadwinning to the house and earn money, while women are obliged to cook and bring what the man earns to the table. Also, studies have shown that, women frequently privilege the tastes of other family members, particularly husbands (Counihan 1999; DeVault 1991; McIntosh ve Zey 1989).

2.9. Generation

Food choice preferences of consumers are investigated by considering many rational factors such as age, income status, gender, generational differences. As a matter of fact, Keane and Willetts (1994) state that what people eat and why they eat is more than a simple matter of nutritional value.

Biologically, the period between the birth date of the parents and the birth date of their children is defined as the "generation" (Bal Çetinkaya, 2020). TDK (2020), on the other hand, defines the generation as "the community of people who were born in approximately the same years, shared the conditions of the same age, thus similar troubles and destinies, and were responsible for similar duties".

Fox listed the names that generations as follows.

Silent Generation, born between 1925 and 1945,

Baby Boomers Generation, born between 1946 and 1964,

Generation X, born between 1965 and 1980.

Those born between 1981-1995 are considered Generation Y and those born after 1996 are considered Generation Z (Fox, 2011).

Özdemir, carried out a study to determine the main generations of the last century and the main differences between these generations (Özdemir, 2019). According to this, each generation tries to transfer its own culture to the next generation, and the cultural conflict arises at this point. On the other hand, the new generation tries to change and transform the culture and traditions (2019:125).

According to Özdemir, the phenomenon of intergenerational is tried to be resolved by considering differences rather than similarities. As a result, it will be beneficial to use process-oriented, impartial and holistic approaches in intergenerational analysis (Özdemir, 2019:138).

MacIntyre et al. state that one of the factors affecting food selection is age. Young consumers see themselves as invincible and argue that they attach less importance to the motivation to be healthy than older consumers because they mainly associate nutrition with appearance (MacIntyre, Reilly, Miller, & Eldridge, 1998).

Kılıç and Şanlıer (2007) conducted a study with 142 female students, their mothers and grandmothers in Ankara, and found that there were significant differences between their eating habits. While the girls stated that they sometimes had breakfast in the morning, mothers and grandmothers stated that they always had breakfast in the morning. It has been determined that half of the girls sometimes, almost all of the mothers and most of the grandmothers cook at home, more than half of the girls mainly cook pasta and rice that are easy to prepare, while mothers and grandmothers cook vegetable dishes (2007:41). Aşık (2019) carried out a study on the cause of nutritional differences between X and Y generations in Balıkesir. According to the results, the X generation gives more importance to health in food, while the Z generation emphasizes pleasure. On the other hand, it has been observed that there is no significant difference between the X and Z generations in terms of the cooking method, being economical, easy to prepare, and different from the usual tastes (2019:2605).

Dölekoğlu and Çelik (2018), investigated the food purchasing behavior of Y generation consumers in Adana, determined that the most preferred food type of Y generation were traditional foods such as kebab, liver, doner, etc. and the findings are suitable for the culinary culture of the region were determined.

In a study conducted by Sarı and Tetik on Bulgarian immigrants, it was concluded that the young generation did not have enough knowledge about local dishes, and that most individuals of the third age generation, such as grandmothers and grandfathers, dominated the kitchen (Sarı & Tetik, 2019:81-82).

3. MATERIAL AND METHODS

In the interviews, it was tried to focus on the reasons for food preferences and it was aimed to make an analysis on the symbolic codes of the food. In addition, the relationship between all eating practices that change from daily eating habits to special days and food memory has been tried to be examined.

Gebze, where the 1989 Bulgarian immigrants living in, was chosen as the research area. The eating habits of these immigrants that changed or did not change were tried to be evaluated and it was aimed to find out food memory and to define food identity of them. The findings in the study were obtained using the qualitative research method. In-depth interview technique was used to reach the findings.

Qualitative research can be defined as “research in which qualitative data collection techniques such as observation, interview, and document analysis are used, and a qualitative process is followed to reveal perceptions and events in a natural environment in a realistic and holistic manner” (Karataş, 2015). The data generated in studies using the qualitative method are different from the numerical data of quantitative studies (Kümbetoğlu, 2020).

Since the most frequently used data collection methods in qualitative research are interviews and observations, it is not possible to work with a large sample group in terms of both time and cost. For this reason, in qualitative research, it is tried to obtain a holistic picture that will represent all the possible diversity, richness, difference and contradiction in the sample without worrying about generalization (Karataş, 2015:70).

Coding is one of the first steps of data analysis. It can be indexed and divided into sub-headings, or it is better to divide the data into sections with words, concepts, and indicators that are extracted from the data itself and reflect its meaning (Kümbetoğlu, 2020:88).

The data obtained at the end of the research process are subjected to descriptive and content analysis. While descriptive analysis is used to process data that does not require in-depth analysis,

content analysis requires a closer examination of the data obtained and reaching the concepts and themes that explain this data (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008, s. 89). The content analysis method was preferred because an in-depth analysis and a set of concepts are required for this study.

Considering all these, a voice recorder was used in the interviews to increase data quality and reliability, and the study was supported with content such as photos and videos as much as allowed to participants. In addition, the data obtained through observation were also confirmed through interviews. In order to convey the emotion correctly, the quotations are written in the mother tongue (Turkish).

3.1. In-depth Interview

There are many data collection methods in qualitative research. Frequently used data collection methods are observational studies, in-depth interviews and focus group interviews. Apart from these methods, there are also methods such as document review, qualitative data collection through metaphors (Sevencan & Çilingiroğlu, 2007). Interview is defined as the activity of expressing the feelings and thoughts of the individuals participating in the research on a certain subject. The main purpose of the interview is to enter the inner world of the individual and try to understand his / her point of view. It is hoped to reach unobservable information such as the experiences, attitudes, thoughts, intentions, comments, mental perceptions, and reactions of the individual about the researched subject through the interview (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008, s. 120). In-depth interview, on the other hand, is a face-to-face data collection technique that covers all dimensions of the researched subject, mostly open-ended questions are asked and allows detailed answers to be obtained (Tekin, 2006).

In this study, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 7 people. The age and gender of the participant constitute the biggest criteria in the selection of the interviewer. Age is important because having migrated at such a young age can put the right outcome at risk. Therefore, individuals over the age of 40 were preferred for the study. The woman's transfer of culinary culture from woman to woman as an inheritance and the determinant stance of women in migration are the reasons why women are chosen as participant.

All of the participants were selected among the people who migrated from Bulgaria to the Gebze region in 1989. My reason was that my mother was working in Gebze. Therefore, I thought that I could reach people more easily. Mrs. Nurşen, one of the participant, is a friend of my mother's. I started with her first. Afterward, I expanded the sample with the snowball method. Mrs. Nurşen took me to all my 5 meetings. I believe that the bond of trust is established much easier because

of meeting with her friends and relatives and being by my side. Only 1 person among them did not prefer to use her own name. I reached the remaining 2 participants through an acquaintance. In short, I can't say that I had a lot of trouble finding an interviewer.

One person was born in Dimitriovgrad, 4 people were born in Kardzhali, and 2 people were born in Sofia. In this way, I was able to determine the returns of both village and city life with this distribution. It was helpful to compare the variability of the places where they were born and grown regarding their food preferences, culture, living standards, and relations with society.

I took care to conduct the interviews in places where the participants would feel comfortable. I interviewed 2 people at their place of work and the remaining 5 people at their homes. I had the opportunity to look at the refrigerators of the people I met at their homes, take pictures, and even taste them. Afterward, I had the opportunity to visit the market and do some shopping with one of my participant who own a Muhacir market. Some of the interviews were accompanied by family members. Therefore, from time to time, they intervened and talked or exchanged ideas such as "what was that, how we were doing it".

While going to the interviews, I preferred clothes that did not attract attention and would not create superiority, I did not wear make-up. At the beginning of the meeting, I explained what my purpose was and how the meeting would progress. Because my voice recording can make them nervous from time to time. Therefore, I tried to act naturally and comfort them to make them forget the existence of the device.

During the interviews, I tried to get the recipe for each dish that was told. Thus, I had the opportunity to make comparisons. In general, it can be said that the food is common, but not all of them.

