Immigrant Community Spaces: Socio-cultural Manifestations in the Spatial Characteristics of Turkish Community Centers in Montreal

By

Onur Yucel

Peter Guo-hua Fu School of Architecture

McGill University, Montreal

August 2018

Supervisor: Prof. Ipek Tureli

A research report submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of M.Arch (Post-Professional) in Urban Design and Housing

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Communities of diaspora are identified by their distinct socio-cultural and religious values in a foreign setting. How they position themselves in the built environment of the host country is determined by the spaces that they establish for themselves. This study focuses specifically on Turkish immigrant community in Montreal from an architectural perspective to shed light on to their cultural and religious structure, challenges they face in maintaining their cultural identity, and the role space and architecture play in their negotiation process in a predominantly non-Muslim city. By analyzing specific community center and mosques, the study aims to understand the socio-cultural dynamics and reasons behind the establishment of these buildings by Turkish immigrant groups, and people's interactions with their surroundings both physically and socially. Moreover, placing these buildings in relation with temporal community behaviors is important to establish the formation of Turkish immigrants' cultural landscape in Montreal's urban context.

By making observations on the chosen locations that belong to Turkish communal life in Montreal, and by relying on the information gathered from conducted interviews, this study creates connections between theoretical ideas about production of space and material culture, transnational meanings of mosque architecture, impacts of diverse demographics structure and people's everyday lives, and religious and political ideologies. The main argument revolves around the premise that social formation of Turkish diaspora in Montreal, and the negotiation process between its cultural collective memory and its adaptation into the host environment can be traced and identified in the location, development, design, and spatial configuration and characteristics of its community centers and mosques throughout the city. Distinct design identifiers and role of architecture are then addressed in an interpretive manner.

Keywords: Turkish diaspora, cultural landscape, social space, mosque architecture, negotiation.

RÉSUMÉ

Les communautés diasporiques sont identifiées par les valeurs socioculturelles et religieuses qui leurs sont propres dans un contexte étranger. La façon dont celles-ci se positionnent par rapport à l'environnement bâti de leur pays d'accueil est déterminée par les espaces que ses ressortissants et ressortissantes se construisent. Cette étude se focalise tout particulièrement sur la communauté migrante turque à Montréal d'un point de vue architectural, afin de mettre en lumière leur structure culturelle et religieuse, les difficultés auxquelles ils ou elles sont confrontés lorsqu'ils ou elles tentent de préserver leur identité culturelle, et le rôle que jouent espace et architecture dans leur navigation d'une ville majoritairement non musulmane. En analysant certains cas spécifiques de centres communautaires et de mosquées, l'étude vise à comprendre la dynamique socioculturelle et les raisons qui mènent à l'établissement de ces bâtiments par des groupes d'immigrés turcs, ainsi que leurs interactions à la fois physiques et sociales avec leur environnement. De plus, la mise en relation de ces bâtiments avec les comportements communautaires dans le temps est essentielle afin de saisir l'évolution du paysage culturel des immigrants et immigrantes turcs dans le contexte urbain montréalais.

À travers des observations portant sur une sélection de lieux appartenant à la vie communautaire turque à Montréal, ainsi qu'en s'appuyant sur des informations recueillies lors d'entretiens, cette étude tisse des liens entre des idées théoriques concernant la production d'espace et culture matérielle, les significations transnationales de l'architecture des mosquées, les impacts d'une structure démographiquement diverse et de la vie quotidienne des gens, et les idéologies religieuses et politiques. Le principal argument avancé repose sur la prémisse selon laquelle l'évolution sociale de la diaspora turque à Montréal, tout comme le processus de négociation entre sa mémoire collective culturelle et son adaptation à l'environnement hôte, peuvent être tracés et identifiés par l'emplacement, le développement, la conception et la configuration spatiale de ses centres communautaires et de ses mosquées dans l'ensemble de la ville. Certains éléments distincts, de même que le rôle de l'architecture, sont ensuite traités de manière interprétative.

Mots-clés: diaspora turque, paysage culturel, espace social, architecture de mosquée, négociation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to begin by expressing my sincere gratitude towards my graduate research supervisor Prof. Ipek Tureli for her patient guidance and enthusiastic support that extended further into stimulating discussions and academic goals about architectural discourse. I would especially like to thank her for her detailed critiques that have challenged me not only to improve my research and writing skills, but also to re-evaluate our roles and responsibilities as architects.

Special thanks to Prof. Vikram Bhatt and Prof. Nik Luka for introducing me to in-depth discussions and challenges in theoretical and practical aspects of urban design and diversity of public space. I also have deep gratitude towards Prof. Annmarie Adams for guiding me in academic architectural research; Prof. Peter Nugus for providing me with the skills needed in participant observation and ethnographic research; and also Prof. Jill Hanley for her invaluable lectures about the intricacies of immigration dynamics. My grateful thanks to the staff and faculty at the McGill Peter Guo-hua Fu School of Architecture for granting me this opportunity to pursue post-professional research, and also many thanks to our graduate secretary Ms. Marcia King for her patience and kindness in helping me navigate through this program.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the members of Turkish community who participated in this study, for generously sharing their time, experiences and valuable personal insights, and also for letting me inside the buildings for me to thoroughly investigate. Their involvement acted as the contribution of their personal perspective to the study and established a support for my observations as well as for the claims from other studies.

Lastly, I would like to thank to my parents back in Turkey, and my wife in Ottawa for their motivation and unwavering supports, but also for inspiring me to strive towards larger goals, while giving me the strength to reach for the smaller ones.

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem and Context

In a multicultural city or neighborhood where a diverse population of different diaspora communities live together, the definition and usage of space for this public life becomes especially important. Design attributes and decisions that shape this urban context depend on various functional, social and cultural signs of the every day public life of each diaspora population. Consequently, creating and maintaining a culturally responsive architecture and attaining a certain spatial quality make an important difference in the adaptation process of these communities, and their negotiation process with the dominant culture of the local community that surrounds them. This issue presents itself more predominantly in Western societies, such as Europe and North America. For many years, socializing separately in spatial terms has been on the rise in Canada. Although this would seem like an obstacle to adapting into the Western host society, in reality an "internal adaptation" is at play where people who are not directly related show a more family-like socializing.[1] In general, people of immigrant communities perceive and use "space" as a powerful tool in this adaptation process, as well as maintaining their traditional values, and social, cultural, religious and political standing within often conflicting and contesting host population. "Space" then acts as a defining attribute for a culture; it feeds from it and gets transformed by it.

The communal places of Turkish diaspora in Montreal, which are community centers and by extension mosques, represent the community's economic and social standing. Turks make mental connections with their former ways of living in Turkey and try to maintain them in Montreal by establishing communal spaces specific for their use. However, their solidarity among themselves and aspiration to preserve their traditional and religious values put them in a rather withdrawn position among the dominant local community. The withdrawn nature of this minority community extends to the establishment of more secluded centers and mosques, and

[1] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 52.

usually not enough attention is received from the local organizations and government agencies, causing some necessities of immigrant community remain lacking. Since Turkish communities in Canada are also a part of Muslim diaspora in the West, it becomes especially important to identify mosques to address Turkish people's needs. Mosques are highly recognized as communal spaces today and this attribute finds itself in their design and program.[2] I suggest that, while attempting to create and maintain a familiar environment for Turkish community in Montreal, it is important to pay attention to not just what function dictates, but also how people's mental connections with their home country establishes certain cultural tendencies and social interactions. In terms of design, architecture of mosques and religious buildings in general propels social change and helps people understand where they stand in the world.[3]

The spatial quality and characteristics related to distinct sociocultural aspects are also tied to the multi-generational structure of Turkish immigrants in Canada. Diasporic communities or immigrant populations of every new generation create "identity entrepreneurs" of their own.[4] Their position of being away from home encourages them to give value and meaning to their new experiences, and they find themselves in a position where they can generate and disperse new identities.[5] In terms of Turkish immigrant population in Canada; the first real immigration to the U.S. and later to Canada started after World War II in a random pattern.[6] In both countries after 1950, the core of Turkish diaspora was shaped by highly trained people, and professional engineers and doctors.[7] However, it is safe to state that it was after 1970s that many Turkish immigrants came to Canada, either as refugees that seek political asylum or as professionals.[8] Today, along with the most recent immigrants as skilled workers or as students, there have been

[2] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 12. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4322252
[3] Ibid., 208.
[4] Barbara Ballis Lal, "Ethnic Identity Entrepreneurs: Their Role in Transracial and Intercountry Adoptions." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6, no.3-4 (1997).
[5] Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Loving America and Longing for Home: Isma'il al-Faruqi and the Emergence of the Muslim Diaspora in North America." *International Migration* 42, no.2 (2004): 62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00281.x.
[6] Kemal H. Karpat "Turks in America," in *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 620. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[7] Ibid., 621.
[8] Ibid., 632.

different generations of Turkish people living together in Canada. The ever-changing needs and redefined culture of this population call for different functions and spaces over the years. There is a considerable difference between Turkish children who are born in Canada and older generation who immigrated in the second half of the twentieth century. The inter-generational dynamics of this community has also an effect on the spatial representation of the overall community as part of their cultural identity and their strength in negotiation that needs to be addressed and studied.

Moreover, in general the number of studies being conducted about Turkish communities in Canada are limited, in which almost all of these works stem from ethnic, sociological and psychological perspectives.[9] This can be seen as a problematic as well as an opportunity to approach from a different angle, and study from an architectural perspective. By observing and analysing the conditions of Turkish people, by seeing architectural elements as a significant part of this community that represent its culture and identity, it is then possible to comprehend and study the community dynamics through spatial attributes.

[9] Bilge Ataca, and John W. Berry, "Psychological, sociocultural, and marital adaptation of Turkish immigrant couples in Canada." *International Journal of Psychology* 37, no.1 (2002): 13-26, https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590143000135; Sebnem Koser Akcapar, *Turkish Immigrants in Western Europe and North America: Immigration and Political Mobilization* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Guliz Akkaymak, "Social network development experiences of immigrants from Turkey to Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no.15 (2016): 2611-2628. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1164589; Virginia. H. Aksan "Turks," in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1275-1280; Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), Kindle; Kemal H. Karpat "Turks in America," in *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 620. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751; Saime Ozcurumez, "Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included, Accommodated, or Excluded?" *Turkish Studies* 10, no.2 (2009): 195-215. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902864002; John Powell, "Turkish Immigration," in *Encyclopedia of North American Immigration*, (Facts On File, Inc., U.S.A., 2005), 297-298; Serperi Sevgur, "Professional Identity at the Heart of Belonging: Insights from a Case Study of Turkish Canadians," in *Immigrant Integration: Research Implications for Future Policy*, ed. Kenise Murphy Kilbride, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2014), 263-278.

1.2 Research Questions and Approach

The general approach to the research will entail cultural landscape studies. Paul Groth explains that, landscape is formed by the relationship between place and people, in which common identity of the people and their sense of belonging emerge through the spaces they live in. He explicitly states that cultural landscape embodies all kinds of human intervention with nature.[10] Separately from the function, status and significance of the built environment, the usage of everyday space by the people is the main focus of cultural landscape studies. Observing the interaction of the landscape with the way class, gender, ethnicity and race dynamics are constructed are implied by cultural landscape.[11] In light of this, this research aims to understand how an effort of creating, preserving and transforming cultural identity and traditional values through the use of space and spatial elements can be achieved, and how this effort situates itself in an ongoing contestation with the surrounding host community which have their own values. Since human interactions are complex and their intentions are composed of many layers in architecture,[12] the role space and built environment play at defining the communal strengths or weaknesses of Turkish immigrants in Montreal is important in positioning and negotiating their identity within a Western context.

What are the socio-cultural dynamics and reasons behind the establishment of community centers and mosques by Turkish immigrant groups, and how are these groups interacting with their surroundings both physically and socially? The link between the physical space and social structure stem from that space's use over time and it displays the temporality in the cultural landscape. This temporality factor, and the changes in the needs and social dynamics of the community over time are usually overlooked. Considering this neglect, how could the existing design approaches for Turkish community be identified in an attempt to enhance the spatial quality and characteristics of specific spaces for the future? Moreover, how does the design of

[10] Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth & Todd W. Bress, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 1.
[11] Thomas Carter, and Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Invitation to vernacular architecture: a guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 13.
[12] Ibid., 59.

the buildings of the community themselves convey a representation of a distinct cultural landscape of Turkish immigrants?

Unlike China Town or Little Italy, a visitor will not see an ethnic neighborhood dedicated to Turkish people in Montreal. The reason behind this situation is because Turkish immigration to Canada has different historical dynamics and properties. Instead of settling in specific locations, Turkish people have dispersed throughout the city. However, some of them established communities around mosques and community centers. Like many other mosques in the city, these places are somewhat hidden in the neighborhoods and situated inside existing converted buildings. Turkish people that visit these communal places are usually cautious and they abstain from the increasing Islamophobic tendencies and certain amount of hostility within the Quebecois society. Consequently, a challenging process of maintaining cultural and religious values becomes a reality for the members of Turkish community.

I argue that the social formation of Turkish diaspora in Montreal, and the negotiation process between its cultural collective memory and its adaptation into the host environment can be traced and identified in the location, development, design, and spatial configuration and characteristics of its community centers and mosques throughout the city. Distinct spatial characteristics defining opposite community dynamics can be observed both in the neighborhood scale, and the building scale. Moreover, the spatial needs of this community, along with its showcase within the multicultural and predominantly non-Muslim Quebecois urban context can be enhanced by analyzing proper design identifiers that require adaptive policies.

1.3 Historical Context and Diaspora

There have been studies conducted that focus mostly on the integration challenges and migration trajectory of Turkish immigrants in Canada and in the U.S. They provide a basis for what can be understood and scrutinized in today's social, political and economic dynamics. To examine the relationship between space and culture of a distinct minority population and specific social settings thoroughly, it is important to first understand the migration trajectory of that population with the help of discussing previous studies. Relevant cultural and social connections with space

are tied with immigrant population's cultural identity and traditions, which can be traced back starting from the lives they had in their home country.

There are many factors that forced or influenced people from different generations, as well as different education, social and economic levels to immigrate to Canada. As a consequence, these variety of factors, along with the change of immigration tendencies, the attitude of the host country, and the local communities against the immigrant community shape how new culture is materialized and negotiated among an existing one and represented spatially. Religious values that define Turkish diaspora in Canada essentially put religious spaces in the spotlight that struggle within the dominant Quebecois community in the negotiation process. Not just as a building, but also as a defined space, mosques have the utmost importance in the daily lives of many Turkish immigrants. Islam has been most visibly represented by mosques in the West for the past century. Their role has even extended further to embrace a sense of belonging and multiculturalism.[13] The meaning of the mosque for Turkish community is to enhance that community's solidarity and provide a sense of home that people feel strongly about to sustain their traditions and values in a foreign environment.