3.2. Examination of Own Society

I am the child of an immigrant. My grandmother is from Sarajevo and my grandfather is from Bulgaria Pravadi. Even though my grandparents' immigrated in the 19th century, that doesn't change the fact that I'm semi-immigrant. We don't know their language, we do not know the food culture except Bosnian pastry and Bosnian dumplings, we have never been to those places. But when I introduce myself, I add that I am an immigrant when I say that I am from Kilis. Therefore, in this study, of course, I experienced some difficulties and conveniences brought about by examining my own society. In the short conversations, we had before the interviews, the fact that I said that I am an immigrant too may have made them feel closer to me. Because in-depth interview is such a thing that people can share their most private and intimate feelings to you. I

think one of the reasons for my sincere conversations is that they know that I understand them. What I read about the subject while doing this study made the migration process seem quite chaotic and traumatic. But it was quite difficult for me to learn that someone lived much more than what I read during the interviews. In fact, I felt that I was not one of them. Because even though I am a grandchild of an immigrant myself, I have never migrated, I have not been separated from where I live, I have not experienced such pain. That's when I felt like I had been lying to myself. Maybe even to them. But no matter what I was, I cried with them, I felt their pain deep inside me, I became a partner in their whole life in an instant. Due to my age, I did not read news about immigration in the newspapers or did not watch what was told on television during the immigration period. In fact, before I started this work, I didn't even have the slightest idea of what immigration meant, which I said I was an immigrant. Now it means a lot.

4. RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Throughout history, people have had to leave their places for various reasons. Migration can be permanent or temporary, forced or voluntary. Whatever the case, there is only one fact about migration, which is a phenomenon that affects people socially, culturally, economically and psychologically. The 1989 Bulgarian immigrants covered in the study are a group that has been forced to migrate to Turkey.

The first migration of Turks from Bulgaria to Turkey took place in 1877-1878 (Tuğrul, 1989). After the Ottoman-Russian war, both Russians and Bulgarian nationalists for the establishment of a Bulgarian State in the areas where Bulgarians and Turks lived together until 1908; they concluded that the Turkish population, which has a large proportion of fertile lands, should be removed from the region (Köse, 2006).

Increasing pressures and assimilation policies over time are among the reasons that force immigrants to migrate. Mrs. Nurşen, one of the participant, expresses her reasons for migration as follows: “ *Bizim Türklerimiz nüfus olarak çok çoğalmaya başladı. Bulgaristan'da da kimse doğum yapmıyordu o dönemde. Dolayısıyla bizim nüfusumuz hızla artacağı için Rusya'nın baskısıyla bir asimilasyona girdiler*”. The two communities, who lived side by side for years, dispersed due to the political regime and the oppressive policy, and the migration process took place. Mrs. Ayşe stated that they did not even think of migration before the pressure. Obviously, immigration seems to be an unexpected situation for these people who know it as their homeland. Mrs. Meliha, one

of the participant, states that she has grown up with the words that we will go to Turkey one day since she was a child:

“Yani ben kendimi bildim bileli yani her zaman söylerim bunu da annem olsun, babam olsun. Bir gün göç olacak. İşte bir gün biz esas ait olduğumuz topraklar Türkiye'dir, Türkiye'ye gideceğiz. Hani biz Türk'üz. İşte Bulgaristan bize biz orada yabancıyız tarzında. Öyle yetiştirdiler bizi. Er veya geç biz Türkiye'ye gideceğiz. Biz gidemezsek bile bizim çocuklarımız belki gider düşüncesiyle”.

Looking at the participants in general, it seems that none of the families had any intention of migrating before the assimilation policies. Without exception, every participant emphatically states that they get along very well with their Bulgarian neighbors with whom they live there and that they are never excluded.

The Bulgarian Government implemented a name change policy as a first move. Afterwards, even speaking Turkish was prohibited, and the fulfillment of religious obligations such as circumcision was prevented by strict rules. The real migration movement started because of these pressures. Even at the beginning of the meeting, when I asked Mrs. Nurşen who she was, she started to cry. She stated that she had heard the name Nurşen in her home environment until 1985, and that she was always addressed as "Nöro" at school. She explains with a falter, that the policy of changing names began in 1985, when she was still in the 5th grade, and that she took a compulsory name:

“Tabii ki ben o çocuk aklımla çocuk mahkemesine gidip başvurdum. Madem ki ben Türk değilim Nurşen olamıyorum. Annemi dayatma usulü Nora ismini koymuşlar ve ben çocuk mahkemesinde Madem Türk değilim, Bulgar'da değilim, Nataşa ismini istiyorum diye kendi kararım ile Nataşa Tanassuda Kivo olarak on yedi yaşına kadar bu ismi taşıdım”.

Mrs. Nurşen stated that they woke up the sleeping snake by changing the name. Mrs. Ayşe says that things are getting out of hand: *“Yani isimleri değiştirdiler. bir cenazeni kaldıramıyorsun istediğin gibi. Ondan sonra sünnet yaptırımıyorsun. ne derler ona? Mevlüdünü okutamıyorsun. Çok böyle bir baskı içerisinde kaldı millet. Ondan sonra zaten işte bu göçmenlik olayları çıktı”.* She stated that she could not even speak Turkish outside with her mother and that the policeman in plain clothes were constantly behind them. She even stated that they were caught one day speaking in Turkish and were levied a fine. Mrs. Hatice expresses the pressures during the

migration process as follows: “*Sünnet kesimlerini yasakladılar. Camiye gitmeleri yasakladılar. Düğünleri yasakladılar. İşte isimler değişik olunca mesela Türkçe konuşmayı yasakladılar. Şalvar giymemizi yasakladılar. Ben ceza bile yediğimi hatırlıyorum*”. Mrs. Hatice states that after the names changed and the pressure increased, the resistance started in the village. She says soldiers are waiting in front of their house with tanks, making fires and forcing those who do not change their names. In the end, they have to what they say and life somehow goes on. They accept it because they have no other choice. Although it is difficult, they continue to live.

Mehmet Kaplan says that “culture is all the manifestations of life that make a community, a nation and differentiate it from other nations”. When viewed from culture formation, development, transfer, etc. aspects, the function, and importance of language can be easily seen (Göçer, 2012). A common language is of great importance for the formation of culture. Existing culture is first transferred through language.

For Mrs. Gülbiye, the migration process begins with the name change. “*Bütün her şeyimizi karıştı. Türkçe konuşmayacaksınız, işte camileri kapattılar, düğünleri Bulgarca yapacaksınız, giysiler, Bulgar giysisi olacak. Yani artık çıkmaz bir sokaktaydık*”. Everything changed so rapidly that in one day, their relatives started to pack their belongings and come to Turkey. Unfortunately, Mrs. Gülbiye was not so lucky. They had to wait because her brother's passport did not come out and she had just given birth.

One day, when circumcision was banned, a circumciser came to the village. 9 children were circumcised, 1 more remained. Mrs. Gülbiye secretly took a child and had him circumcised. The boy's bleeding did not stop all night, she was very scared. She describes those moments with trembling and tears in her eyes. She says she still cries whenever she goes for a circumcision or sees a circumcised child. Of course, the situation has been noticed. “*Çalıştığım köyde kardeşimi çağırды. Ben gittim. Dövdüler. Sünnet çocuklarını babalarını hep. Yani sadece isim değiştirseler hiçbir şey değildi. Bütün ırk ve adetimizi cenazemizi kadar karıştırdılar. Karıştırlar*”. She tells that they even bury her father's funeral secretly, and that they had read the Quran secretly in the mosque. She speaks timidly, as if she is still living that the day.

Mrs. Fatmagül describes her experiences in the village as follows :

“*Orada demiyor ama o takip ediyor. Ondan sonra ceza yazıyor sana. Bir hafta Türkçe konuştun. Şalvar giydin. Mesela kurban da kurban kesemezsin. Çörek de çörek dediğin kulaç deriz. Biz ha*

buraya da kızartıyoruz onu. Onu Pişiremezsin. Ondan sonra erkek çocuğunu sünnet ettiremezsin. Düğün yapamazsın. Yasak. Yasak”.

The society maintains its structure, which it protects through rituals, by improving its existing values. According to Durkheim, the social functions of ritual are, in general terms, necessary for a society to survive. In the context of its social functionality, ritual meets the most basic social needs and these needs are the same for every society (Murtezaoğlu, 2012). Considering all these prohibitions, the fact that the Turks living in Bulgaria cannot perform their own rituals creates problems in terms of their existence and may cause them to lose their cultural identity.

They decide to come to Turkey, but when they get passports, the border is closed. So they couldn't go to Turkey. In the end, they come to Turkey like tourists and never come back.

Mrs. Gülbiye explains that they could not stand the pressure and that they had to emigrate: *“Asimilasyon. Asimilasyondan dolayı göç etmek zorunda kaldık. Hani zaten o dönemki şeyleri takip ederseniz isim değişikliği falan. Müslümanlığı ortadan kaldırma. Bunu zaten hiçbirimiz göze alamazdık”.* Mrs. Gülbiye always defines Turkey as her longing. However, it seems that immigration would not have been possible without these pressures. Because we know that before these pressures, everyone was living their life in some way, they were happy. But when the assimilation policy started to be implemented, it suddenly treads on everyone's corns. As a result, 1989 immigration is a tragic experience in our recent history. It seems that this migration, which is still alive in the memories, will continue to be a trauma for the immigrants for a long time.

Generally, religion is sought within a culture or civilization as part of that culture or civilization. However, religion is the basis of both of these, as an essence and a building block. Bergson's famous quote comes to mind here: "As in the past, societies without science, art and philosophy can be found today, but a society without religion can never be" (Cebeci, 2008).

An important point of the migration process is that the immigrants are in a complete liminal position. Van Gennep used the concept of liminality to refer to the state of outsidership, betweenness and uncertainty experienced outside of ordinary social and cultural relations between rituals (Van Gennep, 1960). For this study, we can analyze the liminal status of Bulgarian immigrants as neither staying there nor being able to leave due to increasing pressures. Being marginalized and placed in a different position, they have come to a liminal status due to their inability to mix into the local community socially.

One consequence of migration is, of course, diasporic individuals. If life on earth continues, the phenomenon of the diaspora will continue to exist. Diaspora, which is a natural result of this mobility, is an important concept for the future of international relations today. In Schramm's model examining the migration relationship (pre-departure features, departure-related features, resettlement-related features), the first phase focuses on culture related to values in its own cultural context. The second phase looks at the situations related to the decision to leave. And the third phase is functional regarding how the native in the new settlement maintains or reconstructs his / her own cultural identity in his /her perspective against the immigrant (Ersoy, 2008).

According to the stories of participants, being a diaspora can mean being throwned background out of where you live. A subculture is formed in the place ultimately settled by the immigrants. This can lead to discrimination and marginalization. Mrs. Nurşen, one of the participant, tells:

“Tek en büyük problemleri bizimle giyim tarzımızdır. Yani biz Avrupa'da daha kısa kol, şort, atlet, yani bu tarz hani kızlarımız, delikanlılarımız. Mesela burada azıcık o garipsendi. Tabii artık bize uyum sağladık ama ilk etapta tabii ki böyle kıyafetlerde yadırgandık. Kıyafete göre değerlendirmeler azıcık üzücü oldu. Benden bir tık daha büyükler bu süreci daha yani 69-70 doğumları diyelim ki onlar bir tık. Neyse onlar on sekiz, on dokuzdu. Tam ergenliği bitmiş. Kendi kimlikleri oturmuş bir yaş grubundaydı. Onlar tam böyle hani evlenmelik çağında diyelim ki. Onlara daha kolay dil uzatıldı diyebilirim”.

Erdoğan and Vatandaş (2020), state that discrimination regarding bodily appearance in multicultural societies can turn into a very heated debate, especially over clothes. Dress, which is a definite and visible symbol of cultural identity, is very important for individuals; it is also the cause of all kinds of fear in the wider society for the same reason (Parekh, 2002). Accordingly, the clothing choices that constituted "normality" for them while living in Bulgaria became a tool that caused them to be discriminated against after coming to Turkey. Mrs. Meliha, one of the people I interviewed, stated that the local people did not see them as Turks when they came to Turkey :

“...İlk aylarda, ilk günlerde bile ıı hani ıı Türk olarak bizi kabul etmediler aslında. Yani onu açıkça söyleyeyim, çok yadırgamıştık Hatta annem Allah rahmet eylesin. O da derdi. Ben de anlamadım. Bulgaristan'da bize Türk diyorlardı. Türkiye'ye geldi, Bulgar demeye başladılar. Hani biz aslında Bulgar değiliz, Türk'üz”.

While Mrs. Hatice working in Turkey, she was exposed to discourses especially by men such as “Kadın kısmı çalışmaz”. The history of the gender-based division of labor actually goes back a long way. The period when men hunt and women gather. Bora (2012:5) summarized this situation as follows: "The delicate and weak woman and the man that has combative with hunting genes". I believe that it would not be correct to say that this discrimination, which continues today, is only applied to immigrants. Mrs. Hatice expresses that she experiences discrimination as follows:

“İşte Türk Bulgaristan'dan geldiniz. Bütün her bir hakkı aldınız. Size devlet her şeyi sundu. Yani bu bize devlet mi sundu? Bize göçmen konutları yapıldı ya. Biz bunları yaptı ama biz hep ödeyerek sahip olduk ona. Devlet bize bedava sunmadı ki. Kendi karıları çalışmadığı için bizi hazmetmediler. Çalışıyorlar. Bizimle beraber para alıyorlar diye de çok şeylerle karşılaştık. İş yerinde şeyler”.

Especially at that time, the fact that all immigrants, men and women, were in the working life seemed to pose a problem for the local people. Apart from this, the perception that immigrants settled in the housing provided by the state for free must have created a reason for exclusion for the local people. Spatial separation refers to the separation of the living spaces of two or more groups and the concentration of groups in different spaces that they see as their own around the city (Tümtaş, 2018:815). Even though this concentration was realized by the state, it is seen that immigrants are trying to live together in any case. Especially participants are very close to each other, even neighbors. Only one of them is still living in immigrant housing. Others have created immigrant neighborhoods in Gebze. The reason is that when they come to Turkey, they are excluded by the local people as diasporic individuals. This situation caused immigrants to be more exposed to discrimination practices. So, it's a vicious circle. They are together because they are excluded, and the locals more discriminate them, thinking that they are trying to stay together and differentiate themselves.

While the immigrants live in Bulgaria, they do not actually belong there in a sense. Although they have been living there for centuries, they are a subculture there as they are not Bulgarian. It is an ironic situation that while immigrants are excluded and marginalized in the society they belong to, in Bulgaria they are at least embraced by the public. Mrs. Nurşen also states that she has never been discriminated against by her Bulgarian neighbors or friends while living in Bulgaria. Although she was the first in the mathematics Olympics she attended in Russia when she was in the 7th grade, she was disqualified because she was not originally a Bulgarian, and she describes

her experiences after returning to Bulgaria: “ *Hüngür hüngür ağlaya ağlaya döndüm ülkeme. Müdürüm çıkarttı okulun önüne dedi ki ne olursa olsun birincimiz biz biliyoruz. Sayısal bir yarışmaydı. Sonucu da biliyoruz. Kupa gelmedi ama sen geldin önemli olan budur*”. This incident that Mrs. Nurşen went through is an indicator of how she was embraced by her Bulgarian teachers and friends.

Mrs. Ayşe, on the other hand, states that she did not see any discrimination until the pressures in Bulgaria, but after that, some changes took place. When they come to Turkey, she explains that she was exposed to discrimination as follows :

“...*Sadece dediler hani göçmenler geldikten sonra işte ekonomiyi falan bozuldu falan dediler. İşte bu ama bak ekonominin bozulmasının sebebi ne? Biliyor musun? Şimdi ben işe başladım. Benim orada çalıştığım iş arkadaşım. Yerli. Bana demiyor ki ben bin lira alıyorum. Misal atıyorum ben. Ama ben de ona göre bin lira isteyeyim. Adam bana diyor ki iki yüz liraya çalışacaksın diyor. O bir lirayı gizliyor bende. O yüzden şimdi ne oluyor biliyor musun? İşveren de kullanıyor. Tabii az parayla çalışanı istiyor. Sonra zaten gelmiş adam sıfırdan başlıyor her şeye. E tabii ne verirse alacak. İstemekte bilmiyorsun. Ne olduğunu bilmiyorsun zaten. Ama işte o arkadaşın asıl suçu. Arkadaş bak biz bin liraya çalışıyoruz veya beş yüz liraya veya üç yüz liraya çalışıyoruz. Siz de o kadar isteyin uyar beni. Değil mi? Bu uyarmıyor, gizleniyor yani. Söylemiyor sana maaşını. Göçmenler tabii ki aza çalışır. Göçmenler aza çalıştık, az yani az*”.

Immigrants worked for less money because they needed and did not know, and the employer used it. The local people, on the other hand, seem to have thought that the immigrants took the job from them and excluded them in this sense. Thus, there was a separation between the two communities due to work.