1.3.1 Migration Trajectory

In Canada, there were 63,955 Canadians with full or partial Turkish descent reported in 2016 Census.[14] As of 2018, this number might be expected to be around 65,000 at least. In the mid-1970s, there was a shift in the characteristics of Turkish immigration to Canada and the U.S. due to various reasons. Some of these factors were improvements in Turkey's relations with other countries, increase in the well-trained professionals as well as more business inquiries and lack of opportunities for employment in Turkey, and conflicts in different political ideologies. Both

[13] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 1. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

[14] Canada 2016 Census, "Ethnic Origin, both sexes, age (total), Canada, 2016 Census – 25% Sample data." Statistics Canada, accessed February 10, 2018, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/imm/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=31&Geo=01&SO=4D.

legal and illegal immigration from Turkey increased during this time.[15] Along with Turkish citizens, there were people with Turkish origins immigrating to Canada from countries other than Turkey. For instance, Cypriot Turks as members of the Commonwealth and Bulgarian Turks migrated as refugees in mid-1980s and claimed political asylum. Moreover, after 1990, many Azeris from Iran and Turks from Iraq moved to Canada. A 1990 documentary called "Look to West! (Batıya Bak!)" depicts the obstacles that the members of Turkish community faced during the migration process in the 1980s. There were around 2000 immigrants from Turkey that arrived in Montreal between 1986 and 1987, claiming political refugee status. After Citizenship Canada denied their claim, this resulted in a protest by these Turks in the form of a march from Montreal to Ottawa in an attempt to make their voices heard. As a result, half of them were sent back to Turkey and the remaining Turks established Association Culturelle Turque du Quebec.[16] Turkish people from all countries mentioned here formed various associations of their own, such as two Turkish Cypriot associations and Turkish Culture and Folklore Society which was formed in the 1970s.[17]

People have similar motives in immigrating to Canada, much like immigrating to any other advanced industrialized country where there tend to be compelling educational and economic opportunities and the promise of securing a better life for next generations of the immigrants.[18] In recent years, immigration for professional job opportunities and higher education is very appealing and on the rise. Bleak economic and political atmosphere in Turkey also usually add to the imminent desire to move to a foreign country. With its multicultural and diverse structure and relatively more manageable and adaptable immigrant policies, Canada stands out as a favourable option for Turkish citizens. Moreover, immigrant population in Canada including Turkish communities are protected from discrimination by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Canadian Human Rights Act and Human Right Codes as well as several local

[15] Kemal H. Karpat "Turks in America," in *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 622. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[16] Sebnem Koser Akcapar, *Turkish Immigrants in Western Europe and North America: Immigration and Political Mobilization* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013).
[17] Karpat, "Turks in America," 632.
[18] Saime Ozcurumez, "Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included, Accommodated, or Excluded?" *Turkish Studies* 10, no.2 (2009), 202. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902864002

institutional policies.[19] After the 1980s, immigration from Turkey to Canada had different categories, including mostly people moving with their families as investors or skilled workers, and also people reuniting with their family members in Canada who had immigrated before them. Coming from all regions of Turkey, major cities in Canada with promising job opportunities and educational facilities for the children were the main choice of settlements for these immigrants.[20]

Although over time Turkish immigrants developed new habits and values of their own in the adaptation process to the host country, they often brought social habits and cultural values with them, especially in the confines of the family, from an ethnic and cultural perspective. These cultural differences are reflected in various associations that not only reinforce religious values and practices, but also socio-cultural and educational activities.[21] Religious ties are especially strong inside Turkish communities that help provide an environment of solidarity among the community. Modern Turkish culture actually coexists with a defensive and spiritual influence of religion, Islam, where Turkish people tend to reject a cultural "assimilation" despite the impact of non-Muslim influences in Canada.[22] There are examples of mosques and Islamic centres in Canada and the U.S. with national motivation and political agenda that are enforced as Turkish foreign policy. However, apart from these state mosques, it is the community mosques that serve the majority of Muslim diaspora, which are run, maintained and funded by the members of the community.[23] This situation creates an enclave society of distinct social and cultural attitudes confined in its own spaces.

[19] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 13. Kindle
[20] Ozcurumez, "Immigrant Associations in Canada," 204.
[21] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 21. Kindle
[22] Kemal H. Karpat "Turks in America," in *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 637. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[23] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 19.

1.3.2 Diaspora and Religious Spaces

Communities of diaspora is a reality of global scale. A community that carries a part of its national identity and cultural values outside the geographical boundaries of its nation can also be perceived as a representative of that nation resettled under a foreign government. The term "diaspora" is somewhat challenged. It is usually associated with harsh historical disagreements that cause displaced, driven out, migrated and relocated communities away from their original places. However, most commonly and currently it denotes postmodern immigrant populations that have left their homelands and continued their lives elsewhere due to various financial, social and political reasons.[24] The way "diaspora" and "immigrant" terms used in this study compliment each other. Basically, immigrants make up "diaspora." However, the term "immigrant" is chosen to associate with spaces because it represents both inner community dynamics and individualistic approaches. On the other hand, "diaspora" signifies a more encompassing approach involving national identities and governmental influences over the immigrants.

According to the causes of diaspora such as type of migrations, imperialism, or the social structure of the community along with its connections with the homelands, different types of diaspora have been identified by scholars. Political ties with the country of origin is important for some diaspora communities. Moreover, decisions about returning to their countries, difficulties in integrating to the host country and forming relationships with other members of the diaspora can be listed as other qualities of diaspora communities.[25]

New kinds of communications, methods of representation and a state of identity may emerge within communities of diaspora. Although keeping ties with homelands, family bonds and staying close to cultural and religious values may enrich traditional structures, diaspora interactions may in fact trigger new positions, political spaces and new demands.[26] Islam, on the

[24] Jasmin Zine, *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 3.
[25] Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Ian A. Skoggard, *Encyclopedia of diasporas: immigrant and refugee cultures around the world* (New York: Springer, 2005). http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3062515
[26] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 259.

other hand, may provide a ground for both. Among a dominant Christian culture, it can create a sense of belonging to a new vision and temporality, a modernity which is different.[27] Islam is the second largest religion in the world after Christianity with approximately 1.2 billion current followers, and by 2025 it is expected to take the first place as the leading religion.[28] It is also increasingly developing in the countries with predominantly non-Muslim populations.[29] Including Turkish diaspora communities, Muslim diaspora has a significant global presence. In terms of the immigrant population of this diaspora settlements in Canada, Islam stands out as a major factor that enhances their individual and group identity. This is regulated through their regional lifestyle and common language.[30] Multiculturalism policy in Canada has ensured that to preserve people's sense of self-respect and identity, it is essential to allow them to practice their own religion and language as part of their cultural heritage and as a human right.[31]

Mosques have the utmost importance in signifying the identity and unity of Islamic communities, nations and Muslim diaspora worldwide. Various needs of diverse communities are addressed by mosques which are built as physical expressions of Islam.[32] However, they are not merely a religious space, but also a place for socialization.[33] They are intertwined with many uses and purposes including community centres, classrooms and even libraries. Moreover, a "Muslim space," as Barbara Daly Metcalf uses the term, cannot be limited to just mosque architecture but can be extended to people's homes, shops, and whole neighborhoods. It does not require a

[27] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 257.
[28] The Muslim Council of Britain, "CIA," *The Economist*, September 13, 2003.
[29] Azra Akšamija, "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 131.
[30] Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture," in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today: the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1983), 27.
[31]Moha Ennaji, *New horizons of Muslim diaspora in North America and Europe* (New York, NY : Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 92.
http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1218719
[32] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3.
[33] Ibid., 11.

specifically consecrated space or certain architectural forms.[34] As long as a place is "pure" in terms of religious understanding, any informal space can be used by Muslims to practice Islam. Even though built-form and architecture have always shaped how the religion is represented throughout the history of Islam, it is in fact not the building itself but the congregation that uses that building defines what a "mosque" is.[35] Even significant symbols such as minarets or domes are not essentially necessary for Islam to be practiced as a religion[36] which creates a great flexibility for religious spaces for Muslim communities, especially that belong to a diaspora including Turkish communities in many countries. There are examples of many mosques that are not identifiable as a place for prayer at first glance. These places which were once storefronts, schools, homes, warehouses, and even churches have undergone many renovations to serve as mosques and as a consequence their spatial experience lies mostly in their interiors.[37]

In the West, apart from the community-built mosques, the ones that demonstrate symbolic statements of Muslim population are generally located in major cosmopolitan cities and capitals. Overseas diplomatic representatives of Muslim states generally fund these mosque projects, and they physically represent the common identity of a diaspora community with various origins and backgrounds that are living within a non-Muslim community and different cultural context.[38] With the help of both nation funded major mosques and smaller community mosques, diaspora communities have a chance of connecting to the dominating non-Muslim society.[39] These communities are also represented by the location and form of the mosques, which help them mark their presence in the negotiation process with their surrounding local environment.

---

[34] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 4.

[35] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 245. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

[36] Oleg Grabar, "Reflections of Islamic Art," in *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Oleg Grabar (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 2-4; Andrew Petersen, *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 187-188.

[37] Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, and Ed Grazda, *New York Masjid: The Mosques of New York City* (New York: PowerHouse Books, 2002), 25.

[38] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 227.

[39] Ibid., 19.

A transnational characteristic of mosque architecture has increased in the last two decades. Architectural design, technology and sponsorship of these transnational mosques caused distinct identities to be carried across international borders. In addition, governments who demanded to gain international prestige used their political powers to support this development and movement.[40] A nation's connection to its Islamic history began to be emphasized by state mosques specifically after 1950s.[41] Along with the international migration of identities and religious cultures, architecture and spatial characteristics of the community and Islam also transcended borders. Globally, there are some captivating examples of architecture in the transnationalism of contemporary Islam. Several mosques in Tokyo, Berlin, and Ashgabat that are funded by Turkish government and designed by Turkish architect Hilmi Senalp are examples of this architectural dispersion. He also played a role in the design of the first Turkish mosque in Washington, DC.[42] In countries like Germany, Turkish diaspora also has a significant existence with its labor forces and managers helping industry development. An important building there that brings the community together is the Sehitlik Camii (Martyrs Mosque) in a neighborhood of Berlin where predominantly Turkish immigrant population resides.[43]

In Canada and the U.S., the appearance and layout of the mosques that are built by Muslim communities have different attributes. In this sense, by having more distinctive and sophisticated design elements, Moorish Revival style[44] as part of the traditional Islamic architecture becomes more easily identifiable in the mosque architecture than others.[45] However, Akšamija states that a community's local context and size play an important role in determining the architectural

[40] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 14. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919

[41] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 16.

[42] Ibid., 28.

[43] Ibid., 34.

[44] As a European architectural style, Moorish Revival is specialized in its use of forms and symbols that are related to traditional Islamic architecture.*

* MacKenzie, *Orientalism,* 71.

[45] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 71.

design and function of the mosques in the West. The approaches of Welzbacher[46] and Khaldi[47] suggest that these mosques have more purpose than just serving for religious activities, and they also represent the ethnic and cultural identities of the communities. Where the role of large mosques decreases as social service providers, small mosques fill the need for community centers by addressing social needs of the community.[48]

Out of 140 mosques in Canada, they have been divided into two basic categories: purpose-built and repurposed ones. Before the community established any purpose-built mosques such as Ismaili Centre in Toronto (2014) and Vaughan's Baitul Islam Mosque (1992), storefront mosques have been the first religious places for the people. In London, Ontario, Muslim community successfully built a mosque in 1964, whereas during the same period, Islamic Centre of Quebec began efforts of building the first mosque in Montreal.[49]

The political agenda of a nation and the everyday needs of a diaspora community may overlap in the manifestation and use of religious spaces. However, how that building, or space represents that community and speaks for themselves among the built environment of non-Muslim communities is what makes smaller, community-maintained mosques and community centers significant. They are situated among the heart of the neighborhoods, blending in to the host locale in a way that large mosque projects cannot achieve. In case of Turkish diaspora, this statement holds true for both representing people's national identity as well as maintaining their religious practices in the West by defining themselves as not Islamic centres, but community centres with both Turkish and Muslim identity.

[46] Cristian Welzbacher, "Die Architectur des Euro-Islam," *Baunetzwoche* 84 (June 27, 2008).
[47] Omar Khalidi, "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World*, (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm
[48] Azra Akšamija, "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 134.
[49] Narendra Pachkhédé, "Mosques and the Making of Muslim Identity," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 24.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

1.4.1 Material Culture and Cultural Identity

"Place" draws its power from people's daily lives and their distinct cultural identity, and in return it injects people with a sense of solidarity that creates a boundary around that culture. Since places are where common values and meanings are produced and shared, they are usually considered to be the most powerful ones among the cultural systems.[50] The way in which communities of Turkish diaspora are situated in major cities and neighborhoods also demonstrate their tendency to form communal spaces of shared values in specific locations within that diaspora. Consequently, people, culture and place have a very seamless relationship with each other, in which conceptualizing and understanding it properly has deep significance.[51] This relationship is derived from social dynamics. In "The Production of Space,"[52] Henri Lefebvre defines space as a social product which has an impact on spatial perceptions and practices.[53] A diverse range of natural and social objects, which may also include the connections and interactions that provide the flow of information and material objects constitute the social space.[54] In this sense, a "produced space" should be differentiated from a "designed space;" much like the difference between a "repurposed" mosque and "purpose-built" mosque. The social motivations behind the production of a certain space interact with cultural relationships among the people that use that space. An inherently deeper identifier affects the shaping of the space, a more intuitive requirement than just basic demands for necessary design solutions.

The strong relationship between people and space is multifaceted. According to Martina Löw, spaces are not necessarily established by people as just elements. In fact, they are constituted by the connections that human beings have with them. However, people also have connections with

[50] Stuart Hall, "New cultures for old," in *A Place in the World: Places, Culture and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and P. M. Jess (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 181.
[51] Didem Kilickiran, "Migrant Homes: Identities and Cultures of Domestic Space Among Kurdish and Turkish Women in North London." (PhD diss., University of London, 2010), 27.
[52] Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991).
[53] Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on space: architecture, urban research, and the production of theory* (Minneapolis [Minn.]: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), ix. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=765500
[54] Lefebvre, *The production of space*, 77.

other people apart from the material objects of the space or space itself, which requires a specific positioning of the people.[55] This positioning suggests social interactions or a series of actions in which Löw goes on to claim that action theory provides a connection between the material and social aspects of spatial environments, this connection being the "action." With the help of this concept of action, subjects' perceptions and positionings can be linked with material objects and institutional structures.[56] Among the complex relationships in a society in a specific spatial setting, the challenge of understanding these dynamics diminishes by being able to make connections between what is "cultural" and what is "material." It also coincides with Lefebvre's argument where he identifies social space as being inseparable from "mental space" and "physical space."[57]

In order to understand space as a social product like Lefebvre defines, we rely on material culture identifiers. They are physical products of human behavior,[58] however they are not only limited to objects or artifacts that reflect a certain human thought or action, but also a building or a landscape that shape the cultural sphere of a society. However, in both cases culture is the production of a society accumulated over time, in which it does not constitute of, but instead represented by material. Especially, repurposed mosques of diaspora communities display many examples of ideas and idioms that belong to the traditional Islamic architecture, even though they lack in apparent Islamic forms themselves.[59] Arabic scripts that have been symbolized with Islam throughout the history[60] serves as a good example for material evidence of such an idea for Islamic architecture. However, Dant states that, since objects themselves are not really

[55] Martina Löw, "The Constitution of Space: The Structuration of Spaces Through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception." *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no.1 (2008): 35.
[56] Ibid., 31.
[57] Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 77.
[58] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 41.
[59] Omar Khalidi, "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America," in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, and John L. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[60] Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture," in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today: the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1983), 29.

autonomous, material culture is still considered to be human culture. There is no relationship between things that are the products of a society, but they are a part of that society's culture.[61]

The relationship between objects and culture forms the cultural identity of said society. The strength of the connection and interaction between people is emphasized by a shared cultural identity where spatial characteristics of the social space that represent and reflect this identity is produced accordingly. In terms of Muslim diaspora or Turkish diaspora specifically, mosques act as a collection of identity for the people that are situated far away from their home countries. In a way, Muslims from different regions with various cultural backgrounds may establish a place for a new identity of their own within the mosques, as well as form connections with their physical surroundings.[62] Material culture plays a role in this by creating a basis for shared activities, values and lifestyles in a more absolute manner than any kind of interaction or use of language.[63] A cumulative influence of values provides a strong bond for the creation of a social space, or a communal space which is mutually agreed upon. Space is a production of these cultural values which are also the production of the society that represent its identity. Hall suggests that identity should be thought as a "production" as well, as an ongoing process, rather than identifying it as a finished product.[64]

According to Dant, the way people appropriate their social world can be understood by material culture.[65] This appropriation can manifest itself mentally or physically like Lefebvre claimed. From a design standpoint, although architecture seems like it represents spatial manifestations in a physical aspect, it actually coincides with both. Products of architecture are tangible, but they also attract people's social and cultural collective memory. Mosques and community centres are produced and materialized through the filter of this memory that reflect their identity in many perspectives. Traditional representation of identity in Canada is challenged by the community's

---

[61] Tim Dant, *Material culture in the social world: values, activities, lifestyles* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999), 200.
[62] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 12.
[63] Marshal McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press., REV Edition, 1994), 2.
[64] Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222.
[65] Dant, *Material culture in the social world,* 201.

socio-political life in which mosques establish the material condition for that life.[66] People's presence in a space with material form, and their interactions with other people gain expression through architecture.[67] Even though the way architecture is realized separates it from other modes of interaction, architectural thinking actually reaches out to all of culture. Essentially, architecture is realized by materials.[68] However, it is people themselves that create a bridge between material culture with its objects and cultural identity with its shared values that contribute to the production of architecture.

1.4.2 Ordinary Landscapes and Temporality

To understand the dynamics within a social product, it is important to make connections between particular places and the cultural identities that they are a part of with the help of "landscape" studies.[69] Separately from the function, status and significance of the built environment, the usage of everyday space by the people is the main focus of cultural landscape studies. How people and place interact with each other is signified by landscape, where this interaction is emphasized by the belonging of a social group with shared values and identity to the places that they are a part of.[70] However, the spaces that make up the landscape may develop to be part of a specific spatial organization by each society.[71] This organization and the definition of spaces can be different depending on cultural differences affected by language, national heritage, or some other factor that make up the vernacular architecture.[72] Architecture (ordinary or not) then acts like an interface that defines the separation or integration of the immigrant community among the surrounding local community.

---

[66] Narendra Pachkhédé, "Mosques and the Making of Muslim Identity," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 21.
[67] Peter Sloterdijk, *Sferen* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2003).
[68] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 232.
[69] Stuart Hall, "New cultures for old," in *A Place in the World: Places, Culture and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and P. M. Jess (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 181.
[70] Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth & Todd W. Bress, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 1.
[71] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the vernacular landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 28.
[72] Thomas Carter, and Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Invitation to vernacular architecture: a guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 11.

The fact that the focus of cultural landscape studies being on everyday lives of the people generates an understanding of architecture with a vast scope that involves vernacular, or commonplace architecture as well. When we start to look for meanings in the material culture of this ordinary architecture, the line between the produced and the designed slowly fades away. The fact that prayer in Islam not necessarily demanding a space of specific design opens the path of smaller renovated community mosques to spread within the boundaries of ordinary architecture. Mosques are not required to have a consecrated space like a church does. Instead, pureness, cleanliness and segregation are the only essential requirements needed in an Islamic sacred space which has the ability to make any kind of ordinary space special.[73] Culture of a society creates and attaches its own meanings to its spatial organization which makes it unique, yet ordinary. Consequently, Groth mentions that vernacular architecture is deeply interested in how meanings of ordinary people are portrayed.[74] Upton's brief definition of vernacular architecture is expressed as "vernacular building is ordinary building."[75] Upton and Vlach continue to add that what makes vernacular architecture significant can be found in its communally accepted qualities and focus on social representation.[76] Social and cultural marks of a space that reflect and sustain a certain lifestyle of a society can be revealed by their material aspect and their place in the cultural landscape.

Landscapes go together with production process that stretches across a period of time. As culture develops, changes or gets passed on, the objects and the built environment adapt accordingly. How culture progresses through time, its temporality, can be traced in the cultural landscapes that it creates.[77] Temporality is directly related to the collective memory of a society which is strongly tied with the artifacts of material culture. Lefebvre claims the production of space to be

[73] Azra Akšamija, "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 137.
[74] Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Paul Groth & Todd W. Bress, (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997), 444.
[75] Dell Upton, "Vernacular Building," in *Built in the U.S.A.: American Building from Airports to Zoos*, ed. Diane Maddex (Washington, D.C., 1985), 166.
[76] Dell Upton, and John Michael Vlach, *Common places: readings in American vernacular architecture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), xvi-xvii.
[77] Edward Relph, "Temporality and the rhythms of sustainable landscapes," in *Reanimating places*, ed. Tom Mels (Aldershot (England): Ashgate. 2004), 113.

a process that requires us to deal with history.[78] In this sense, creation of space is not instantaneous, rather it is a part of ever changing process of a society's spatial representation through time. Architectural attitudes are not bound to every place at all times. The social sphere that emerges out of architectural expressions last longer than the expressions themselves. This is an indication that cultural identity as the source of architecture cannot extend as further as the way everyday life is affected by that architecture.[79]

The built environment and distinct architectural elements tell us not just the human condition based on gender roles, educational or economic standing, but also differences related to age or multigenerational gaps that pinpoint cultural meanings related to certain instances in time. Although space is experienced in the present, people's mental connections with space render this experience almost timeless, filled with memories and emotions. The traditional, cultural and religious correlations with the homelands made by the communities of diaspora often cause certain types of spaces or spatial arrangements to immigrate with them, which sometimes makes the members of these communities harder to position themselves. Glassie then argues that in the convergence of space and time through the lived experience, history helps people to orient themselves in time. With history, people are able to position their place while trying to find a sense of belonging in the vastness of space.[80] Through this struggle, how the feeling of home is created for the people that live in a building, and how they are presented with the familiar past depends on the architect. It is then the responsibility of the architect as well to restructure that past's connotations to make it easily comprehensible in a daily language.[81] The boundary that culture provides for the people physically also becomes comforting mentally by enabling the members of the community to interact more seamlessly through architecture.

[78] Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991), 46.
[79] Wilfried Van Winden, "Freedom Equals Happiness: A Plea for Pluralism in an Open Society," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009), 83.
[80] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 35.
[81] Omar Khalidi, "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World*, (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm

1.4.3 Strategic Essentialism and Negotiation

Based on their common social, cultural, gendered or political identities, minority groups and ethnic groups tend to resort to mobilization in an attempt to represent themselves. This is a political tactic that strategic essentialism refers to. Despite the possible differences among these groups, it is sometimes beneficial for the members to "essentialize" themselves temporarily to emphasize their identity as a whole, which enables them to amplify their strength to support a mutual cause or oppose certain global factors.[82] The idea of strategic essentialism was put forward by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She argued strategic essentialism to be a challenging notion against the general separation between essentialism and anti-essentialism, or constructionism. Even though strategic essentialism was developed as an idea, she did not expand it further into a theoretical structure.[83] By building on the same notion, Diana Fuss suggests an assessment of essentialism that is more neutral than the general anti-essentialism. She defined essentialism as understanding of the real and true essence of things, the "whatness" of a certain system or entity which can be depicted by its definitive features.[84] Proposals by both Spivak and Fuss revolve around the political ramifications of the identity concept.[85]

Although strategic essentialism does not only refer to identities that are considered to take a strategic stance against the "others," the conventional way of identity draws its notion from the similar culture of a group of people, a community which is definitely in opposition with the differences of those others.[86] The enclave societies of minority populations usually stem from these strategic groupings of solidarity. It is even more emphasized when religious values drive the motivation behind the essentialism like a defense mechanism against the communities "who are not like them," but physically, socially and culturally surround them. In the case of Muslim and Turkish diasporas in Western societies, there has always been a constant contestation between the minority populations' ambition to preserve cultural values and their religious

[82] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Key concepts in post-colonial studies* (London: Routledge, 2001), 159-160.
[83] Dietmar Rost, *New regional identities and strategic essentialism: case studies from Poland, Italy and Germany* (Münster: Lit., 2008), 477-478.
[84] Diana Fuss, *Essentially speaking: feminism, nature & difference* (New York: Routledge, 1989), xi.
[85] Rost, *New regional identities and strategic essentialism*, 3.
[86] Ibid., 489.

traditions, and the pressure of negative political and social judgement and assimilation from the non-Muslim host. This has been an ongoing process despite the possibility of generating an enclave society and lack of strength in self-representation and recognition. The reason behind why degrading labels such as "insular enclaves" or "ethnic ghettos" are being identified with communities of diaspora is due to justifying the adaptation of assimilationist social integration, and the broken-down multiculturalism process.[87]

Interestingly, before World War I, many Muslims including Turks, usually chose to register under a Christian name while they boarded foreign ships from Mediterranean ports. They feared that, Christian countries they were heading to would not accept them due to their religion. This lead to the situation where it was thought that most of the immigrants going to North America from the Ottoman lands were in fact Christians instead of Muslim and Turks. At the beginning of World War I, it was hard for Turks to figure out how to live both as a Turk and a Muslim in a country where majority of the population is made up of Christians, since the ethnic identity of Turks were becoming separated from their Islamic identity around that time. Today, many Turkish people are permanently living in the U.S. and Canada, even though they strongly reject to completely adapt themselves to the lifestyle of North America.[88] Assimilation issue for Muslim immigrant communities has been connected with two factors. On the one hand, it is associated with how actual or imagined ways of Islamic life are seen as incomparable with the social order and cultural values of the West,[89] and on the other hand, it brings out questions concerning the communities' devotion to their new home.[90]

A dynamic formation of society is implied by what "diaspora" suggests. The collective memory of the homeland and the adaptation process to the host country and its local environment are constantly negotiated with each other, creating a weak sense of belonging and settlement

[87] Jasmin Zine, *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 4.
[88] Kemal H. Karpat "Turks in America," in *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 618. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[89] John L. Esposito, and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ed. *Muslims on the Americanization Path?* (Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1998).
[90] Daniel Pipes, "The Muslims are coming, the Muslims are coming." *National Review*, November 19, 1990; Daniel Pipes, *Militant Islam reaches America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

process.[91] The underlying factors in hybridity and diaspora are connected as a concept and they are perceived usually as simple blends of the East and the West, or the traditional and the modern.[92] Not one single civilization in the world is actually naturally homogenous; this would be against the complex and hybrid properties of every culture. When different cultures are contested and challenged with one another where one is downgraded, like Islam against Western culture, its pluriform character becomes lost.[93] In dynamics like Eastern and Western, negotiation process is very delicate and affected by many factors. All social, cultural, religious and political challenges reflect themselves in the physical world. These manifestations are represented by the architecture of the minority community within the built environment of the Western locale. Cultural interactions and negotiations take place under the new materialized environment of the diaspora community, while forming strong bonds within their strategic essentialist formation.

In Canada, where many marginalized and culturally displaced immigrant communities coexist, identity is negotiated predominantly within mosques for Muslim communities.[94] Erkocu states that, an "us and them" argument, an identity debate could emerge out of discussions about mosques.[95] Mosque is perceived by a large number of people in the West, as a place where conspiracy and radicalization can happen; an indication of a different cultural identity and where the progress of Islam is symbolized.[96] However, Islam actually represents peace and safety for

[91] Alison B. Hirsch, and Aroussiak Gabrielian, "Grounding Diaspora: Negotiating Between Home and Host," *Journal of Architectural Education* 70, no.1 (2016): 116.
[92] Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Loving America and Longing for Home: Isma'il al-Faruqi and the Emergence of the Muslim Diaspora in North America," *International Migration* 42, no.2 (2004): 79. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00281.x.
[93] Roemer Van Toorn, "Counteracting the Clash of Cultures: Mosque Architecture as an Emancipating Factor," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009), 107-108.
[94] Nadeem Memon, "From Mosques to Madrassas: Civic Engagement and the Pedagogy of Islamic Schools," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 190.
[95] Mieke Dings, "Introduction: Beyond 'Us and Them.'" (Interview with Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci), in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 9.
[96] Ole Bouman, "The Cosmosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 160.

most Muslims, which is the complete opposite of what many non-Muslims are made to believe.[97] Therefore, Haider[98] suggests that everyone should be able to connect with, and understand Islamic architecture. For a more inclusive negotiation process, the buildings should be in easily identifiable forms for non-Muslims where they possess open and welcoming characteristics instead of forbidding and covert.[99] On the other hand, even the unchanged, unexposed exteriors of repurposed mosques cannot maintain their presence without attracting attitudes and policies of "race-thinking." It is a stigmatization of Muslim groups and mosques among the Western context where the buildings of these minority communities are being criticized[100] and Islam is basically perceived as a "racial category."[101]

Negotiations of the community emerge from the dichotomy of places that people call home. Feelings of multiple spatial attachments create a tension in the dynamics of the minority population. Zine argues that, the separation between the nation that Muslims in the West belong to and the nation that they had to leave, create their own spaces, and these people should navigate between them. The conditions in which identities of Muslim communities are created and contested get damaged due to these separated spaces.[102] In certain cases, interventions from the governments to the settlements of minority populations as a foreign policy also help new connections to form between collective identities, and they try to diminish the gap spatially which is caused mentally. For instance, Turkish government sponsors transnational mosques in many countries where Turkish immigrant communities live, creating a bridge between their

[97] Meena Sharify-Funk, "Marketing Islamic Reform: Dissidence and Dissonance in a Canadian Context," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press. 2012), 141.
[98] Gulzar Haider is a Pakistani-Canadian architect.
[99] Omar Khalidi, "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World*, (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm
[100] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 173. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982
[101] Mustapha Bayoumi, "Racing Religion," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6, no.2 (Fall 2006): 284.
[102] Jasmin Zine, *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 45.

religious identity and ethnicity through the built form. In a way, architecture plays a role in establishing a negotiation between political agenda, and local and collective identities.[103]

1.5 Methodology

In order to understand the usage of everyday space by the people of the Turkish community and to identify the impacts of temporality over that space in terms of cultural factors, the methodological approach stems from cultural landscape analysis of the chosen settings. Apart from historical and literary research and analysis, the study first starts with the mappings of the chosen locations dedicated to Turkish communities in Montreal in terms of neighborhood characteristics and demographics. It then focuses on these buildings for the research by laying out their analysis in terms of spatial characteristics, spatial quality and functions, as well as architectural elements contrasting their surroundings in a physical and sociocultural sense. Finally, this research relies on observations as well as interviews with various people from the community to identify distinct cultural cues that are portrayed in an architectural manner.

The mapping analysis reflects the buildings surroundings, typology of the built environment in their vicinity, as well as the demographics information of the related neighborhoods. Buildings' position among the urban context and their relationship with nearby buildings and prime locations are discussed by using maps, schematic site plans and diagrams that are supported by portrayals which depict the spatial experience of those buildings within the city. Rizvi's[104] depictions and schematic plans for several mosques such as Kocatepe Mosque in Ankara, Muhammad Al-Amir Mosque in Beirut, and maps such as the one that displays the locations of mosques in Sharjah, the Emirates are some of the significant examples that guide the mapping analysis of this research. Moreover, urban mapping works found in Batuman's[105] and, Hirsch and

[103] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 28-29.
[104] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
[105] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017).
http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919

Gabrielian's[106] studies are helpful guides in applying a mapping method for an urban approach in this study. All these previous works demonstrate a general representation of a segment of the urban fabric, along with the locations of important nodes, buildings and circulation grids in a graphical layout. It is important to rely on these examples to deliver the information in a clear and easily understandable manner and lay out in a way to make the broader picture for the establishments of Turkish immigrant communities in Montreal more visible.

Secondly, the cultural and religious signs that find themselves in the spatial characteristics and architectural elements of the buildings are addressed in more detail and in a more explanatory fashion. These details and specific spatial organizations inside the buildings are important building blocks of the community's identity, which also address to its negotiation process with the outside local environment. Specific images from the interior and exterior of the buildings that display certain signs, objects or details that belong to Islamic culture, Islamic architecture or Turkish cultural traditions are provided to support the analysis of the research. Schematic plans that display the interior layout and spatial arrangement of the buildings are also used in the study to better capture the arguments and ideas behind the usage of the spaces, their intended functions, as well as issues regarding spatial quality. Previous studies such as Kilickiran's dissertation[107] that demonstrates the domestic lives of Kurdish and Turkish women in London by providing plans of their houses and some imagery that reveal their traditional elements; as well as Kurd's dissertation[108] that provides examples of some purpose-built and repurposed mosques and Islamic centres in Canada and the U.S. are referred as similar approaches for the selected method of this research.

The final method of data collection involves interviews with participants from people who are in an administrative position in Turkish community centers and mosques, people who are regularly using these places, as well as public figures of the Turkish community. The role of

[106] Alison B. Hirsch, and Aroussiak Gabrielian, "Grounding Diaspora: Negotiating Between Home and Host," *Journal of Architectural Education* 70, no.1 (2016): 116-131.

[107] Didem Kilickiran, "Migrant Homes: Identities and Cultures of Domestic Space Among Kurdish and Turkish Women in North London." (PhD diss., University of London, 2010).

[108] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014). http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

multigenerational demographics, gender roles, as well as educational, social and religious activities in the formation of these spaces are more thoroughly addressed with the help of these interviews. It has been shown in many studies that by conducting interviews, more personal and in-depth information is gathered that usually provides a different and fresh perspective to any research. Especially in a study where issues of identity and shared values are fundamental, along with personal observations, interviews establish a supportive reference to the main arguments and shed light onto today's conditions. Kilickiran's research[109] also displays examples of such interviews in her dissertation, where her conversations with both Turkish and Kurdish women in their homes demonstrate their personal insight.

The locations chosen for the study involve Montreal Turkish Community Center, Yunus Mosque, and Turkish Muslim Association of Montreal, or also known as Dorval Mosque. There are other organizations in Montreal that belong to Turkish community, however many of them do not have their own spaces and they usually use Montreal Turkish Community Center for gatherings and activities. For this purpose, in order to form links between different demands and uses in spaces, inputs from organizations like Montreal Turkish Women's Association, and Canadian Association of Turkish Professionals are also considered. The reason behind choosing these organizations and mosques is mainly because they are located in different parts of the city. This provides a more diverse approach for the research and reflections depending on varying dynamics of different neighborhoods. Moreover, the prominently active role of Montreal Turkish Community Center among the community members, and rather controversial history of Dorval Mosque[110] make them ideal candidates for the research.