It is seen that diasporic individuals experience multiple identity confusion. Childhood years are the first years in which the identity of the individual is formed. Positive childhood experiences are characterized by adequate experiences of positive experiences such as happiness, love, interest, appreciation, and trust that contribute to the physical, social, and emotional development of the child (Doğan & Yavuz, 2020). Studies show that individuals who have a positive childhood have positive character development. Therefore, diasporic individuals who have gone through a very traumatic process can overcome this situation in the easiest way possible only through a strong character.

Mrs. Nurşen, one of the participant, states that she had a very happy childhood in Bulgaria as follows: “*Oradaki çocukluğum inanılmaz mutluyum. Gerçekten çok mutlu bir çocukluk geçirdim*”. She explains that her own children cannot experience the same feelings, with a find strange as follows :

“Ne bileyim şu anda çocuğumu götürüyorum kendi şehrim ve liseme mutlulukla anlatıyorum ve çocuklarım diyor ki gözlerin gülüyor. Ama çocuğum kendi lisesini ziyaret etti. Ne yapayım ben orada diyor. Mesela o da çok ilgimi çekti benim kendi çocuklarımda. ... Ama burda doğmuş büyümüş çocuğum niye mutlu değil lisesinde? Neden ziyaret etmek istemiyor ortaokulun lisesini? Yani acaba vatansız kalınca mı kıymetimi biliniyor”.

Mrs. Nurşen who happily talks about her childhood memories despite all the painful experiences she went through, seems to be talking about her children's ingratitude by emphasizing "rootlessness". The fact that she uses the word homeland for Bulgaria may be due to her connection with her happy childhood memories. We see that the contrast between here and there is an important component of diasporic identity. Another important point is where the individual feels himself/herself within this heterogeneous structure. Mrs. Nurşen expresses as follows: “*Gerçekten hiçbir yerde değilim. Şu anda ailem ve eşim ve çocuklarım var diye evet mutluyum. Ama inanın Bulgaristan'a gittiğimde sadece öğrenciyken mutlu oldum yerlerde mutluyum ve Bulgaristan benim için hiçbir anlam ifade etmiyor. Bakın hiçbir yeri değilim*”. Saying that she only had her childhood even in her dreams, she refers to the happy childhood memories she spent there. Her main concern is not being able to raise her own children like she lived there: “*Tek hayal ettiğim ne olabilir bir çocuğun ya? Çocuklarım olursa benim gibi mutlu çocukluk yaşatabileyim hayalim vardı benim ya. Böyle bir şey var mı? Benim çocuğum olursa benim gibi mutlu çocukluk yaşatabileyim*”.

When Mrs. Ayşe talks about her childhood, her eyes are flash with longig and she explains as follows :

“ Bizim çocukluğumuz çok güzel geçti... Çocukluğumuzu özliyorum. Orada salıncak koştuklarımızı hatırlıyorum. Çocuklarıma anlatıyorum işte böyle oldu sıkıntı yok. Babam şöyle gitti diyorum. Böyle diyorum. Yani gene güzel bir şey aslında bir anda. Kapıları açık ya. Canı sıkıldığı zaman gidebiliyorsun. Yani. Memleket yani. Bir memleketin gidip görüyorsun, geliyorsun”.

Mrs. Ayşe, just like Mrs. Nurşen, uses the word "homeland" when talking about Bulgaria. Again, Bulgaria turns into a construction of happy childhood memories.

Mrs. Meliha, one of the participant, describes how she lived her childhood literally on the street and how happy she was about the games she played:

“ Yani ben çok mutlu bir ıı çocukluk geçirdim. ... Hep sokaktaydık neredeyse ya. Mesela kar yağdığında öyle bir tepemiz vardı. O semtte oturduğumuz mahallede naylonlarla dahi kaydığımızı hatırlıyorum. Kar yağdığında herkes birbirini organize ederdi. Hadi gidelim kaymaya diye. Yani donlarımız hani derler ya ıslanana kadar yani kayardık. Eve geldiğimizde her tarafımız sırlıklam olmuş oluyordu. Yazın da ayrı mesela yazın başka bir güzellik vardı. Bizim oturduğumuz mahallede ıı şey havuzumuz da vardı. Mesela havuza giderdik. ıı gündüz diyelim ki. Akşamları bisikletlerle dolaşırdık”.

Mrs. Meliha, who grew up with different games in summer and winter, expresses her sadness by expressing that her own daughter could not have such a childhood. Here, it is as if Mrs. Meliha states that her children do not have a real homeland, so she could not have a happy childhood like herself. If the homeland for Mrs. Meliha is built on the ground formed by her childhood memories, is Bulgaria the place she really feels like she belongs to? When I asked her if she felt like she belonged here, she replied very confidently, “Yes!” The identity confusion that makes itself felt between the lines suddenly shows up.

The family is the ground on which the foundation is laid in the formation of a healthy personality and character of the child. The good memories of childhood are important that can affect every aspect of our lives. Studies show that early childhood experiences, especially those that threaten the sense of belonging and damage the sense of trust, create the basis for important problems in emotional and social development, whereas a happy childhood is the most important determinant of a healthy life (Tahirovic & Jusi, 2016).

Although a result of migration is diasporic identity, immigrants of course contain many identities. One of them is their religious identity, which we see from the participants that they are all Muslims. How committed were they to their faith in Bulgaria? All my participants stated that they celebrated the "Şeker ve Ramazan Bayramı". However, Mrs. Nurşen states that she learned the "Kandil" in Turkey : *“Kandil'i burada öğrendim. Hala da çok benliğimde yani bana bir şey ifade etmiyor. Yani sadece akşam yatmadan dua ediyorum gerçekten”*. Now, she states that she bakes "çörek" or buys

"Kandil simidi" in Kandil days. She is trying to keep the Kandil tradition that she did not know in Bulgaria alive with what she saw and learned in Turkey. Mrs. Meliha states that they did not know the Kandil and learned it here. Mrs. Gülbiye says that they do not know the Kandil, only that she remembers her father reciting the Qur'an. Here, she states that she bakes "çörek" in Kandil and distributes them to the neighbors. Likewise, Mrs. Fatmagül states that she baked "çörek" here and that they did not know the Kandil when she was in Bulgaria. As can be seen, we see that the tradition of Kandil is not well known while the holidays are celebrated. There are immigrants who try to maintain this custom learned after they migrated. As a result, it can be said that their religious identities may have changed and the immigrants have adapted to Turkish Islam a little more.

Even though immigrants experience identity confusion as a result of all these traumatic processes, it is their eating habits that make them feel at home and connect them to their roots. It caught my attention that they found a practical way to hide the animal they slaughtered during the Eid-al-Adha. After slaughtering the sacrifice, they roast it, then fill it in jars and turn it into canned food. Actually, it is known that this tradition is a result of the nomadic traditions of the Turks in Central Asia. It is known that animal meat slaughtered in autumn in Central Asia is cut into small pieces and cooked with its oil, then filled into cubes and stored for the winter (Baysal, 1990). In the sources, this method is also referred to as "sızgıt". Thus, they could eat whenever they want. Mrs. Hatice explains: *"Bir hayvan kesildi. Güzelcene kavurmasını yapıyorlardı kavanozların içine. Öyle de saklıyorlardı annemle. E kışın ne olacak? Bir misafir mi geldi? Hemen ha hemen hazır. Soğanını kavur domatesini koy. Etini koy. Al sana kavurma hazır"*. She says she hasn't given up this habit and still canned meat. Thus, another unchanging eating habit emerges. It should also be noted here. Canning isn't just about meat. It's like a tradition. Every summer and winter, foods such as pickles, jams, and compotes are jarred for preparation. We can see the cans in the cupboard of one of my participant (Photograph 1).



Photograph 1: Gebze

Shooting: 25.11.2021 – Çağla Çolakoğlu

Immigrants must leave their entire lives and habits and start a new life, and their sense of belonging can disappear in all this identity confusion. This can ultimately destroy the feeling of security. They try to protect themselves by creating a subculture within the society. For this reason, as it is mentioned before, they live in the same neighborhoods and keep their associations active. With their collectivity the immigrant community may provide the individual with a sense of trust, belonging, and trust, and may prevent the person from feeling alone. Indeed, this need for interaction of immigrants is what led to the creation of collectivities.

With migration, people can change their eating habits, exhibit new behaviors, and experience new cultural experiences. In addition, they may need to give up their cultural habits. Eating habits are, of course, a part of their culture and therefore their identity. It is very difficult to change the eating habits formed from childhood. However, it is a fact that many habits have to change with migration. In the interviews, the binding effect of eating habits is striking.