It is safe to assert that time constraints on this study have definitely been a hindrance for the previously desired more in-depth analysis and more detailed and focused outcomes. However, more importantly, due to the time of the year this study was conducted, and because of the rather timid and cautious nature of Turkish people that have been encountered during this study, the

[109] Didem Kilickiran, "Migrant Homes: Identities and Cultures of Domestic Space Among Kurdish and Turkish Women in North London." (PhD diss., University of London, 2010).

[110] Dorval Mosque was attacked in the past few years, even one time with fired weapons, and received a death threat in November 2015*.

* CBC News, "Dorval mosque targeted by anti-refugee threat," November 29, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/montreal/dorval-mosque-refugees-phone-threat-vandalism-1.3342703

number and range of interviews were not as fruitful as hoped. The mosques and the community center were either empty or closed most of the time, and the few people that visited these places were reluctant to participate in the study. They made it clear that it was due to the recent controversial attacks that caused them to behave like this. Nevertheless, having had the chance to connect with people in charge at various chosen locations enabled a diverse understanding of the past and present of Turkish diaspora in Montreal.

Depending on all the gathered data, analysis and the theory as the basis of the research, general design identifiers in these spaces and buildings are then discussed. Articulations on how cultural solidarity has an impact on gathering spaces, and how spaces dedicated to certain populations can be represented among the local built environment are provided. The notions of, and the balance between preserving traditions and values, and the process of socio-cultural adaptation or assimilation are put forward, while keeping the effects of architectural approaches and the existing built environment in a multicultural and diverse city in the center. Leading to the conclusion, the current and future place of mosques, community centers and architectural representation of Turkish diaspora are discussed in terms of the consequences of negotiating their identity within a predominantly non-Muslim Western population and cultural influence.

1.6 Significance

The general aim of this research is to draw attention to the conditions of Turkish immigrants' public life in Montreal from an architectural standpoint. Moreover, due to the nature of the research, it also establishes close connections with sociological issues at hand. In terms of an architectural perspective, this research provides an opportunity to reflect on several spatial dynamics that are little studied before about Turkish community in Canada, by retrieving information from and making connections with notions like the production of space and social space, spatial quality, ordinary landscapes, enclave societies and essentialist stance, cultural identity and negotiation, and material culture.

In order to address the spatial conditions of this community, while being true to its cultural and religious values, traditions and social interactions, it is important to understand how these values are represented in the first place, what kind of a role space and built environment play in this

relationship, as well as the negotiation dynamics that sustain its identity as a minority community. From a broader perspective, adaptation and integration process of immigrant communities into host countries has always been a critical issue, and this research offers a new window as to how this process can be understood by using architectural approaches which ultimately define the cultural landscape of these communities that helps us to understand the dynamics between the migrant minority and the local majority.

People from immigrant communities face various challenges in terms of language, discrimination, or eliminative labor conditions during their integration process into the host city. As a result, they struggle in keeping their ethnic and cultural identity while trying to fit in to the new city both socially and economically.[111] Since the cost of living is usually too high for newcomers in major cities in Canada, most of Turkish immigrants tend to seek help from their friends to find a place and eventually be part of a Turkish environment. However, although these people are living in these ethnic enclaves so to speak, they are also interacting with other ethnic groups at work or in other environments, resulting in the forming of a cultural brotherhood and sisterhood.[112] In a way, these interactions and naturally formed negotiations help Turkish immigrants to observe and understand their social environment more closely and take necessary steps to enrich their lives under the Western influence.

Organizations have a very significant place in Turkish immigrant communities. Most of these associations and their services are defined by religion which has a unifying role. Montreal Turkish Community Center is an example of a very well recognized organization, widely supported by the Ottawa Embassy of Turkey.[113] These organizations have a role as the leader of the community for bringing people and authorities together when needed. Communal activities and coordination between different parties are important in realizing some collaborative tasks that help Turkish community to integrate more into the host city. Founding of the Peace Garden in Montreal is an important example that demonstrates the involvement of Turkish community in

[111] Lisa M. Hanley, Blair A. Ruble, and Allison M. Garland. *Immigration and integration in urban communities: renegotiating the city.* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008), 8.
[112] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 17. Kindle
[113] Ibid., 22.

fundraising and coordination activities that improved self-esteem and solidarity within the community.[114] Akcapar argues that this kind of intervention proves the place of Turkish community among the ethno-cultural communities in Canada via an art exhibition in a multicultural city.[115]

This research will provide an insight into how social and cultural activities and shared values of the immigrant community affect that community's physical presence in the built-environment by using spatial analysis of its organizations' mosques and community centers. Physical links between different societies will be better understood in an urban context that will shed light onto the meaning of material values and the use of communal spaces by both immigrant and local communities. It is possible to address the community's needs for a sense of belonging and solidarity by understanding the spatial formation around that community and expand it further into the local community by also keeping social, economic and political realities in mind.

The way architecture is practiced and built environment formed is governed by several policies, regulations and the approaches the government and the NGOs take in these issues. People's expectations and the authorities' solutions do not always conform with each other; especially in places where different societies and communities share the same urban setting. There is usually a political order of importance in attaining to the needs of minority populations like Turkish immigrant community in Montreal. With different cultures in place, a prioritization of necessary responses from the city may be in favor of the majority. This is most noticeable in social and economic issues, but equally true for spatial needs and features. Consequently, this research is also beneficial for the participants as a society in the long-term. It may help raise awareness to the situation regarding more suitable design policies, spatially responsive immigrant policies, and implementation strategies by government agencies and NGOs.

[114] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 20. Kindle

[115] Sebnem Koser Akcapar, *Turkish Immigrants in Western Europe and North America: Immigration and Political Mobilization* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013)

1.7 Chapter Summaries

The first chapter of this study defines the overall context and the arguments related to Turkish immigrant communities in Montreal. It also includes background information about the migration dynamics, minority settlements and diaspora spaces of Turkish people in Canada and the U.S., which creates underlying grounds for detailed analysis in chapters two and three. This framework is supported by theoretical discussions revolving around notions like cultural identity, material culture, cultural landscapes and negotiation. The context of the study is strongly connected to these theoretical ideas where the argument about Turkish diaspora and the relevant research questions originate from. Lastly, the applied methodology, as well as the significance and implications of the research are also introduced in this chapter.

The second chapter involves a general analysis of Turkish communities living in Montreal. Their settlements within the city, locations of chosen buildings for the study as well as their role within non-Muslim Western context are discussed in detail. The history and development of Turkish diaspora in Montreal, their demographic characteristics and challenges they face, and their population distribution in the city are addressed in this chapter. Moreover, articulations on morphological analysis about the chosen neighborhoods, mapping of significant locations and areas that contribute to the formation of Turkish communal spaces and defining the development of Turkish cultural landscape are some of the key aspects that are mentioned in the chapter. With the added inputs from the interviews, a general discussion on the reasons behind the choices made for the location, design and use of these spaces, and their standing and perception among the local environment are discussed under the issue of negotiation for the minority population from both immigrant and local perspective, and from the point of religion.

Chapter three is mainly a more in-depth look into the spaces that Turkish people use in Montreal. By making observations on the chosen mosques and community centers and making comparisons with previous studies about Turkish and Muslim diaspora in the West, activities that shape the cultural landscape of Turkish immigrants are analyzed in the building scale. Also, spatial needs depending on multigenerational gaps, gender roles and education are addressed to clarify the effects of various factors in the formation of social and religious spaces that define the landscape of the community. Since spaces are directly interacting with the people that use them,

information gathered from the interviews provide valuable insight for this chapter for making correlations between the necessity of certain traditional architectural features and objects of cultural significance, and the actual pragmatic use and function of the spaces that people interact with every day.

Based on all the analysis in previous chapters, the importance of how distinct spatial characteristics and demands are provided and maintained by keeping the issues of cultural solidarity, representation, and the dynamics of negotiation in an optimum desired state are discussed in chapter four. Leading to the conclusion, the role of architecture, the impact of built environment of the minority in integrating to the majority host, and the relationship between architectural and sociological aspects in an urban context are mentioned in this last chapter. Essentially, all the analysis studied in previous chapters culminate in this chapter for establishing interpretive ideas in understanding what may be at stake in terms of spatial dynamics for Turkish immigrant communities in Montreal, as well as in Canada.

The argument of the research asserts that the social formation of Turkish diaspora in Montreal and the negotiation process between its cultural collective memory and its adaptation into the host environment can be identified in the location, development, design, and spatial characteristics of its community centers and mosques in the city. In addition, spatial needs of this community, along with its showcase within predominantly Western urban context can be enhanced by analyzing proper design identifiers that require adaptive policies. The conclusion attempts to make connections with these statements and the ideas put forward in chapter four to provide an architectural viewpoint as to how the situation of Turkish immigrants in the West in general can be addressed to support their essentialist position in negotiation with the host. Especially, theoretical notions of material culture and the formation of social space create a basis for what can be understood about the daily lives of these communities and how details of these lives affect and change the way spaces are created and recreated over a period of time. Moreover, the impact of existing immigrant and design policies are also taken into consideration. Following these, ideas about what the future of these immigrant settlements may hold for more inclusive integration strategies and negotiation approaches are discussed in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

Turkish Landscape

Understanding the impact and influence of architecture and the built environment on Turkish immigrants in Montreal depends on first laying out and analyzing their migration trajectory, and settlements throughout the city. Negotiation process of Turkish people are also addressed from different perspectives, including religious and social aspects. Combined with relevant remarks from interviews, it is important to discuss the history of Turkish immigrants in Montreal in relation with the characteristics of the neighborhoods that they chose to reside in over many years. Current morphology of the neighborhoods, along with existing social and demographic structure play an essential role in determining the physical establishments and social conditions of Turkish people within the cultural diversity of Montreal.

2.1 Community Development in Montreal

It was in 1880 when the first Turks immigrated to Canada. After Ottoman Empire got defeated to Russia in 1877, its strict immigration policies could no longer affect its citizens, which resulted in many ethnic communities immigrating to Canada during this time.[116] For more than a century, there have been different waves of Turkish immigration to Canada after the fall of Ottoman Empire. The first wave was after World War I. The post-war era led to the advancements of Ataturk's regime and Turkey's sociopolitical situation, which caused another wave of immigration that resulted from either political discord or exchange of culture and science between nations. During the period after World War II and the death of Ataturk, a new wave was triggered due to economic constraints that motivated Turkish people to immigrate to America and Europe.[117]

The difference between the quality of the immigrants during post-World War II and the Ottoman era was significant in terms of income and education levels, their understandings of identity, and

[116] Sirma Bilge, "Communalisations ethniques post-migratoires : le cas des «Turcs» de Montréal" (PhD diss., Sorbonne University New Paris 3, 2004).
[117] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 8. Kindle

social standings. The new immigrants have always identified themselves as Turks, and either by forming organized groups or as individuals, they supported and propagated their essence of being "Turkish" overtly in a political and cultural sense. As early professionals, they were above the average American as well as the highly ignorant and poor Ottoman immigrants in terms of social position, and level of education and income.[118] For training purposes, thousands of Turkish engineers, doctors, and professionals and technicians from other fields immigrated to America, and the majority of these people decided to stay as immigrants. Many successful Turkish students also took the opportunity to study in higher education and got degrees in different areas, after which they were offered appealing jobs in various academic and management positions, as well as jobs in many industries throughout the U.S. and Canada. This high number of "brain drain" that occurred between 1948 and 1980, comprised of up to 25,000 people.[119]

The population of Turkish immigrants in Canada has been increasing since the 1980s. Although their population is small compared to other ethnic communities,[120] according to Canada 2016 Census, there are 13,565 Turkish people living in Montreal alone.[121] In 1986-1987, Turkish people who came to Montreal decided to settle close to Jean Talon area at first, and they formed their own ethnic enclaves. The fact that they came from the same villages in Turkey made it easier for them to form collaborations among themselves. As years passed, the population of Montreal increased, and those Turkish people started to get retired. In consequence, they slowly

[118] Kemal H. Karpat, "Turks in America," in Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 621. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[119] Ibid.
[120] Fouad E. Shaker, "Turkish Canadians." The Canadian Encyclopedia, (11 June 2015), accessed July 4, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/turks/
[121] Canada 2016 Census, "Ethnic Origin (279), Single and Multiple Ethnic Origin Responses (3), Generation Status (4), Age (12) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data." Statistics Canada, accessed July 4, 2018, http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=110528&PRID=10&PTYPE=109445&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2017&THEME=120&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=.

moved away from central regions of the city and dispersed towards North of Montreal where it is more affordable and family-oriented.[122]

Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension is the borough where the majority of Turkish immigrants in Montreal reside,[123] which is also where Jean Talon Street passes through. Montreal Turkish Community Center is located here, and due to its proximity to a large Turkish community, it had the opportunity to witness the changes and development of Turkish diaspora in the neighborhood since its foundation in 1991. A representative of the community center stated the following regarding these changes:

> In the past, there were more Turkish people living in Saint Michel area. But as the new generation grow older, they tend to move away. Children that come of age do not generally continue to stay with their parents here, like we do in Turkey. When they get married, they move out and buy their own places somewhere else. So, people have started to spread out from the center of the city. They went to Montreal North, Laval, and so on.[124]

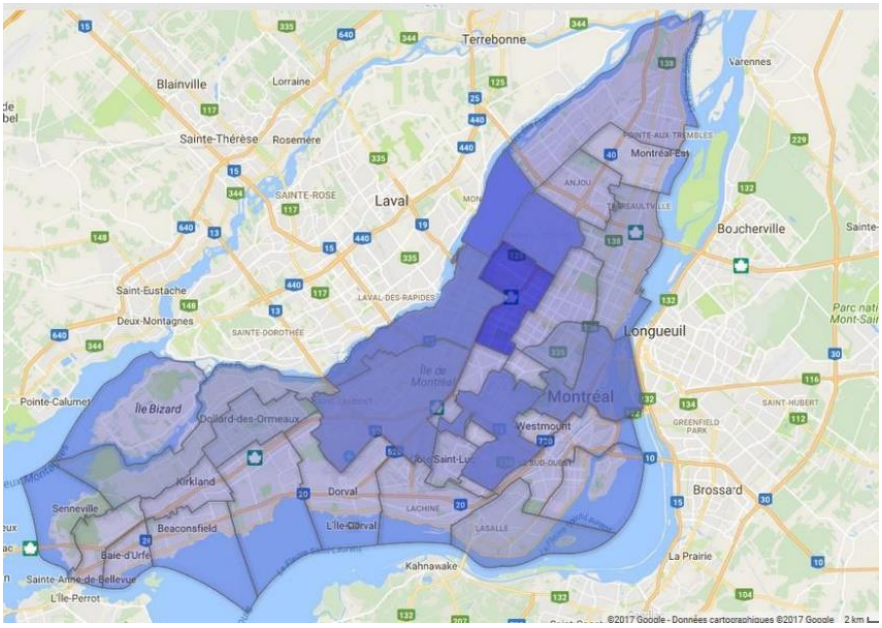

Figure 1: Data Map of population density of Turkish people, darker areas represent denser population (Canada Census, 2011).

[122] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 8. Kindle

[123] Canada Census 2011. Statistics Canada, 2011.

[124] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

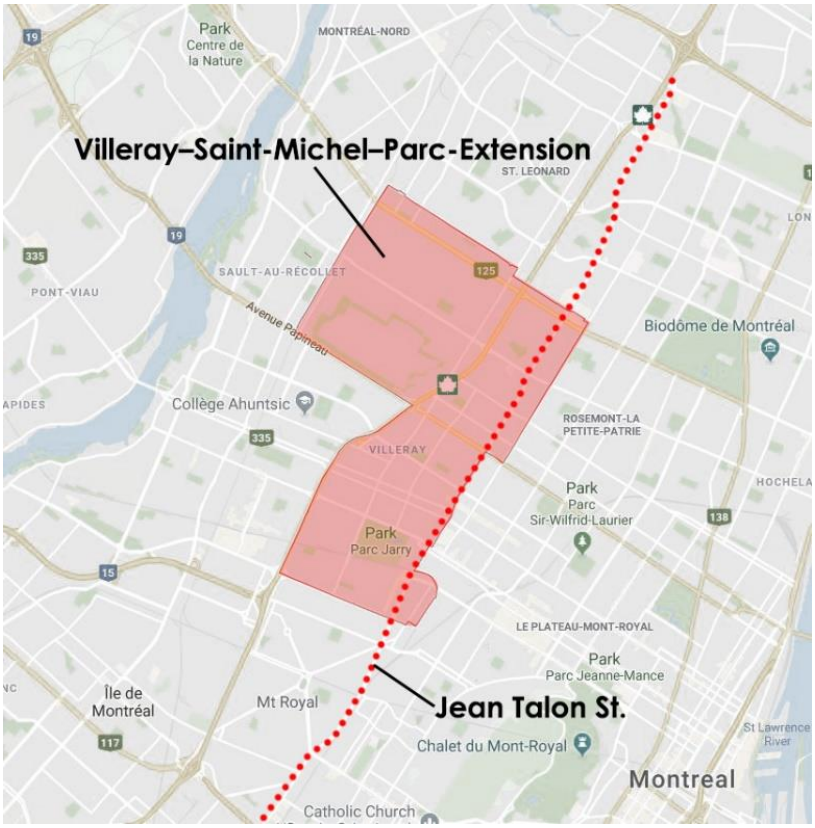

Figure 2: Location of Villeray-Saint Michel-Parc Extension borough and Jean Talon Street.