Mrs. Nurşen, one of the participant, states that they do not know much about breakfast when she is in Bulgaria. She says that due to her parent's work, they mostly have breakfast with snacks: *"Genelde Bulgaristan'da kahvaltı yok. Bulgaristan'da bizim herkes çalıştığı için pratiktir. Yani baniçka deriz, tutmanik"*

deriz. Börek Poliça yine hamurun içine marmelat konmuş. Yolda pratik alırsın, yiyip gidersin. Yani kahvaltayı biz Türkiye'de öğrendik. Zeytini, peyniri, işte salatalığı.”

She states that they definitely consume delicatessen products: *“Genelde etli ürün, salam, sucuk muhakkak olur lokanta dediğimiz. Bizim lukanka dediğimiz domuzdan yapılan. Yani severiz onlara alışmışız”*. It is not surprising, then, that we see the lukanka coming out of Mrs. Fatmagul's refrigerator in Photograph 2. An important point is that they are still trying to consume the same products here. Macır or Muhacir Markets are the biggest facilitators at the point of supplying Bulgarian products:

“Yani ayda bir kere muhakkak uğruyoruz. Mesela sosisimizi ben Türkiye sosisi yemem. Geçenlerde Bamvit'in, sisli, sosisini tespit ettim. O birebir bizim sosise çok benziyor. Onu tercih ederim artık. Yine sosisi burada. Bulgaristan usulü. Bulgaristan tarifiyle Türkiye'de üretilen sosisler var. Onlardan alıyoruz”.



Photoprgraph 2 : Gebze

(Shooting: 25.11.2021 - Çağla Çolakoğlu)

She states that they never consume honey from Turkey, they always bring it from Bulgaria, and that she could never find that taste in any other honey.

Mrs. Meliha also states that when she was in Bulgaria, they usually had their breakfast with sandwiches. Here, she adds that she always shopped at Macır markets: *“Lukanka dediğimiz*

sucuğumuz vardır mesela. O sucuktan alırım. O sosis dediğimiz Bulgaristan sosisleri var. Sosisleri. Onu da severiz mesela. Oradan alırsınız yeriz”. She says that when she goes to Bulgaria, she always buys her sausages (Photograph 3) , brings the Balkan sauce, which they call lutenitsa, made with red roasted peppers, eggplant, and carrots, and also buys honey. She also talks about a product released by Tadım brand for Lutenitsa. But she also states that they couldn't be the same taste. While they say that they only find the taste they are used to and miss in their own markets or in Bulgaria, it turns out that they are still looking for that taste. During the interview, Mrs. Fatmagül took out the luteniska she had made herself from the refrigerator (Photograph 4).



Photograph 3: Gibze

Shooting: 25.11.2021 – Çağla Çolakoğlu



Photograph 4: Gebze

(Shooting: 25.11.2021 – Çağla Çolakoglu)

For Mrs. Hatice, breakfast means tarhana. The best breakfast would be with the tarhana they own made. Here, too, she states that this habit continues. When a guest comes, she says that he cooks a leavened dough called Tutnik, unique to Bulgaria, and offers it to them. She states that when she goes to Bulgaria, she always brings lukanka, a Bulgarian salami. For Mrs. Gülbiye, the indispensable part of breakfast tables is to have tarhana they make and to eat pickles on the side. When I asked about the tea, she said that they learned black tea in Turkey and that they consumed herbal tea such as linden there. By the way, she adds to her speech the lutenitsa they still consume, which is still on their table.

The situation is not different for Mrs. Fatmagül. Tarhana is definitely on their tables. I've always eaten red-colored tarhana here. They say that they made the tarhana white. They would sit on the floor table, cut bread into it and eat it from a tray. Next to it is the linden again. The thing that hasn't changed here is lutenitsa for breakfast. Mrs. Embiye states that they always fry dough for breakfast and also drink herbal tea because they do not know black tea. Lutenitsa, on the other hand, is still at the table of Mrs. Embiye, as is the case with everyone else.

People's food preferences say a lot about them. Although the arrival of individuals who were born and grown in Bulgaria to Turkey after a tragic migration has changed a lot in their lives, we see that their daily food preferences have not changed much. The fact that they still consume the delicacies from there on their tables may be because they are looking for a piece of their childhood. Those happy memories come to life on their tables with the smell of "lukanka and çörek". So they get attached to their roots, which makes them feel secure.

When we looked at the evening meals of the participants, I saw that there were not many different dishes from Turkish dishes in general. Many dishes with minced meat, meat, and vegetables are also available in Bulgaria. In other words, there is not much change in the evening meals. Soups, salads, main dishes are not much different from our classical Turkish table. It stands out that they prefer tarhana for both breakfast and dinner. The situation is slightly different for legumes only. Mrs. Nurşen states that she learned red lentils and chickpeas in Turkey. She describes her habit from Bulgaria, which she still maintains, as follows:

“Bu arada biz Bulgaristan'dan gelen hepimiz yani hemen hemen benim çevremde herkes biz son terbiyesini yemeyin, tereyağıyla katıklarız bir kaşık bununla. Ve çocukların bile hala sorarlar, çorba terbiyeli bir terbiyesiz mi? Bizde mesela bu hala sorulur. Terbiyeledin mi yemeği deriz yani kendi aramızda. Muhakkak tereyağ ve un bir kaşık terbiyemi katarım yani. Alışkanlık. Yani yemeğin son dokunuşu. Ama Bulgarlar da öyle. O yemeği duru sulu sevmiyoruz yani”.

No matter which society one lives in, in some periods of his/her life, he goes through some periods in which his place and position both in personal and social change. In these periods, some ceremonies and celebrations are held where the purpose and essence remain the same, although they change from society to society (Yeşil, 2014:118). Birth, death and marriage are among the most important rites of passages. The individual of each society passes through these stages no matter how they are. Social processes such as rites, traditions, customs, etc. take place around transitional periods and are governed by them. Food is one of the most important components of these transition rites. In Anatolia, we see that lohusa sherbet is made, halva is roasted at funerals, and keşkek is cooked at weddings. Even though each region has different customs, food emerges as a tool that changes our lives and accompanies us in these processes as we take a new era.

Birth, one of the rites of passage, is a biological event. It also brings with it many cultural meanings. While the woman gains the mother status after the birth, the man transitions to the father status. In order to protect the postpartum woman and the baby from evil, the society organizes and takes some precautions. In the interviews I made, I observed that there is not too much celebration or ceremony about birth as in Turkey. The woman gives birth in the hospital and no one sees the mother, including the father, for 15 days. It seems to be a method of protection, apparently. Lohusa sherbet is not made. Ms. Ayşe, one of the participant, states that they organized an organization called “geze” after giving birth. Geze is made by women's mother. After informing everyone, neighbors and relatives come to see the child with gifts. Kapama (a dish cooked in the oven by putting meat or chicken on rice) and su böreği are indispensable for "geze". Here, she states that she did everything she saw; lohusa sherbet, baby room decorations, etc.

Death, which is another of the transition rites, is the reality of all societies. Roden stated that "culinary culture, which is the longest surviving part of culture and tradition", stated that food is in all areas of life (Roden, 2000: akt. Sağır, 2016). It is impossible to think that the food and the culinary culture in which it is synthesized have not been integrated with "death". Death and food are two major instrumental forms that surround the social space (Sağır, 2016:5). Thanks to the ceremonies held after death, the cohesion and integration of societies are ensured. Food becomes a common phenomenon that brings together social roles.

Mrs. Nurşen describes a funeral she witnessed in Bulgaria as follows:

“O gün evde yemek pişmez. Komşular getirir. Evde de muhakkak yağ kokutulur, helva kokutulur. Çörek yine dediğimiz mayalı çöreği pişiriyoruz, yağ kokuttuk deriz. Nedense biz de derler ki ölüden sonra sadece duman mezara girermiş”.

She states that they maintain the same customs in migrant areas here, but due to the pandemic, they buy ready-made foods such as pita and ayran and take them to the funeral home by collecting money. Mrs. Meliha states that they also roast halva. Bulgarians used to distribute Turkish delight at their own funerals. Regardless of the culture, it is obvious that there is a transition period in which death is synthesized with food. In general terms, it is seen that there is not much different tradition in post-mortem ceremonies other than the ones held in Anatolia. This similarity may be due to the fact that the beliefs of the two communities are the same.

Wedding is a ceremony that takes place as a result of the rules determined by the society and is sacred. It also has an important place in Anatolian culture. In Anatolia, there is a belief that the

bride's tears will increase fertility. It is thought that the bride's tears will bring plentifulness, so great efforts are made to make the bride cry at the henna night (Çetin, 2008). Even sad songs are sung to make the bride cry, turkish poem are sung, and it is said that she will leave her mother. While this holy ceremony is taking place, of course, there are some magical phenomena that take place over food. There are traditions such as throwing barley, wheat, rice, sugar, and nuts from the bride and groom's head. Thus, there is a belief that the fertility of the house and the fertility of the bride will increase. When I looked at the people I interviewed, I saw that their customs were not that different from here. However, due to the pressure created by the political regime, it was stated that the weddings were held secretly recently. Mrs. Nurşen states the following:

“Sürekli kaçak evlenirlerdi. Türkçe televizyonlar yasaktı. Türkçe müzik yasaktı. Dolayısıyla herkes gizli evlenip geçmiş düğün adı altında restoran stolova dediklerimizde kendi onların yani yine bizim Türk örfü adetimize göre yemek kültürümüzle toplanırdık. Hediyeimizi gizli verirdik. O şekilde yemeklerle ama gelinlikle hiçbir şekilde bir Türkler Türk müziği dinlemeyeceği için reddediyordu gençler o dönemde”.

She also tells that she had liver soup for the first time in her life when she attended a secret wedding. Liver soup is a soup with rice, lots of butter, and no tomato paste. She also states that her stuffed white cabbage made of cornmeal were made at the wedding. Before the pressure, the bride rides out of the house. Afterward, corn and money are thrown and the bride's mother pours water. Mrs. Ayşe stated that the purpose of this whole ritual is abundance and fertility. Before that, Nurşen Hanım states that the bride's dowry was always exhibited outside. When we look at it, we see that the engagement tradition is included in the betrothal. On the henna night, women have fun with women and men with men, and baklava is always made. The indispensable dishes of the wedding are; Keskek, stuffed white cabbage, mantı as they say kesme, pumpkin dessert, and su böreği. If an animal is sacrificed, the keskek with meat is consumed. Mrs. Ayşe states that because keskek meal requires strength, it is usually made by men. We see that there is alcohol consumption at weddings. Here, on the other hand, we see that they have difficulties in maintaining their traditions. Since they live in the city center, they can no longer hold street weddings. But still, their baklavas, su böreği, and kapama are ready. At least, they state that it is offered to guests who come to the house. Apart from that, they said that now classical hall weddings are held and snacks such as cake and lemonade are distributed at weddings. Even if the conditions do not allow here, there

is an effort to maintain their own traditions and nostalgia for those days. In terms of weddings where they are free and not pressured, of course.

In Turkish cultural geography, one of the days that has been celebrated according to cyclical time since ancient times is Nawruz and the other is Hıdırellez. Nawruz; It has emerged as a manifestation of nomadic and animal husbandry life in Turkish culture. Hıdırellez, on the other hand, remains the same in terms of content and application, but is a manifestation of Turkish cultural life based on soil-bound agricultural culture (Ekici, 2005). According to Özkan (2020), with the influence of socialist ideologies among Bulgarian Turks, Nawruz and Hıdırellez moved away from religious beliefs and turned into celebrations for entertainment purposes only.

Mrs. Nurşen stated that Hıdırellez is celebrated with festivities in Bulgaria. What is different is that it is celebrated in March. Although not large-scale, companies organize an organization within their own employees and there would be an alcoholic and dinner party in that organization. On the other hand, May 24 (the day of the alphabet) is a public holiday and spit roasted lamb is made all over Bulgaria. She also mentions that the arrival of autumn is celebrated. Here, she states that they learned and practiced the tradition of jumping from the fire and making a wish on the rosewood. Mrs. Hatice explains how they celebrated Hıdırellez as follows: “*Annem sabah erkenden kalksaydı, bütün cam kapı her tarafını açardı. Hatırlamıyorum ama böyle ısırganları, bellerini sokardı. Bize de sokardı. Beliniz, ağrımazın bütün sene Hıdırellez bugün. Ondan sonra şeye giderdik, salıncaklar kurardık. Ateş yakardık. Atlardım*”. Now she states that she even missed that day and forgot about Hıdırellez. Mrs. Gülbiye says she remembers that they made a fire and made keskek. Here, she states that they do not celebrate. Among the people I interviewed, I also determined that Nawruz Festival is not celebrated.

5. CONCLUSION

This study, which was carried out in Gebze, was carried out to determine the changing/unchanging eating habits of Bulgarian Turks who immigrated from Bulgaria in 1989 and their reflection on their identities. As a result of the study, it was determined that the immigrants, who felt rootless, completed their sense of belonging through food and formed their collective identity through the food they ate while living in Bulgaria.

During the interview, one participant expressed the distress experienced by the immigrants who came to Turkey and settled in the Gebze region after a very traumatic and difficult process: “*Biz bir bahçede büyüyen fidanlardık. Başka bir toprakta yetişip yetişmeyeceğimizi bilmeden bizi*

kopardılar”. This situation dragged the immigrants into identity confusion. In addition, the exclusion of the immigrants, who think that they have come to their hometown, to their own lands by fleeing literally, has put them in an even more troubling situation. This unusual situation for immigrants, who faced this ethnocentric perspective and stated that they were exposed to discrimination here, forced them to stay together all the time.

During the interviews conducted to determine food habits, a series of results emerged that were fed from childhood memories and could be associated with food memory. The fact that they still shop at "macir markets", cook Bulgarian-style meals on their special days, and bring products they call "ours" every time they go, clearly reveals where the real identity belongs, seen between the lines.

The principle of cultural relativity does not evaluate one's values and beliefs according to the criteria of others but argues that one should be considered within one's own cultural values. Accordingly, the cultures of Bulgarian immigrants, who created a subculture, are also only and unique. As a result, the phenomenon that connects this group with identity confusion to its roots and makes them unique is the food cultures they have and even cling to. This constitutes an important basis for preventing the fragmentation of their cultural identity.

REFERENCES

- Abdurrezzak, A.O. (2014). İşlevsel Teori Bağlamında Yemek Kültürünün İletişimsel Yönü. *Turkish Studies*, 9, 1–16.
- Aklan, M. 1989 Göçünden Günümüze Bulgaristan Türklerinin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Değişimi.
- Akşit Aşık, N. (2019). X ve Z Kuşağı Tüketicilerin Yiyecek Tercihlerini Etkileyen Faktörler (Factors Affecting Food Preferences of X and Z Generation Consumers). *Journal of Tourism and Gastronomy Studies*, 7(4), 2599–2611. <https://doi.org/10.21325/jotags.2019.489>
- Akıncı, B., Nergiz, A., & Gedik, E. (2015). Uyum Süreci Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme : Göç ve Toplumsal Kabul An Assesment on Process of Adaptation : Migration and Social Acceptance. *Göç Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1(2), 58–83.
- Allen, J. (2012). Food and Memory. 2021 tarihinde Harvard University Press Blog: https://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup_publicity/2012/05/food-and-memory-john-allen.html adresinden alındı
- Apak, H. (2015). Suriyeli Göçmenlerin Gelecek Beklentileri : Mardin Örneği. *Birey ve Toplum*, 5(9), 125–142.
- Atasoy, Emin; “Siyasi Coğrafya Işığında Bulgaristan Türklerinin 1989’daki Zorunlu Göçü”, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Coğrafya Bölümü Coğrafya Dergisi, S.21, İstanbul, 2010, s.10.
- Aunger, R. (1994). Are food avoidances maladaptive in the Ituri Forest of Zaire?. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 50(3), 277-310.
- Bal Çetinkaya, K. (2020, 11 26). X, Y, Z, Kuşağı... Peki Ya Ötesi? 2021 tarihinde Bilim Genç Tübitak: <https://bilimgenc.tubitak.gov.tr/makale/x-y-z-kusagi-peki-ya-otesi> adresinden alındı
- Balaban Salı, J., & Fevzi Mehmed, F. (2014). 1989 Bulgaristan Göçmenlerinin Kültürlerarası İletişim Pratikleri : Eskişehir Örneği. *Selçuk İletişim*, 8(3), 5–34.
- Baysal, A.(1990). Beslenme Kültürümüz. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı.
- Beoku-Betts, J. A. (1995). We Got Our Way Of Cooking Things: Women, Food, and Preservation of Cultural Identity Among The Gullah. *Gender & Society*, 9(5), 535–555. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124395009005003>