Even though people tend to move away to other locations as they get older, the bonds within the Turkish community in Montreal are stronger than how it is in other cities. For instance, in Toronto it is harder for the people to form close connections with each other because Turkish population is too spread out within the city. On the other hand, close groupings of the community in Montreal enables them to gather easily when necessary, or in case of certain events. However, the interaction between people has decreased compared to earlier years. Due to lack of foreign language, and people with little children, everyone depended on each other more in the past. Whenever anyone had some kind of an official business with the government, they usually came to the community center and asked for help, and consequently people were gathering in these places more often. Today, new Turkish immigrants have better knowledge of foreign language, which resulted in the decrease of necessary inner community interactions.[125] Moreover, it seems more difficult for the late Turkish immigrants to create their own social network than the ones

[125] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

who immigrated before them. Especially retired Turkish people tend to move away into houses that are in quieter locations than the city center, and away from Turkish associations. Therefore, regular participation in the activities of these associations cannot always be sustainable.[126]

Religion is an important part of Turkish population living in Canada, since many of those people have already been practicing religion back in their homelands before they immigrated. The dominant religion in Turkey is Islam, and the majority of the Muslims are Sunni. However, there are also Christians and Jews among the population,[127] as well as people who are affiliated with other religious beliefs or who identify themselves as nonreligious. Although there have been many years of secular state ideology in Turkey, most of Turkish people are part of organized religion. They prefer to congregate under a religious affiliation rather than an ethnic sense of community.[128] The policies that have been adopted in Canada over the years have an important effect in these groupings of the community and the religious lifestyle. Canada has a liberal policy in acknowledging diversity and answering to the different communities' needs of religious and cultural nature. Some of these may include providing public funding for various community services and activities.[129] Islam's establishment as a recognized religion by Quebec government with an official law in mid 1960s was an indication towards accommodating Muslim diaspora. During this period, there were only three thousand Muslims living in Montreal, including Turkish people. Upon the official recognition of the religion, the first mosque in Montreal was built in Saint-Laurent, in 1965.[130]

Immigrating to a new land has brought its challenges to Turkish people. Participation as an individual and interaction in the community have their own risk factors according to different social classes, either working class or professionals. To mitigate these factors as community members, Turkish people tend to be as participative as possible through associations. However,

[126] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 16. Kindle
[127] "About Turkey," Anatolian Cultural Centre, accessed February 10, 2018, http://www.anatolian.ca/turkey/
[128] Fouad E. Shaker, "Turkish Canadians." The Canadian Encyclopedia, (11 June 2015), accessed July 4, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/turks/
[129] Moha Ennaji, *New horizons of Muslim diaspora in North America and Europe* (New York, NY : Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 92.
[130] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

although these associations exist, and Canada provides different ethnic groups with rights to participate in several political activities and local consultations, Turkish communities among many other ethnic groups cannot really benefit from this opportunity. For instance, after the attacks and threats towards Dorval Mosque, almost none of the members of the Turkish community were able to speak up against these attacks and complain about the xenophobia issues directed towards Turkish people. They were reluctant due to their lack of language skills, they felt inadequate to speak up and defend themselves, and they feared being exposed to public denigration.[131]

The most important asset of Turkish communities in Canada are their diverse range of organizations that bring them together. These organizations are connections to local authorities and means of being heard when necessary. At other times, they reinforce social and cultural interactions within the community as well as with other ethnic and local communities. However, since Turkish people in Canada are small in numbers and they are mostly scattered among the major cities, their participatory activity is limited. This also causes difficulties in establishing an umbrella organization that constantly acts on behalf of Turkish communities in Canada. Moreover, most of the community members use the integration facilities offered by the Canadian system, resulting in the under development of Turkish organizations.[132]Apart from this issue, according to Akkaymak's study, there can also be a desire not to participate in any of the Turkish associations which is reflected as a "lack of knowledge" by some of the community members as a way of hiding their intentions of not wanting to participate. This actually demonstrates the importance of ethnic, social and religious differences on the involvement in activities.[133]

As much as most of the organizations are religion oriented, there are also a few organizations aimed towards professional networking and educational support of Turkish immigrants. The Canadian Association of Turkish Professionals (L'association Canadienne des Professionnels Turcs) in Montreal is one such organization which was established in 2016. It aims to provide a

[131] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 12. Kindle

[132] Saime Ozcurumez, "Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included, Accommodated, or Excluded?" *Turkish Studies* 10, no.2 (2009), 214. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902864002

[133] Guliz Akkaymak, "Social network development experiences of immigrants from Turkey to Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no.15 (2016): 2620. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1164589

platform for Turkish professionals and entrepreneurs, offer training programs, seminars and workshops for the unemployed and the newly graduate, and promote education by providing scholarships for the students. Since most of the people recently immigrating from Turkey do so as a skilled professional, these kinds of organizations are really important for the integration process of these individuals and the community as a whole.[134] Since most of Turkish people, who had prior professional qualifications and experience in Turkey, are specialized in a field and fluent at least in English or French, they can often find jobs in a reasonably short period of time in Canada. However even so, some of the immigrants may not be able to work immediately in their professions, simply because not all jobs are instantly available for them. Other people among Turkish immigrants mostly deal with entrepreneurial activities such as child care services, real estate agencies, retail sector, restaurant sector or as legal consultants.[135] On the other hand, Statistics Canada states that a considerable number of Turkish women in Montreal are unemployed.[136] Their participation to the community may sometimes be problematic due to dominant conservative values that people of lower or middle Turkish social class possess.[137]

Education opportunities and integration to professional life after getting a degree pose certain challenges for many immigrants in Canada, including Turkish communities. The education levels in Turkey are not usually recognized by authorities in Canada at both high school and lower levels. This situation creates problems for immigrant families with children. Moreover, the cost of higher education is another drawback for some immigrants and may have serious impacts. If the education degree is from Turkey, job positions are not the same for a person who holds that degree as they are for a person who has a Canadian degree with the same qualifications.[138] Even though there are some organizations that try to help students with

[134] "The Association," Canadian Association of Turkish Professionals, accessed February 10, 2018. https://proturk.ca/en/the-association/
[135] Saime Ozcurumez, "Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included, Accommodated, or Excluded?" *Turkish Studies* 10, no.2 (2009), 207. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902864002
[136] Canada Census 2011. Statistics Canada, 2011.
[137] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 17. Kindle
[138] Ibid., 11.

scholarship options and help professionals in the job market, these organizations are very new and they have limited funding which put them in an inadequate position for their purposes.

2.2 Mapping of a Culture within Urban Context

The inherent properties of the built environment and landscape of a community provide important signs about what that community's culture considers significant, since the buildings and spaces that make up its landscape require a substantial amount of money and effort to realize.[139] The culture manifests physically in the fabric of the city and chooses itself convenient locations to settle for the well-being and prosperity of the minority communities it originates from. Similarly, in the West, Muslim religious settlements and activities rely on the structures that their networks of immigration, institutional organizations and administrative positions support.[140] Malkki states that culture has often been associated with having to exist within a particular space, associated with boundaries or a "soil."[141] However, cultures may coexist with other cultures intertwined in the diversity of an urban or rural context. A culture may create a boundary around the community it represents, but that boundary does not necessarily relate with certain geographical regions; rather, it often moves with the community.

Muslims' behaviours in the diaspora are shaped by the resistance to Islam they face when they are making demands over public space. As a result, their diasporic institutional presence in terms of religious practices and lifestyle are more than just the continuity of their traditional past.[142] There have been many religious institutions established in Europe and United States where the population of Muslim diaspora is prominent. These institutions are usually referred to as Islamic Cultural Centers instead of just mosques, since they accommodate various purposes such as education, social activities, and reaching out for proselytization. The decision for choosing a

---

[139] Edward Relph, "Temporality and the rhythms of sustainable landscapes," in *Reanimating places,* ed. Tom Mels (Aldershot (England): Ashgate. 2004), 113.
[140] Narendra Pachkhédé, "Mosques and the Making of Muslim Identity," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 23.
[141] Liisa Malkki. "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," in *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 52-74.
[142] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 12.

rather generic name for these places may come from trying to avoid emphasizing a single function for these institutions, as well as not willing to draw too much attention to the religious identity away from home.[143]

Compared to large symbolic transnational mosques, simpler and smaller prayer areas inside rather secular looking large cultural centers provide a more encouraging environment for the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims. Even though, establishing a firm community for the minority Muslim population may prove to be harder through these multipurpose or temporary spaces, they also allow interactions of diverse communities within.[144] By being spaces for socialization as well, mosques have a purpose of maintaining community bonds, and spatially produced identities of shared religion.[145] Turkish communities in Canada, and Montreal, have established similar mosques and community centers within the urban context of the city. The proximity to Muslim minority communities and Turkish people, along with neighborhood characteristics in terms of local context have been primary factors in the locations of these types of buildings.

From a nationalist approach, the term "diasporic community" has a stronger pluralist nationalist connotation compared to the phrase "ethnic neighborhood." When associated with another nation, geography, or a religious affiliation like Islam, the oppressive national hegemony over the diasporic community becomes more emphasized. Consequently, people's diasporic identities signify more than just their ethnic roots.[146] It is not possible to talk about a specific ethnic neighborhood like Chinatown or Little Italy for Turkish diaspora in Montreal, rather their diasporic community is dispersed over the Island. Up to a certain point, along with religious affiliations with Islam, the community also highlights its nationalist presence through Montreal

[143] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
[144] Azra Akšamija, "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 134.
[145] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 14. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919
[146] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 255.

Turkish Community Center's active connections with authorities, and federal and provincial governments. Such recognition of the community allows a more inclusive representation in the city, which is also symbolized by the flags of Turkey, Canada, and Quebec flying above the building's entrance.

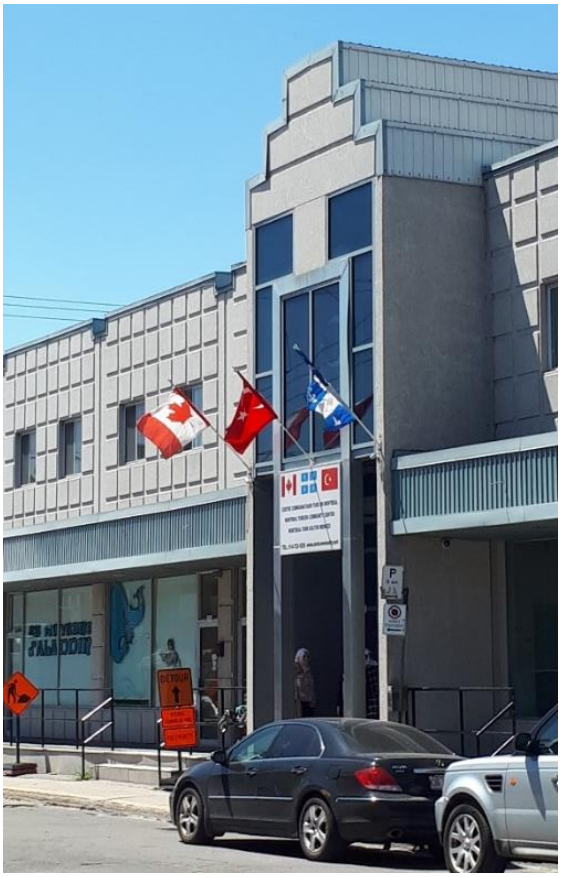

Figure 3: Flags above the entrance of Montreal Turkish Community Center.

There are significant number of mosques in Montreal, and several community centers, or Islamic centers dedicated to Muslim immigrant communities living in the city. However, it is imperative for the purposes of this study that buildings that originated from Turkish people are in the spotlight. The reason behind focusing specifically on Dorval Mosque (or Turkish Muslim Association of Montreal), and Montreal Turkish Community Center along with Yunus Mosque emerged from this notion that puts Turkish diaspora in the center. On the other hand, it should be noted that there are also a few other centers in different parts of the city that involve Turkish community, such as The Message of Islam Foundation and Canadian Association of Turkish Professionals.

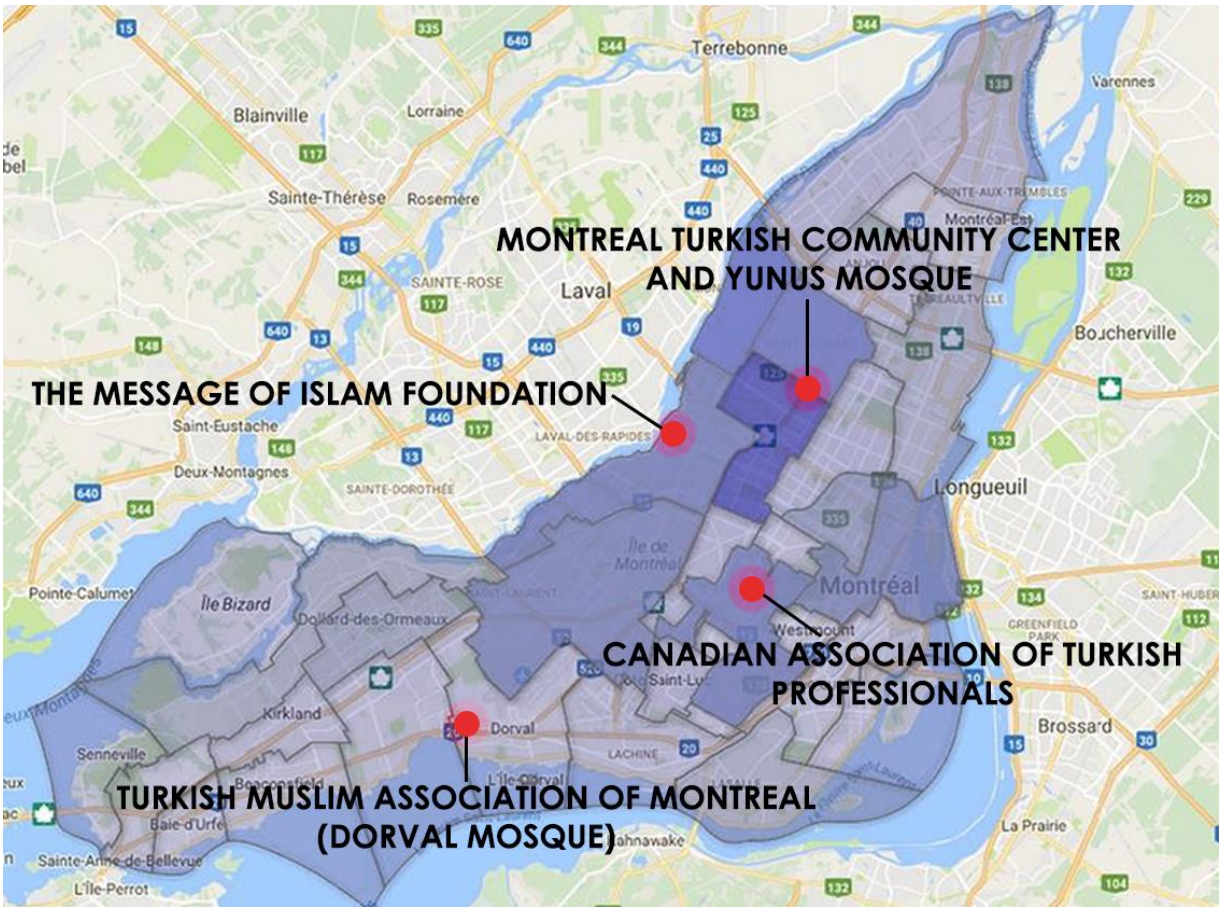

Figure 4: Locations of Turkish associations and mosques overlaid on the population distribution of Turkish people in Montreal.