- Beardsworth, A., & Keil, T. (2011). *Yemek Sosyolojisi: Yemek ve Toplum Çalışmasına Bir Davet*. Phoenix Yayınevi.
- Bell, D., & Valentine, G. (1997). *Conduming Geographies: We are where we eat*. Psychology Press.
- Beşirli, H. (2010). Yemek, kültür ve kimlik. *Milli Folklor*, 22(87), 159–169.
- Beşirli, H. (2012). *Yemek Sosyolojisi Yiyeceklere ve Mutfığa Sosyolojik Bakış*. Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.
- Bilgin, N. (2003). *Sosyal Psikoloji Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Bober, P. (2003). *Sanat, Kültür ve Mutfak*. (Ü. Tansel, Çev.) İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.
- Bora, A. (2012). Toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık. *Ayrımcılık: Çok Boyutlu Yaklaşımlar*, 1-14.
- Cengiz, A. K., & Türkan, H. K. (2019). Rice and construction of identity in Uzbek turks in ovakent hatay within the context of food anthropology. *Folklor/Edebiyat*, 100(4), 953–969. <https://doi.org/10.22559/folklor.1065>
- Counihan, C. (1999). *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*. New York: Routledge.
- Cufta, M. (2016). Psiko- Sosyal Açından Göç (İtalya ’ da Yaşayan Boşnak Gençler Üzerinde Bir Araştırma) Migration From Psycho-Social Aspects (Research on Bosnians Youth living in Italy) International Congress on Politic, Economic and Social Studies, 1, 87–97.
- Çağlar, A. (1999). McDöner: Döner, Kebab and the Social Positioning Struggle of German Turks. C. Lentz içinde, *Changing Food Habits: Case Studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (s. 263).
- Çağlayan, S. (2006). Göç Kuramları, Göç ve Göçmen İlişkisi. *Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi (İLKE)*, 17, 67–91.
- Çetin, C. (2008). Türk Düğün Gelenekleri ve Kutsal Evlilik Ritüeli . *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* , 48 (2) , 111-126 . Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/dtcfdergisi/issue/66776/1044269>
- Deniz, A., & Öksüz, M. (2017). Ankara'da İran Restoranları: Kültürel Kimlik Üzerine Etnografik Bir Araştırma. *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi*, 15(2), 167-185.

- Devault, M. (1991). *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring as Gendered Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dilek, S. E., Günlü, E., & Kaygalak, S. (2015). Diaspora Turizmi: Balkanlara Seyahat Edenler Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir Araştırma. *Ege Akademik Bakis (Ege Academic Review)*, 15(3), 435–435. <https://doi.org/10.21121/eab.2015317980>
- Doğan, T., & Yavuz, K. E. (2020). Yetişkinlerde Psikolojik Sağlamlık , Olumlu Çocukluk Deneyimleri ve Algılanan Mutluluk. 12(Suppl 1), 312–330. <https://doi.org/10.18863/pgy.750839>
- Dölekoğlu, C. Ö., & Çelik, O. (2018). Y Kuşağı Tüketicilerin Gıda Satın Alma Davranışı. *Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi Tarım ve Doğa Dergisi*, January 2019. <https://doi.org/10.18016/ksutarimdogan.vi.474049>
- Durukan, A. (2013). *Kars ve Çevresinde Yaşayan Kültürlerin Ortak Gıda Alışkanlıkları ve Mizah (Doktora Tezi. Yeditepe Üniversitesi, İstanbul)*. Erişim Adresi : <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezDetay.jsp?id=K2oAHn1iMWmbGoNoKNTTFA&no=LnwABT6wRH0VsQpQalkxTQ>
- Eidhem, H. (2001). *Toplumsal Bir Damga Olarak Etnik Kimlik*. (F. Barth, Dü.) İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.
- Eker Ögüt, G. (2018). Farklı Görme Biçimyle Modern Dünya Ritüeli Olarak Yemek Kültürü: Sınanma / Erginlenme ve İntikam Alma Gizli İşlevleri* Food Culture as a Modern World Ritual from a Different Aspect : Implicit Functions of Being Tested / Initiation and Revenge. 120(Kış), 170–183.
- Ekici, M. (2005). Bergama Yöresi Hıdırellez Geleneklerinde Toplum Ve Çevre Bilinci. *Türk Dünyası İncelemeleri Dergisi*, 5(1).
- Erdoğan, M., & Vatandaş, C. (2020). Bireysel ve Toplumsal Dışlanma Pratiği: Önyargı ve Ayrımcılık. *İnsan ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 3(1), 474–485.
- Ersoy, İ. (2008). Diaspora ve Kimlik: Eskişehir ve İstanbul’da Yaşayan Kırım Tatarları’nda Kültürel Kimliğin İfade Alanı Olarak “Tepreş.” *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi*.
- Erkal, E. (1997). *Ansiklopedik Sosyoloji Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Der Yayınevi.
- Fawcett, J. T. (1989). Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems. xxiii(3), 671–680. [https://doi.org/Fawcett, James T. \(1989\). Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems.](https://doi.org/Fawcett, James T. (1989). Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems.)

International Migration Review, 23(3), 671–680. doi:10.1177/019791838902300314

Fırat, M. (2014). Yemeğin İdeolojisi ya da İdeolojinin Yemeği: Kimlik Bağlamında Yemek Kültürü. *Folklor/Edebiyat*, (20)80, 129-140.

Fischler, C. (1988). Food, Self and Identity. *Social Science Information*, 27(2), 275–292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901888027002005>

Fox, A. (2011). Mixing It Up. *HR Magazine*: <https://www.shrm.org/hr-today/news/hr-magazine/pages/0511fox.aspx> adresinden alındı

Fuentes, J.M., Bassols, M.G. and Bañales, J.L.O. (2016). Reinventing edible identities: Catalan cuisine and Barcelona's market halls, *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*. (R.L, Brulotte, M.A. Di Giovine, Ed.).(pp.159-174). England: Ashgate

Gabaccia, D. (1998). *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gade, D. W. (1999). *Nature and Culture in the Andes*. Univ of Wisconsin Press.

Geray, Cevat; Türkiye'den Türkiye'ye Göçler (1923-1961), Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Maliye Enstitüsü Yayını, Ankara, 1962.

Greene, C., & Cramer, J. (2011). *Beyon Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication-Communication as Food*.

Goody, J., & Goody, J. R. (1998). *Food and Love: A cultural history of East and West*, 161-171. London: Verso.

Goody, J. (2005). Yemek. (F. Mormenekşe, Çev.) *Milli Folklor*, 9(67), 172-176.

Goody, J. (2013). *Yemek, Mutfak, Sınıf -Karşılaştırmalı Sosyoloji Çalışması*. (M. Günay Güran, Trans.) İstanbul: Pinhan Yayınları.

Göçer, A. (2012). Dil-kültür ilişkisi ve etkileşimi üzerine. *Türk Dili*, 729(1), 50-57.

Gürbaz, B. (2002). *Batıdan Doğuya Uzanan Çizgide Balkanlar ve Türkler*. Konya: Çizgi Kitapevi.

Gürhan, N. (2017). Yemek ve Din: Yemeğin Dini Simgesel Anlamları Üzerine Bir İnceleme. *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 6(2), 1204–1223.

<http://www.itobiad.com/download/article-file/315432>

- Güvenç, B. (1972). İnsan ve Kültür. Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları.
- Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008). Why do people migrate ? A review of the theoretical literature.
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). On Collective Memory. London: University of Chicago Press.
- Harbison, S. (1981). Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision Making. G. De Jong, & R. Gardner içinde, Migration Decision Making, Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries (s. 225-250). New York: Pergamon Press.
- Holtzman, J. (2006). Food and Memory. Annual Review of Anthropology(35), 361-378.
- İ. Kemaloğlu, Ayşegül; Bulgaristan'dan Türk Göçü (1985-1989), Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara, 2012.
- Jenkins, V. (2000). Bananas: an American history. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- Karataş, Z. (2015). Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri. *Manevi Temelli Sosyal Hizmet Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1(1).
- Kanık, İ. (2016). Gastro Gösteri: Popüler Kültür Ürünlerinde Yemeğin Kültürel Gösterisi. Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Khaldun, İ.-i. (1988). Mukaddime. (S. Uludağ, Dü.) İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Kapteijns, L., & Arman, A. (1990). Educating Immigrant Youth in the United States : An Exploration of the Somali Case. An International Journal of Somali Studies, 4, 18–43.
- Kaya, A. (2006). Berlin'deki Küçük İstanbul Diasporada Kimliğin Oluşumu.
- Kaya, İ. (2008). Euro Turks: From Guest Workers to European Citizenship. Eastern Geographical Review, 19, 149–166.
- Keane, A., & Willetts, A. (1994). Factors that Affect Food Choice. Nutrition & Food Science, 94(4), 15–17. <https://doi.org/10.1108/00346659310060142>
- Kılıç, E., & Şanlıer, N. (2007). Üç Kuşak Kadınının Beslenme Alışkanlıklarının Karşılaştırılması. Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi, 15(1), 31–44.
- Kittler, P., Sucher, K., & Nelms, M. (2016). Food And Culture. Cengage Learning.
- Köse, O. (2006). Bulgaristan Emareti ve Türkler. Türkoloji Dergisi, 246.