The locations of the mosques and associations are dispersed throughout the city in different neighborhoods. It is important to notice that not all Turkish organizations or mosques in Montreal are built in the areas where majority of Turkish community lives. For instance, Dorval Mosque is such an example where its location is in a neighborhood with very few Turkish population. According to 2016 Census, out of Dorval's total population of 18,980, only 85 people have Turkish ethnic origins.[147] In general, however, by the year 2024, the general

[147] Census Profile, 2016 Census. "Dorval, Ville [Census subdivision], Quebec and Montréal, Territoire équivalent [Census division], Quebec." Statistics Canada, accessed July 2, 2018. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2466087&Geo2=CD&Code2=2466&Data=Count&SearchText=Dorval&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1

immigrant population in Dorval is expected to be more than 30% of its total population.[148] It should be noted at this point that although, Dorval is officially a separate city (City of Dorval) on an administrative and municipal level, it is situated on the Island of Montreal and its size is similar to many neighborhoods of Montreal. As a result, it is acknowledged as part of Montreal, and perceived like any other neighborhood in the study.

Location of Dorval is on the southwestern region of the Island of Montreal, with shores to Lake St. Louis. It is essentially an upscale residential neighborhood with generally low density suburban dwellings. The housing typology is mostly detached single-family homes, and most of them date back to the years between 1946 and 1960, the post-war period.[149] On the other hand, Pierre-Elliott-Trudeau International Airport and the industrial areas nearby are a huge part of Dorval's economic development. Highway 20 passes through Dorval, and it roughly separates the industrial and residential zones of the city. Due to Dorval Mosque's proximity to this highway, the president and imam of the mosque Mehmet Deger stated that, even people coming from Toronto or Ottawa would stop by this mosque, perform their prayers, and then continue their travels. He also mentioned that people working in nearby industries were also regularly coming to Dorval Mosque.[150]

The mosque is situated among the residential areas, surrounded by suburban houses and a quiet environment. The morphology of the neighborhood is an almost typical suburban town with its parallel and winding streets, detached low density houses, and ample recreational areas and parks. Around Dorval Mosque, predominantly Christian families reside, and a few Turkish immigrants and Muslims can also be found. According to 2011 Census, there were 645 Muslims compared to 13,495 Christians.[151] This is the only mosque in Dorval that serves all Muslim communities including Turkish citizens, and in comparison, it is surrounded by quite a number of churches in its vicinity, not to mention the whole City of Dorval. However, Dorval Mosque represents a first, as it was established at a time in 1990 when there were no other mosques in the

[148] Municipal By-laws. "Urban Master Plan: By-law revising the Urban Master Plan adopted in 2005 (Sustainable Master Plan 2015-2031) - Master Plan No. RCM-60-PU-2015." City of Dorval, accessed June 1, 2018. https://www.ville.dorval.qc.ca/en/the-city/page/municipal-by-laws
[149] Ibid.
[150] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.
[151] Canada Census 2011. Statistics Canada, 2011.

west of the Island. This significance of the mosque and its strategic location made it appealing to many Muslims around the city, even the ones from areas outside of Dorval. Apart from the airport and industrial areas, there are people coming here from LaSalle, Lachine, Vaudreuil and Dollar d-Des Ormeaux.[152]

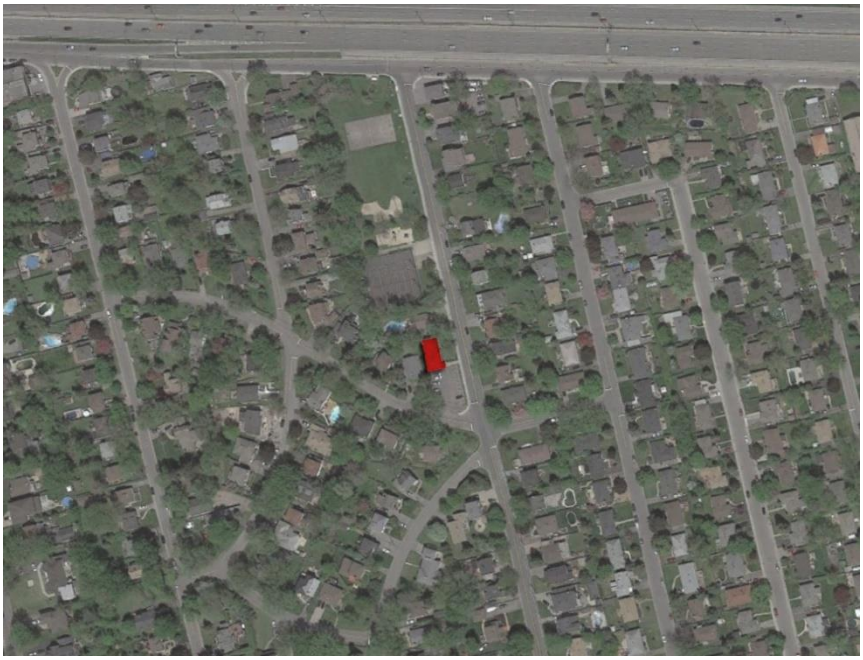

Figure 5: Dorval Mosque is shown in red surrounded by suburban residential neighborhood.

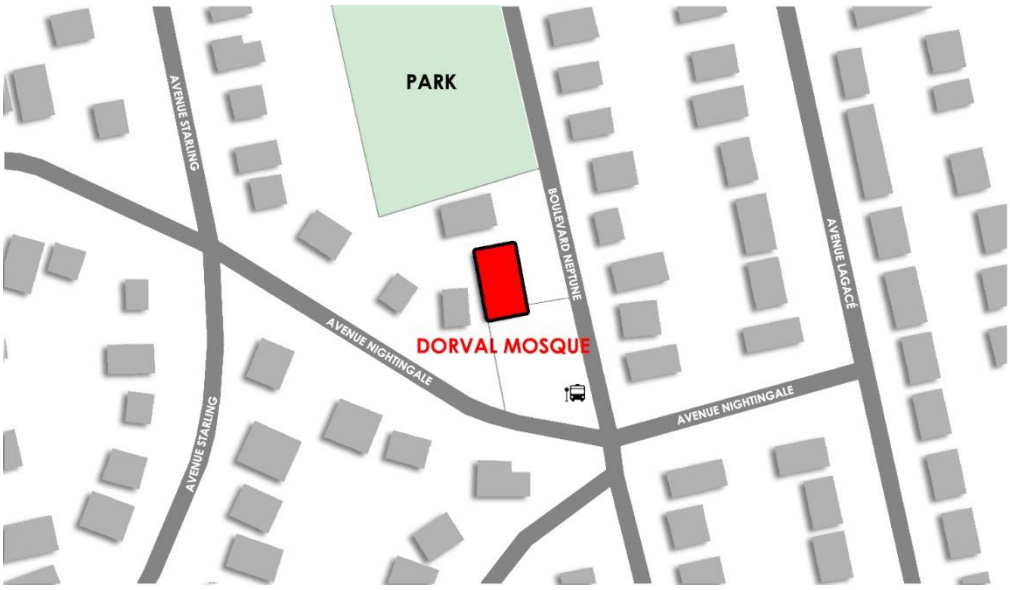

Figure 6: Plan view of Dorval Mosque among detached houses.

[152] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

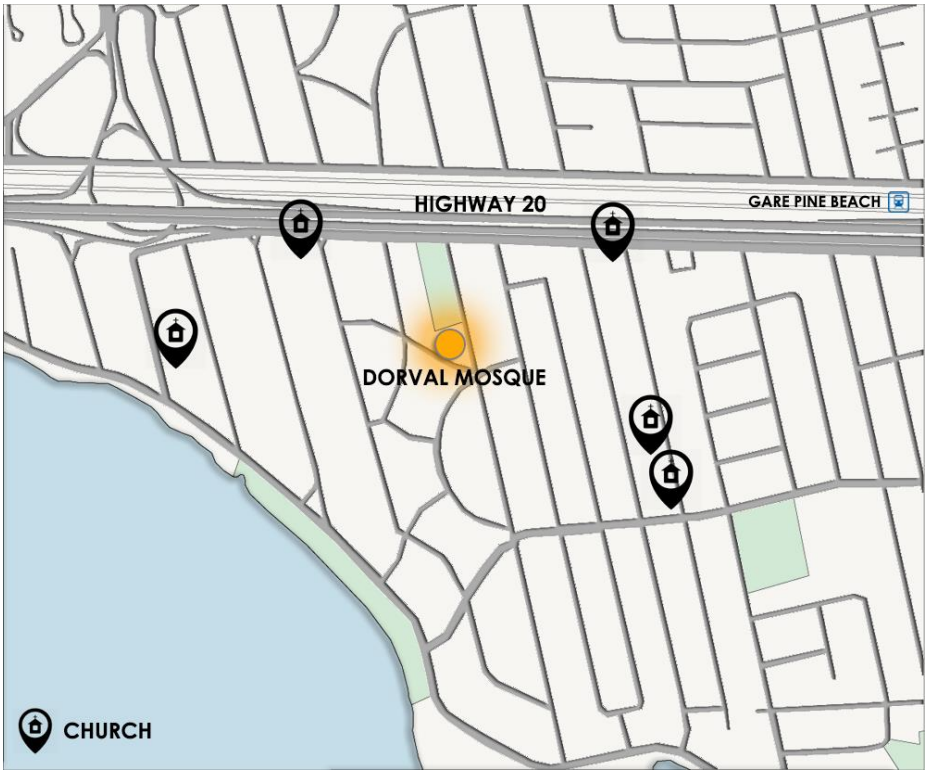

Figure 7: Locations of the churches nearby Dorval Mosque.

Being a repurposed building, Dorval Mosque appears far from a mosque. It is easily blending within the neighboring houses with its brickwork external walls, prominently and almost vertically overhanging shingle roof and its relatively low height, matching the houses. It is impossible to distinguish the building as a mosque without noticing the sign above the front door. Although this building was chosen and refurbished to fit the needs of a mosque and a community building, it was not the first time it was being converted. Almost a century ago, Dorval was a city mainly for farmers, and this building was first built in 1924 as a two-storey elementary school for the children of those farmers; namely Strathmore School. In 1957, it was sold and repurposed as a church. Finally, Mehmet Deger bought the building in 1990 and converted it into a mosque. In 2005, he also established the mosque as Turkish Muslim Association.[153]

[153] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

Figure 8: Dorval Mosque from outside.

Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC) is located in François-Perreault, which is a district of the borough Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension. The borough has the highest Turkish immigrant population of Montreal, where according to 2011 data, 51% of the population were Christian, and 13.5% Muslim. In general, 43.9% of the population consists of immigrants overall.[154] Even though today, the borough offers socio-cultural amenities and recreational areas, it is mainly an industrial area. Especially after the post-war period, due to Miron and Francon quarries, many workers came to live in the districts of Saint-Michel and Parc-Extension. Moreover, after the construction of Highway 40 in 1960, many industries started to appear alongside the roads, and the population of Saint-Michel jumped to 68,000 inhabitants from only 6,000 in less than 20 years.[155]

[154] "Classement Sociodémographique: Villes et arrondissements de l'agglomération de Montréal 2011." Ville de Montréal, accessed July 2, 2018. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/MTL_STATS_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/CLASSEMENTSOCIODEMO2011.PDF

[155] "Une leçon d'histoire." Ville de Montréal, accessed July 2, 2018. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=8638,142672813&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

The morphology of the neighborhood consists of mid-density housing typologies along with industrial areas and commercial buildings. MTCC is located among all of these on Villeray Street, however mostly surrounded by three-storey housing complexes. Moreover, Little Maghreb has developed nearby, along Jean Talon St., in which some of its population uses Yunus Mosque inside MTCC. Villeray–Saint-Michel–Parc-Extension is much more diverse compared to Dorval. To begin with, there are other mosques and Muslim associations in the area as well. This creates a more separated distribution within Muslim communities, resulting in fewer nationalities choosing to use Yunus Mosque. In fact, apart from Turkish people, Arabs are almost the only ones using this place for prayers. Moreover, in terms of religious practices, the neighborhood harbors many churches, some synagogues, and even one Buddhist temple in the vicinity of MTCC. The commercial buildings and spaces also often reflect various communities and their cultures, depending on the specific location of these buildings within the neighborhood. Immigrant life has been deeply intertwined with the existing fabric of the area, in which Turkish community tries to situate itself with its own community center and mosque.

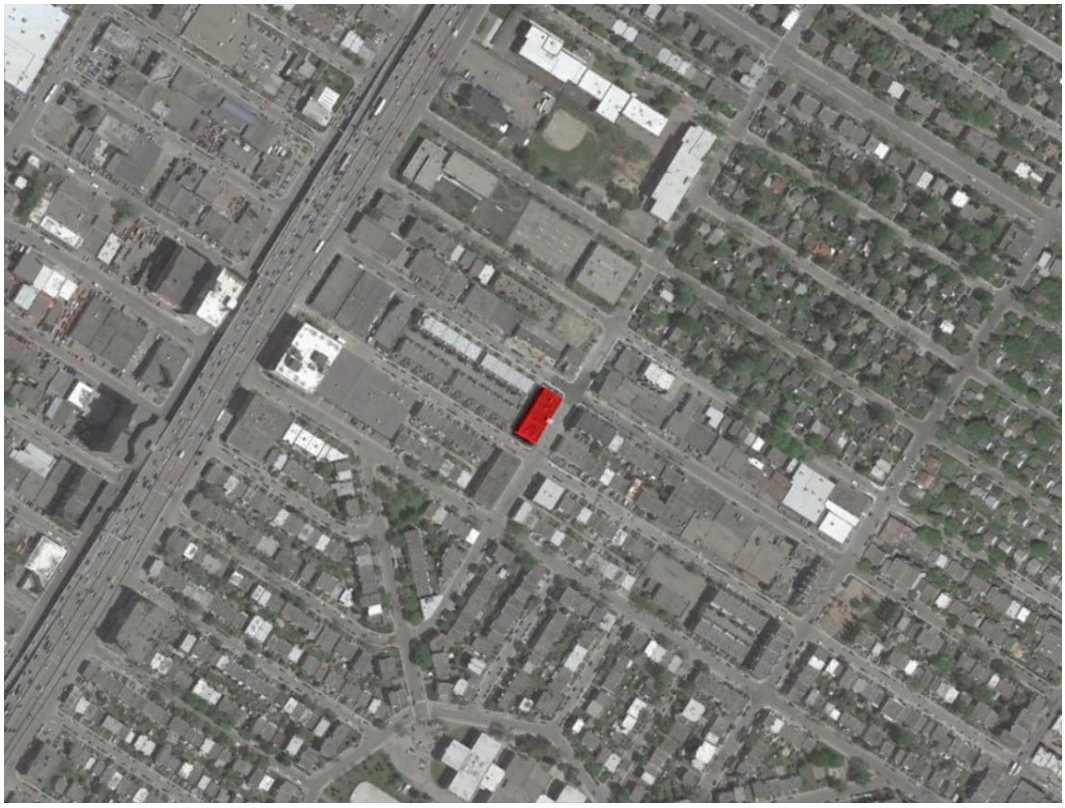

Figure 9: Montreal Turkish Community Center is shown in red surrounded by commercial, industrial and mid-density residential areas laid out on mostly grid system.

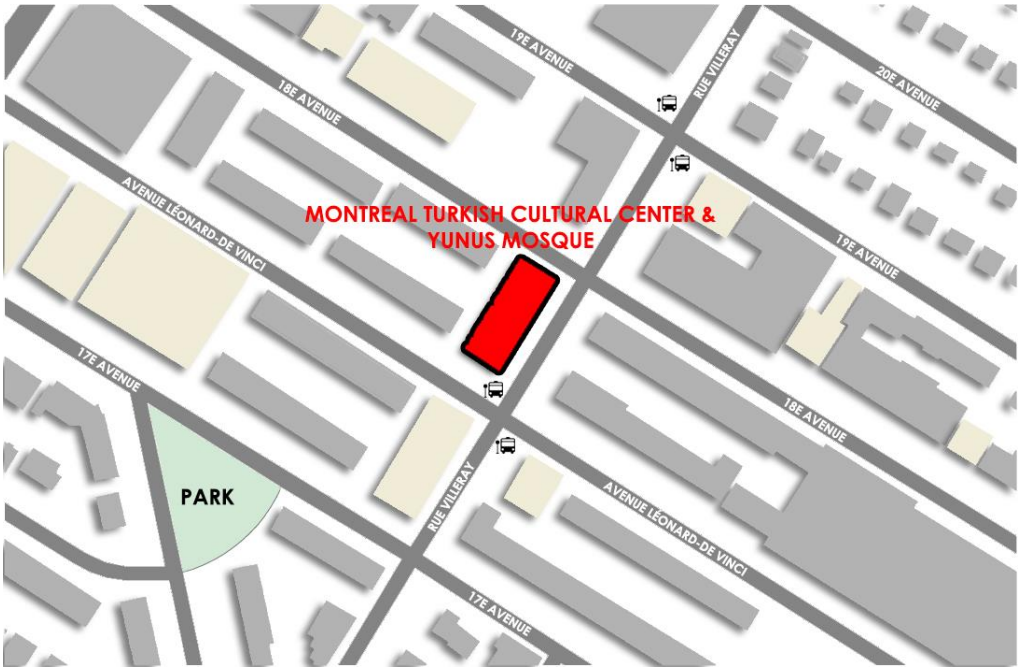

Figure 10: Plan view of Montreal Turkish Community Center among residential and commercial buildings. Commercial buildings in pale yellow color, and long housing blocks in grey can be seen.

Figure 11: Locations of the churches nearby Yunus Mosque.

MTCC has a rather crude commercial building appearance. Combined with its height and size, it does not stand out from its surroundings. The building has been repurposed to accommodate multipurpose spaces and prayer areas, so it was not intended to look like a mosque or a community building to begin with. The flags and the sign at the entrance, along with another Turkish flag on top of the building which can be seen from afar, are the only signs that signify the building's administrative and institutional role that represent Turkish nation and its citizens. However, apart from another, more recessed sign over the front door, there is no other indication showing that there is a mosque inside as well. While almost all of the spaces of MTCC and Yunus Mosque are on the upper floor, various little shops take up the street level of the building. This makes the community and religious spaces more secluded from the street and within the urban context.

Figure 12: Montreal Turkish Community Center from outside.

Yunus Mosque was the first Turkish mosque in Montreal when it was established along with MTCC in 1991. However, due to popular demand from Turkish community and its increasing population over the years, this new building in François-Perreault was bought and refurbished in

2001.[156] According to the representative at MTCC, this building belonged to a bank before, and it was acquired at an affordable price which made it an ideal candidate as a new place for the Center. Moreover, it is easily accessible for Turkish people due to its location. He also stated that there are people coming here from even further locations as well, such as Laval. However, in terms of daily use, people who live nearby visit here more regularly.

Involvement in religious activities and challenges newcomers face in Montreal usually determine the level of affiliation with the community center and the mosque. Newly arrived Turkish immigrants often visit MTCC to consult and try to get advice while searching for a job or a house to settle. In addition, people who are more religious like to visit this place for community gatherings, various activities, and use the mosque as well in a regular basis. However, people who are not interested in religious activities often choose to stay apart from such community centers. Interestingly, apart from just prayers in the mosque, some of these people usually prefer to stay distant to the notions related to being Turkish in general by not showing any interest to any of the activities or services offered by MTCC.[157] It is clear that, although these kinds of associations represent the whole Turkish community in Montreal, its true influence does not always reach out to the everyday urban life of every single Turkish citizen in the city.

2.3 Negotiation on the Communal Space

The public life of Turkish people in the West mostly takes place inside the mosques, Islamic centers and community centers. This situation holds true for Montreal as well. Examples like Peace Garden, where Turkish presence finds itself in a different collaboration with the city officials, are rare occasions. As a result, an intersection of Turkish diaspora and Muslim diaspora emerges. Even though not all Turkish citizens devote themselves to an Islamic lifestyle, this intersection creates a sense of Islamic identity where strong religious and communal bonds form among Turkish immigrants that they believe to be even more necessary and important due to being away from Turkey and being in a predominantly non-Muslim country. However, this

[156] "About Montreal Turkish Community Center." Montreal Turkish Community Center, accessed July 9, 2018. http://tr.turkcommunity.net/index.php/hakkimizda/tarihce.
[157] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

Western dominance does not necessarily dictate where Islamic identity should manifest itself physically; in other words, where the mosques and community centers should be built. This is because, these buildings represent first and foremost Turkish identity and solidarity, not just Islamic identity. Activities for both national and religious holidays are held at the community centers, and the priority is usually the communal public gatherings of Turkish people, not trying to prove or justify themselves to the non-Muslim locals. Attending to the mosques then comes naturally with it. In Dings's article, Ramadan points out the following on this issue:

> You don't build a mosque out of fear, or with the hope of pleasing the West and being accepted, but from a desire to create a place where you feel at home.[158]

Mosques of Turkish people are not necessity just for religious practice, but also for community strength. They represent a place reminiscent of "home" although they serve predominantly for Islamic purposes. With this notion in mind, Yunus Mosque and MTCC was established with keeping the needs of Turkish people at the center, and its location was chosen accordingly. It did not revolve around the notion of making a presence within the city, or other Muslim populations for that matter. On the other hand, after Turkish people constructed certain grounds for themselves to form associations and organize activities, the community always aimed to develop positive relationships with its surrounding neighborhoods, the city and the non-Muslim host in general.

Negotiations do not always take place between the minority diaspora and the host population. Turkish immigrants in Canada have their own dynamics within Muslim communities as well. For instance, although Dorval Mosque was established by a Turkish imam, its purpose was to serve all Muslim populations in Montreal. People from 26 different nations are visiting Dorval Mosque today.[159] On the other hand, majority of Turkish families are not living in this area, hence most of them are actually using Yunus Mosque. Although the main purpose of Dorval Mosque did not include establishing strong ties with non-Muslim communities, it still got positively intimate

[158] Mieke Dings, "Back to First Principles: Ergun Erkocu, Cihan Bugdaci and Mieke Dings Speak to Tariq Ramadan," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 55.
[159] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

with nearby churches and synagogues in Dorval. Its diverse communal mix not only brought Turkish community close to non-Muslim locals, but also to the whole Muslim diaspora as well.

Brand new transnational mosques in the Western world usually embody foreign policies of their originating countries and promote nationalist presence along with Islamic identity for the minority populations. With significant Islamic architectural elements like domes and minarets, these mosques represent not only the community they belong to, but also what Islam means for, and looks like to non-Muslim societies. Social structure of the West is generally in contestation with Muslim communities. The presence of Muslims in the West affects the social landscape of Europe and North America negatively, and Muslims' religious practices contrast with the primary notions of secular liberalism within Western countries.[160] To improve this situation, Bugdaci suggests that, Muslims' acceptance in the host country and Islam's true meaning and intentions could be better addressed with a more open and welcoming architecture at the right place. This would create the path for a diverse meeting grounds that will diminish the gap between the "us and them" attitude among the groups. He believes that this process is a natural result of a pluralist society.[161]

2.3.1 Role of Religion

Mosque causes upheaval unparalleled to any other type of building. It causes such opposition that neither any house, office, factory or museum would be able to keep up with.[162] The ongoing discussion about the conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims is actually an excuse put forward by Islamophobes to justify their geo-political or religious involvements that are guided

[160] Behrooz Ghamari-Tabrizi, "Loving America and Longing for Home: Isma'il al-Faruqi and the Emergence of the Muslim Diaspora in North America." *International Migration* 42, no.2 (2004): 62. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00281.x.

[161] Mieke Dings, "Introduction: Beyond 'Us and Them.'" (Interview with Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci), in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 10.

[162] Ole Bouman, "The Cosmosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 160.

by Islam's demonization.[163] Since 9/11, Islamophobia has been increasing in Canada.[164] Political landscape of post-9/11 created the undesirable citizens of Islam in the West, namely "subaltern citizens." This lead to the issues of religious and racial profiling, as well as new xenophobic state policies in many non-Muslim countries; mainly the U.S. In the case of Canada, these policies contradict with the notion of a multicultural nation, considering the accommodation of various diverse communities.

Disseminating Islam's knowledge and attributes, and at the same time, making it part of the daily life as a religious activity and a building block of the community in the West have always been a challenge for the minority Muslim populations. They are faced with the situation of being labelled as either incompatible with Western cultural values and norms, or threats against national security. These notions had been out in the open since the crises on "reasonable accommodation" debates in Quebec involving Muslims and other religious minority communities.[165] Although Muslims in the West are often considered to exhibit suspicious behaviors, several behavioral studies conducted by Pew Research Center (2011) and Gallup (2007) in Europe and North America proved that these Muslims in fact embrace as highly democratic and law-abiding values as the citizens of the host countries.[166] However, they are often forced to cope with socio-cultural and political challenges that were formed due to the reality of global "war on terror."[167]

The majority society often dictates how religious life is formed and lived everywhere, especially when it comes to how religion and state are connected.[168] The built environment plays an important role by being the voice of this connection and helping the formation of religious life in

[163] Haroon Siddiqui. "Anti-Muslim Bigotry Goes Official – Canada's Newest Dark Chapter," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 46.
[164] Asma Sayed, "Who I Really Am: Communicating Islam Across Generations," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 114.
[165] Siddiqui, "Anti-Muslim Bigotry Goes Official," 53.
[166] Ibid., 88.
[167] Jasmin Zine, *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 17.
[168] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 12.

the society. Architecture and religious ideology may share commonalities in revealing political agenda, in which architecture serves as a guide and a tool for the communities to distinguish and express themselves.[169] There is often a tendency in resorting to strategic essentialism in Muslim diaspora communities in which how they situate themselves among the built environment reveals both their national identity and their religious spirituality, while being distinctly separated from the host society. It can be asserted that architecture forms a bond between nationalist representation and negotiation.[170]

Generally, new Muslim immigrant communities build themselves mosques that are very ordinary in terms of their architecture. As these communities become more settled and potent, they find the courage to establish mosques in a traditional Islamic architectural style, which are completely in contrast with their surroundings in Europe and North America.[171] Especially in the U.S. and Canada, it is usually these kinds of purpose-built mosques that draw negative attention and hostility, such as destruction of property and vandalism.[172] The architecture of these mosques invokes an already existing conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim societies. For instance, a poll from Agnus Reid demonstrated that almost 70% of Quebeckers highly dislike Muslims. In another poll by the Montreal-based Association for Canadian Studies in 2011, 56% out of 1500 Canadians responded that the relationship between the Muslims and the West are incompatible, with only 33% believing that this conflict would ever be resolved.[173]

Although there are a considerable number of purpose-built mosques throughout North America, the majority of the mosques in fact consist of repurposed buildings, since they are often more

[169] Kishwar Rizvi, "Transnational Architecture, Ethics, and the Reification of History: Park51 Islamic Community Center in New York City." in *In the Wake of the Global Turn: Propositions for an 'Exploded' Art History without Borders*, ed. Aruna D'Souza and Jill Casid, (Williamstown, MA: Clark Art Institute, 2013), 53.
[170] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 190.
[171] Omar Khalidi, "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World*, (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm
[172] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 173. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982
[173] Haroon Siddiqui. "Anti-Muslim Bigotry Goes Official – Canada's Newest Dark Chapter," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 52.

affordable and more intertwined into the neighborhood life with Muslim populations.[174] Moreover, repurposed mosques provide a greater chance of negotiation for the Muslim diaspora, by not imposing traditional mosque architecture elements within the built environment, and by bringing out community services for everyone including non-Muslim populations. These mosques are usually embedded within community centers or Islamic centers to enhance the interaction between socio-cultural community activities and religious practice. It is not the minarets, domes or other Islamic architectural elements that provide the appreciation and recognition that Muslim communities wish to obtain, but instead these can be achieved by making the mosques and its complexes available to everyone, regardless of people's religious affiliations, ethnic roots, or nationalities.[175] Islamic Center in Washington, DC is such an institution where according to Holod and Khan,[176] it was built to "promote a better understanding of Islam in a country where the Muslim religion was not well known and as a vehicle by which to improve relations between the United States and the Muslim world."[177]

Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC) is the biggest Center in Canada that represents Turkish Canadians. Since it is a repurposed building, Yunus Mosque is integrated within MTCC. Most of the mosques in Montreal are built or refurbished like this and they are usually part of various community centers or association buildings of minority populations. There are only a few purpose-built mosques with minarets and distinctive mosque architecture elements in Montreal, such as Islamic Center of Quebec in Saint-Laurent. The representative of MTCC had some interesting remarks about the appearance of mosques:

> The "mosque concept" like the ones in Turkey do not really exist here in Montreal. But we do have a sign that says "Yunus Mosque" outside of the entrance. People can find here online as well. Although honestly, when I first saw the churches here, if I hadn't

[174] Omar Khalidi, "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America," in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, and John L. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[175] Shervin Nekuee, "Throw Open the Doors!" in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 59.
[176] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 223.
[177] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 16.

> seen the crosses on the buildings, I would have thought that they might be mosques because of their domes.[178]

Domes are very striking elements that define mosques. Hence, it is not a surprise that some churches may be mistaken for a mosque just because of this architectural feature. However, it is equally striking that just a simple sign is usually enough to identify a mosque. Since mosques are often established as a single space inside existing buildings, people recognize that there is a mosque when they see the sign from the street. Also, according to the imam of Yunus Mosque, it is more useful to integrate mosques within all-encompassing community centers to serve children, young people, elderly, and women of the community more properly. Moreover, everybody in the area knows that this place is both a community center and a mosque at the same time. Even foreigners come for the activities during Ramadan. It is important that the mosque and the community center are open to everyone without any discrimination.[179]

The all-welcoming attitude of Dorval Mosque and Yunus Mosque contribute positively to the negotiation process of Turkish community, as well as other Muslim communities in Montreal. Among the local society and non-Muslim Canadian citizens, there are people interested in Islam who later converted. Deger claimed that 28 people in Dorval recently chose Islam as their religious belief because of the influence of Dorval Mosque in the neighborhood. Elementary, middle, and high school students in the area are also interested and occasionally visit the mosque and get information about Islam and Turkey. There are also interests in Turkish classes from local people who have recently visited Turkey.[180]

The relationship between the mosque and the church is another aspect of the overall interaction of different communities. One problem for the Muslim community was the issue of funerals and proper Muslim cemetery in Montreal. Deger claimed that Christians in the city did not accept Muslims to their cemeteries. Later, some of the representatives of the Muslim community came to an agreement with the priest of a church in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, and that priest allowed

[178] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.
[179] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.
[180] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

Muslims to bury their deceased in the church's garden until it was completely filled up. A suitable land for a Muslim cemetery was found not long after.[181] Today, MTCC takes care of all funeral arrangements for Turkish people and even raises funeral funds when necessary.

Another example of collaboration includes sponsoring Syrian refugee families in Montreal. Dorval Mosque has a special role in this process and it is known for these sponsorships, while churches and synagogues in the neighborhood are also helping Syrian families in collaboration with the mosque. This is an important aspect of Dorval Mosque, since it contributes to the representation of Turkish and Muslim community in Montreal, as well as the solidarity and negotiation between different religious institutions. Deger explained this process as follows:

> There are three or four Syrian families living here in Montreal. We settled them here. A friend of mine's son came, and I had to persuade a church here to sponsor him. So, the church brought him here. In general, we need to spend 24.000 $ to the government for four people; parents and two children. If there is one more child, then an additional 1.500 $ is needed. I persuaded synagogues and churches here to help out. The synagogues brought three families, and the churches brought two more families. One more family is also expected to come. We have good dialogues with these churches and synagogues.[182]

The collaborations between mosques and churches are generally on an administrative level. However, the fact that Syrian families that come to Montreal are Muslims, brings out other aspects of non-Muslim institutions' motivations in helping people from other communities. The image of a church collaborating with a mosque under Islamic grounds is perceived as a step towards the growing diversity and multiculturalism in Montreal, as well as an important message which could sever the influence of Islamophobic tendencies in Quebec.

[181] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.
[182] Deger, interview.