- Kurlansky, M. 2002. *Salt: a World History*. New York: Walker.
- Kümbetoğlu, B. (2020). *Niteliksel Araştırmalarda Analiz* (1.). Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Lee, E. (1966). A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47-57.
- Lewis, G. (1982). *Human Migration A Geographical Perspective*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lockwood, W. G., Lockwood, Y. R., Abraham, N., & Shryock, A. (2000). Continuity and adaptation in Arab American foodways. *Food and Folklore Reader*, 72.
- Lucassen, L. (2005). The immigrant threat: the integration of old and new migrants in western Europe since 1850, *Studies of world migrations*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Manco, U. (2007). *Turks in Europe: From A Garbled Image to The Complexity of Migrant Social Reality*. De Gruyter: <http://www.flwi.ugent.be/cie/umanco/umanco5.htm>. adresinden alındı
- McComber, D., & Postel, R. (1992). The Role of Ethnic Foods in the Food and Nutrition Curriculum. *Journal of Home Economics*.
- Mcintosh, W., & Zey, M. (1989). Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A Sociological Critique. *Food and Foodways*, 3, 317-332.
- MacIntyre, S., Reilly, J., Miller, D., & Eldridge, J. (1998). Food Choice, Food Scares and Health: The Role of the Media. (A. Murcott, Dü.) *The Nation's Diet: The Social Science of Food Choice*, 228-249.
- Mandelbaum, D. (1988). *Women's Seclusion and Men's Honor: Sex Roles in North India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Merdol, T. K. (2018). *Beslenme Antropolojisine Giriş*. Hatiboğlu Basım ve Yayım.
- Mincer, J. (1978). Family Migration Decisions. *Journal of Political Economy*, 86(5), 749–777.
- Mintz, S. W., & Bois, C. M. Du. (2002). The Anthropology of Food And Eating. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31(99), 99–119. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.32.032702.131011>
- Morley, D., & Robins, K. (1997). *Kimlik Mekânları, Küresel Medya, Elektronik Ortamlar ve Kültürel Sınırlar*. (E. Zeybekoğlu, Çev.) İstanbul.
- Murtezaoğlu, S. (2012). Kültürel Belleğin Ritüel Yoluyla Kuruluşu. *Motif Akademi Halkbilimi Dergisi*, 5(9), 344-350.

- Orkun, N. D. (2009). Küreselleşmenin Değiştirdiği Yemek Kültürü: İstanbul- Beyoğlu 2002-2009.
- Özcan, Y. (1997). İçgöçün Tanımı ve Verileri ile İlgili Bazı Sorunlar. Türkiye’de İç Göç, Sorunsal Alanları ve Araştırma Yöntemleri Konferansı (s. 79-81). Bolu, Gerede: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Özcan, E. D. E. (2017). Çağdaş göç teorileri üzerine bir değerlendirme. İş ve Hayat, 2(4), 183-215.
- Özdemir, N. (2005). Türk Eğlence Kültürü. Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.
- Özdemir, N. (2019). Kuşaklararasılık ve Kültürel Değişme. Çocuk ve Medeniyet, 1, 20–21.,
- Özkan, İ. (2020). Bulgaristan Türklerinde Nevruz ve Hıdırellez Kutlamaları. Balkanlarda Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları, 2 (1) , 1-24. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/balted/issue/52228/661300>.
- Parekh, B. (2002). Çok Kültürlülüğü Yeniden Düşünmek. (B. Tanrıseven, Çev.) Ankara: Phoenix Yayınları.
- Petersen, W. (1958). A General Typology of Migration. American Sociological Review, 23(3), 256–266.
- Rabikowska, M. (2010). The ritualisation of food, home and national identity among Polish migrants in London. Social Identities, 377-398.
- Ray, K. (2004). The Migrant’s Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The Laws of Migration. Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 48(2), 167–235. <https://doi.org/doi:10.2307/2979181>
- Reis, H. (2012). Ortaçağ İngiliz Edebiyatında Yemek ve Kimlik. A. Avcı, S. Erkoç, & E. Otman (Dü) içinde, Yemekte Tarih Var Yemek Kültürü ve Tarihçiliği (s. 130). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Richards, A. I. (1995). Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia: an economic study of the Bemba tribe. LIT Verlag Münster.
- Schramm R., A. (1990). “Music and the Refugee Experience. World of Music, 32, 3-21.
- Sadella, E., & Burroughs, J. (1981). Profiles in Eating-Sexy Vegeterians and Other Diet-Based

Social Stereotypes. *Psychology Today*, 15(10), 51.

Sağır, A. (2016). Ölüm Sosyolojisi Bağlamında Yemek, Cenaze ve Ölümün Sofra Pratikleri Üzerine. *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 20 (1), 271-298. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tsadergisi/issue/21499/230535>

Sevencan, F., & Çilingiroğlu, N. (2007). Sağlık Alanındaki Araştırmalarda Kullanılan Niteliksel Veri Toplama Yöntemleri. *Toplum Hekimliği Bülteni*, 26(1).

Sönmez, V., & Alacapınar, G. (2011). *Örneklendirilmiş Bilimsel Araştırma Yöntemleri*. Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.

Stapleton, S. R. (2015). Food , Identity , and Environmental Education. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 20, 12–24.

Stark, O. (1991). *The Migration of Labor*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Cebeci, S. (2008). Milli kimlik bağlamında din-kültür ilişkisi. *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi*, 3(2), 1-11.

Tabakçı, N. (2009). Alt Kültürlerde Kimlik: Türkiye’deki Karaçaylar. Konya: Kömen Yayınları

Tacoğlu, T. P., Arıkan, G., & Sağır, A. (2012). Boşank Göçmenlerde Göç ve Kültürel Kimlik İlişkisi: Fevziye Köyü Örneği. *Turkish Studies*, 7(1), 1960.

TDK. (2019). Güncel Türkçe Sözlük. Ankara, Kavaklıdere, Türkiye. Haziran 7, 2021 tarihinde alındı

TDK. (2020). TDK. 2021 tarihinde TDK: <https://sozluk.gov.tr/> adresinden alındı

Tahirovic, S., & Jusi, M. (2016). Earliest Memories, Positive Emotional Memories of Warmth and Safeness and Attachment Style in Adolescent Epiphany. *Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies*, 9(1), 149-160.

Timmerman, C. (2007). Gender Dynamics in the Context of Turkish Marriage Migration : The Case of Belgium. *Turkish Studies*, 7(1), 125–143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840500520642>

Todaro, M. (1980). *Internal Migration in Developing Countries*. International Labor Office.

Toksöz, G. (2006). *Uluslararası Emek Göçü*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Tuğrul, B. (1989). *112 Yıllık Göç*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Turani, Ömer; *Balkan Türkleri: Balkanlar’da Türk Varlığı*, ASAM Yayınları, Ankara, 2003

- Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Willard, P. 2001. *Saffron*. Boston: Beacon
- Yalçın, C. (2004). *Göç Sosyolojisi*. Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.
- Yaldız, F. (2013). Diaspora Kavramı: Tarihçe, Gelişme ve Tartışmalar. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları (HÜTAD)*, 18(18), 289–318.
<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/turkiyat/issue/16661/510112>
- Yeşil, Y. (2015). Türk Dünyası'nda Geçiş Dönemi Ritüelleri Üzerine Tespitler . 21. Yüzyılda Eğitim Ve Toplum Eğitim Bilimleri Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi , 3 (9) , 117-136 . Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/egitimvetoplum/issue/5129/69935>
- Yıldırım, A., & Şimşek, H. (2008). *Sosyal Bilimlerde Nitel Araştırma Yöntemleri* (6. b.). Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık.
- Yıldırım, F. (2014). Bir Göç Hikâyesi : Columbus Somali Diasporası A Migration Story: Diaspora of Columbus Somali. *İdealkent*, 14, 38–52.
- Ziker, J. P. (1998). Kinship and exchange among the Dolgan and Nganasan of Northern Siberia. *Research in Economic Anthropology*, 19, 191-238.
- Zubaida, S., & Tapper, R. (1994). *Culinary cultures of the Middle East*. University of London