2.3.2 Immigrant and Local Perspective

In several societies there has been an ever-increasing "play the game by our rules or leave" attitude towards the immigrants which posed a problem in their adaptation process to the patterns and values of the host country without losing their own traditions and cultures.[183]Although in Canada, this multiculturalism actually draws its strength from many different nationalities and ethnic roots. In Montreal, the diversity of cultural and religious values creates a dynamic mix of communities interacting with each other in some way. However, even in this homogenous social complexity, there are certain cultural boundaries that groups of people establish for themselves. The biggest distinction between the minority and majority emerges from these boundaries, allowing people of different groups to have their own set of rules, values and their own perspective of other groups, which is often a presupposed attribute for negotiation. There are also times when different cultures do not simply fit together, leading to conflicts, marginalization, and discrimination. Then cultural boundaries create an inside space and an outside space, or an "inside society" and an "outside society" respectively. These spatial metaphors enhance the meaning behind how separate social spaces are produced within the same built environment.[184]

There are two obstacles that Turkish immigrants face in Montreal in terms of psychological acculturation: their choice to reside in ethnic enclaves and their socio-economic standing.[185] In this context, psychological acculturation means an experience of culture difference due to the interaction of people from different cultural backgrounds among each other.[186] Apart from these obstacles, some Turkish people may feel alienated also because of not participating to activities offered in associations.[187] In a strategic essentialist reaction, these people sometimes resort to

[183] Lisa M. Hanley, Blair A. Ruble, and Allison M. Garland. *Immigration and integration in urban communities: renegotiating the city.* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008), 1.
[184] Willem Schinkel, "The Production of Marginality: The Social and Physical Space of the Mosque in the Netherlands," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 75.
[185] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 16. Kindle
[186] Theodore D. Graves, "Psychological Acculturation in a Tri-Ethnic Community." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23, no.4 (1967), 337-350.
[187] Guliz Akkaymak, "Social network development experiences of immigrants from Turkey to Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no.15 (2016): 2619. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1164589

holding on to their own roots more tightly than they did back in Turkey, as a response to the negative effects of a culture shock they experience after their immigration to Canada. Conversely, the result of this culture shock also pushes them to question their own cultural values as well, and makes them feel compelled to become "more Canadian." However, when Turkish people experience this kind of new socio-cultural environment to live in, usually this experience prevents them from forming a hybrid Canadian – Turkish identity.[188] On the other hand, the new generation of earlier Turkish immigrants in Canada have a better grasp of the similarities between Canadian and Islamic identities. They are able to form a more grounded negotiation in terms of internalizing a new Canadian Muslim identity. Attending public schools in Canada and getting exposed to religious schools on Sundays have an effect on this negotiation process they go through during their childhood years and afterwards.[189] MTCC representative had such a personal remark regarding cultural adaptation of children:

> Children who are born in Montreal are obviously adapting to Canadian culture. However, they shouldn't lose their own culture in the meantime. For instance, since I am working all day, I can only teach so much about Turkish culture to my kids. But if I bring them here into the community, among other Turkish people, they will easily be able to learn so much more. If you keep the child away from these activities or mosques when they are little, and wait until they are 14-15 years old to persuade them to participate, they won't want to do those things after they become teenagers.[190]

The balance between existing Turkish identity and forming a new Canadian identity is easier to establish in the early ages, and the role Turkish associations and mosques play in this regard is paramount. Moreover, gaining familiarity to new Canadian values opens the path towards easier integration to the non-Muslim local community, and creates more opportunities for the negotiation process of Turkish immigrants without the fear of losing their own Turkish cultural and religious values.

---

[188] Jammet and Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal*, 16-17.

[189] Nadeem Memon, "From Mosques to Madrassas: Civic Engagement and the Pedagogy of Islamic Schools," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 202-203.

[190] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

There are different approaches in how Turkish community centers and mosques are perceived by Turkish people, by other minority Muslim populations, and by non-Muslim and Canadian population. First of all, the communal buildings of Turkish diaspora themselves are not distinctive enough to convey Turkish or Islamic values in their architecture. They are repurposed, rather ordinary in design, and they blend in with their surroundings. They are part of the vernacular. They do not raise as much commotion or opposition as an independent mosque building might, with its massive appearance, minarets, cascading hemispherical domes, and often misaligned position within the urban grid in order to face qibla. Instead, repurposed mosques are either somewhat hidden inside the neighborhoods, or inside the community centers. They exhibit a more modest representation of Islam which is in concordance with their physical manifestation. Repurposed mosques signify the distinction between the cultural aspect, and communal and religious purposes of architecture.[191]

Secondly, these places are basically open to everyone who is interested and willing to participate. An inclusive policy is at the heart of Turkish immigrant associations and mosques. At MTCC, other minority or local communities can get permission to organize their own activities. However, there may be spatial restrictions to some type of events and not all demands might always be met. Moreover, other than the usual events on religious and national holidays, and educational activities, the request of the majority is often required to meet the demands for specific activities.[192] Demands come from various communities. For instance, Turkish people request Qur'an classes, or Quebeckers and Arabs request Turkish classes. Overall, there is a positive image about MTCC and Yunus Mosque in the minds of other minority groups and Canadians.[193] A representation of Turkish and Islamic culture is demonstrated, as well as new social bonds are created at the community center through diverse activities. At Dorval Mosque, Friday sermons are delivered in English, French and Arabic to ensure the maximum participation from various communities in Dorval and Montreal. Although there is a positive interest from diverse populations, including local Canadians, it has been known that some people of non-

[191] Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, and Ed Grazda, *New York Masjid: The Mosques of New York City* (New York: PowerHouse Books, 2002), 65.
[192] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.
[193] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.

Muslim community have sometimes felt disturbed when they saw other people dressed differently or who has different color. Deger claims that this was something to be expected and those disturbed non-Muslim people gradually got used to having people from Muslim communities around, after seeing them repeatedly over time.[194]

Since MTCC is an official association that represents Turkish citizens in Canada, they often need to form connections with authorities and government officials at provincial and federal level. For instance, for educational purposes, they have to communicate with the Ministry of Education, and for all kinds of necessary permits they have to deal with the municipality. It is often the case whenever there is a big national or religious event at the Center, various administrative and political figures attend to these events when invited. Before he was the prime minister, even Justin Trudeau attended a few events at MTCC, and he formed close connections with the president of the community center.[195] Dorval Mosque on the other hand is officially recognized as an NGO by the municipality; thus it helps the refugees in need, and provides work for the children sent from Correctional Service Canada system when requested by the city.[196] Although these political and municipal relationships are important in establishing a firm representation of Turkish community and improving its negotiation process within the host society, especially MTCC and Yunus Mosque lack in public presence within the press and the media. Members of the Center admit that this is a neglect of the community in general and not just the Center. However, Canadian press is occasionally interested in these community centers and mosques, in which sometimes reporters and journalists pay a visit to tell about Turkish diaspora and its public activities to Canadian citizens.

It should be mentioned that communities of the same culture, as well as the ones from different cultures can only establish meaningful and sustainable bonds within the confines of social communal spaces, that are created under the complexity of various social structures. Immigrant and local perspectives for such spaces should converge under the same goal of maintaining long-term inclusive relationships between the minority and majority populations. Most of Turkish

[194] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.
[195] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.
[196] Deger, interview.

people in Canada wish to preserve their newly gained Turkish Canadian identities. They aspire to start with a clean slate, without bringing any political problems and propaganda from Turkey along with them. A distinction has to be made at this point, that Turkish immigrants try to integrate their Canadian born children into Canadian society while also teaching them Turkish cultural and religious values.[197] This is such a balance in which spatial formations of the built environment play a major role in shaping this new public sphere. Consequently, forming connections between the impact of the differences in the demographics, spaces and necessary functions in the most basic sense create the foundation of understanding and studying how spatial organizations of a community can be affected by social cues.

[197] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.

CHAPTER 3

Space and Diaspora

The general approach and assessment on Turkish diaspora in Montreal in the previous chapter need to be examined more thoroughly with various communal factors in mind. These factors are the key components in the relationship between spatial layouts, functions and how these material definitions are determined according to socio-cultural and religious aspects of Turkish community. Architectural design elements and the formation of social space is built upon the identifiers that are dictated by people's age groups and genders, their specific types of activities, as well as Islam's religious constraints and flexibility over architectural attributes of a space and the buildings.

3.1 Demographics and Spatial Needs

When a community of diaspora settles in a foreign country for at least a few generations of time, there are many factors that begin to influence that community throughout generations. These factors may be related to inner community dynamics, community's socio-cultural adjustments over time, influence of politics, economic reasons or even the effects of newer technology, and many others. These changes often find themselves reflected in the spatial organization and representation of the community, where through physical environment, community's interaction with the foreign social and built environment gets constantly negotiated and renegotiated.

Apart from the influence of temporality on immigrant communities' space and culture, social space is often designed and produced with various gender roles in mind; specifically, the role of women. Although, lifestyle choices and traditional tendencies to religious practice may alter over different generations of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, people of this community are still often bounded by conventional gender perceptions that share similarities to their mindset they had in Turkey. The formations of communal and public spaces are definitely affected by this gender biased social arrangement of Turkish daily life.

Turkish community centers and mosques offer many activities, in which many of them are education oriented. These activities are especially important for the adaptation process of

younger Turkish children who were born in Canada. The spatial needs for educational activities, classes, and events usually adapt to the needs of the community, depending on new or changing demands. Sometimes new spaces are created, or old ones refurbished to fit desired needs. Nevertheless, educational policy of Turkish diaspora generates an inclusive approach to people from all ages, ethnicities and nations. In a general perspective, there is an attempt to integrate the diaspora and host communities, despite the demographic differences.

3.1.1 Culture in Multigenerational Families

Apart from newcomer Turkish student population, most of the people that belong to Turkish communities in Canada are either descents of the people immigrated starting from the 1960s, or newcomer people with their families. It was socio-economic reasons that motivated people to immigrate to Canada in the 80s, whereas they mostly immigrated due to political issues in the 1960s.[198] The majority of the immigrants from Turkey in the 70s were highly skilled professionals, including economists, teachers, and engineers, with ever increasing numbers up to today. Apart from these skilled workers, some of Turkish immigrants even opened Turkish restaurants after following on the American's ethnic food interest.[199] Although migration trend from Turkey to Canada in general is on the rise today, Turkish communities are relatively small compared to larger East and Southeast Asian communities.[200]

Cultural differences between different generations of Turkish immigrants in Canada, and Montreal have certain impacts on the social lives of these people. Usually, newer and younger generation of immigrants tend to move away from traditional cultural roles that are present in Turkey. Consequently, compared to earlier generations, they tend to exhibit an easier and quicker adaptation process to the socio-cultural structure of Canada. On the other hand, most of the first-generation Turkish immigrants, along with some of the second-generations strongly continue to rely on their social connections, ties with their origins, and their financial assets in Turkey. For

[198] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 16. Kindle
[199] Kemal H. Karpat, "Turks in America," in Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 623. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[200] Jammet and Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal*, 5.

instance, they still mostly approve of marriages that occur within the Turkish community in Canada, or they prefer grooms or brides to be "brought" from either other Turkish diaspora communities residing in other countries, or directly from Turkey.[201]

Turkish community centers and mosques are visited and used by people of different ages. According to Deger, most of the people who are going to Dorval Mosque for religious practice are either young or middle-aged. These include Turkish people, as well as people from other Muslim communities in Montreal. He went on to claim that old people are a few in numbers in the Muslim community.[202] Similar usage frequency depending on the age and generation distribution is also applicable for Yunus Mosque and Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC). The imam of the mosque stated that, even though their congregation consists of people from all ages, middle-aged groups visit the most for the purposes of religious practice. On the other hand, people from every age group are encouraged to participate in the activities held at the community center.[203] Newcomer Turkish immigrants in Montreal who are usually seeking help for guidance from MTCC is another factor that makes some of these people of the community more interested in the general atmosphere of the community center.

The settlement of Turkish population in Saint-Michel neighborhood goes back to the 1980s. Since then, different generations of people had varying approaches to the community center in terms of reasons to participate and spaces they request. In the early years of MTCC, people did not just visit here due to scheduled activities. Back then, Internet was not widespread, and people just gathered to watch Turkish channels on the TV, catch a soccer game, watch movies, and so on. They had informal gatherings more often, and spaces were being used accordingly in great flexibility. Compared to today, it was a time when there was a stronger sense of solidarity among the members of Turkish community. As the earlier generation started the get older, visits to Turkey became more frequent. Some of the people started to spend six months of the year in Canada, and the other six in Turkey.[204] Moreover, with the increasing use of technology and

[201] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 15-16. Kindle
[202] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.
[203] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.
[204] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

Internet, the frequency of visits to MTCC got reduced to just for certain activities, events and organizations. During these activities, and especially during Ramadan, both Yunus Mosque, and the multipurpose hall at MTCC become full of approximately a thousand people during iftar hours. On the other hand, a need for specific education programs and a demand for instilling Turkish cultural and Islamic values to the children of the early generation immigrants emerged over time. This led to the arrangement of new classroom spaces and new uses for the multipurpose hall and the mosque. Still today, children and younger generation are the driving force behind keeping essential socio-cultural values alive in a foreign environment away from home and creating new grounds for the spatial organization of Turkish community centers and mosques.

3.1.2 Gender Roles in the Use of Space

Over many generations in Turkey, women's role in the family, in the society, and in the work force and professional life has been strictly shaped by certain unwritten traditional and socio-cultural rules. In a male dominant environment, many women have been oppressed, and even denied of their civil rights in the society for years. Although, this attitude has been changing for the better especially in the urban regions of Turkey for the past two or three decades, majority of the women of Turkish diaspora in North America and Europe still cling to their deeply rooted cultural values and continue to maintain their traditional roles they had in Turkey. In diaspora communities, women stay connected to, and are identified specifically by a tradition and a culture of "home." There is an ongoing social relationship among the members of the diaspora that is isolated within the host country, in which essential religious and moral values, social and speech patterns, and certain rules involving dress, body, and food protocols are adapted and preserved in the daily life.[205]

Women's role in the family determines their level and quality of participation in the communal public activities of Turkish community in Montreal. Women are expected to take care of housework, and their children, while their husbands are working all day; much like how it was in

[205] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 259.

Turkey. It is these women who are encouraging the children to attend more to classes and activities that would help them learn and maintain their cultural values in the early age. In addition, the women themselves are actually attending to the events and activities more often than men as well.[206] Apart from classes that are organized for children from September till May every year at MTCC, women also have the opportunity to benefit from various language or hobby classes oriented for them which are held at the very same classrooms.

Women's presence in public spaces like MTCC are not isolated, on the contrary the community center provides them a setting for getting together with their friends and actually taking part in the activities first hand. Moreover, there has been an increase in the empowerment and awareness of Turkish women's rights and roles in the local society of Montreal. Organizations like Montreal Turkish Women's Association also help this process along by offering women to be their voice and gathering them under a legal entity to protect their rights and benefits. Having a low socio-economic status has always been a risky situation for Turkish immigrant women in Canada,[207] thus it is imperative to provide these women with job opportunities and to integrate them in the social system of the host country with the help of such organizations.

Women's place in the congregation in terms of religious practice, and in mosques has always been a sensitive subject in the history of Islam. The male dominance inside the mosque is a fact in the Muslim world, and this fact is directly reflected in the architecture and spatial organization of many mosques throughout the world. Architectural historian Nasser Rabbat makes the following explanation about the mosque regarding the male population of the community:

> Like the agora, the mosque provided the space of the city where the male population exercised its political rights, particularly on Friday, when the community reconfirmed its allegiance to its leader or withdrew it in vocal responses to a formulaic oath included in the sermon.[208]

---

[206] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

[207] Bilge Ataca, and John W. Berry, "Psychological, sociocultural, and marital adaptation of Turkish immigrant couples in Canada." *International Journal of Psychology* 37, no.1 (2002): 13-26, https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590143000135

[208] Nasser Rabbat, "The Arab Revolution Takes Back the Public Space." *Critical Inquiry* 39, no.1 (2012): 200.

Despite this male dominance in Friday sermons, women are allowed in mosques as well. However, it is always a limited and controlled involvement which is dictated by men. Women's say in the spatial arrangement of the prayer areas have been rather recessive. In large mosques, women's prayer areas are always separated completely from the men's area by either being on a different level, or a different room inside the mosque. Even their entrances and ablution spaces are designed in a way to be completely separate and hidden from the sight as much as possible. However, when the same approach is applied at small repurposed or storefront mosques, the solutions for these spatial arrangements are often done poorly. Women's sections are separated from men's either by a simple curtain, or some kind of panels depending on the size of the space. There are even times when these spaces are thrown into basements, causing the women to become isolated completely. Moreover, ablution spaces for women are not even provided sometimes, which discourages them to use the mosque at all.[209]

Yunus Mosque inside MTCC and Dorval Mosque have their own solutions about the women's section inside the mosque. In both of them, these sections are provided simply by separating them from the main prayer area and creating small alcoves or corners for women. These spatial arrangements are devoid of any prior design process and they are make-do impromptu answers to the immediate demands of the community. In terms of ablution spaces, they are provided equally for both men and women at Dorval Mosque on the basement level. However, at MTCC there is a huge difference between men's and women's ablution spaces for Yunus Mosque. Men's area is prominently located on the ground floor with ample amount of space for ablution purposes and for circulation. On the other hand, ablution spaces for women were not even provided when the Center and the mosque were first established, and they were added later during a remodelling phase on the upper floor near the mosque area. However, it is a poorly done addition where women are forced to navigate through tight spaces and corridors. These areas are also connected with the back of the kitchen and storage areas, which makes them even more lacking from proper sanitary and comfort conditions.

[209] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 47. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919

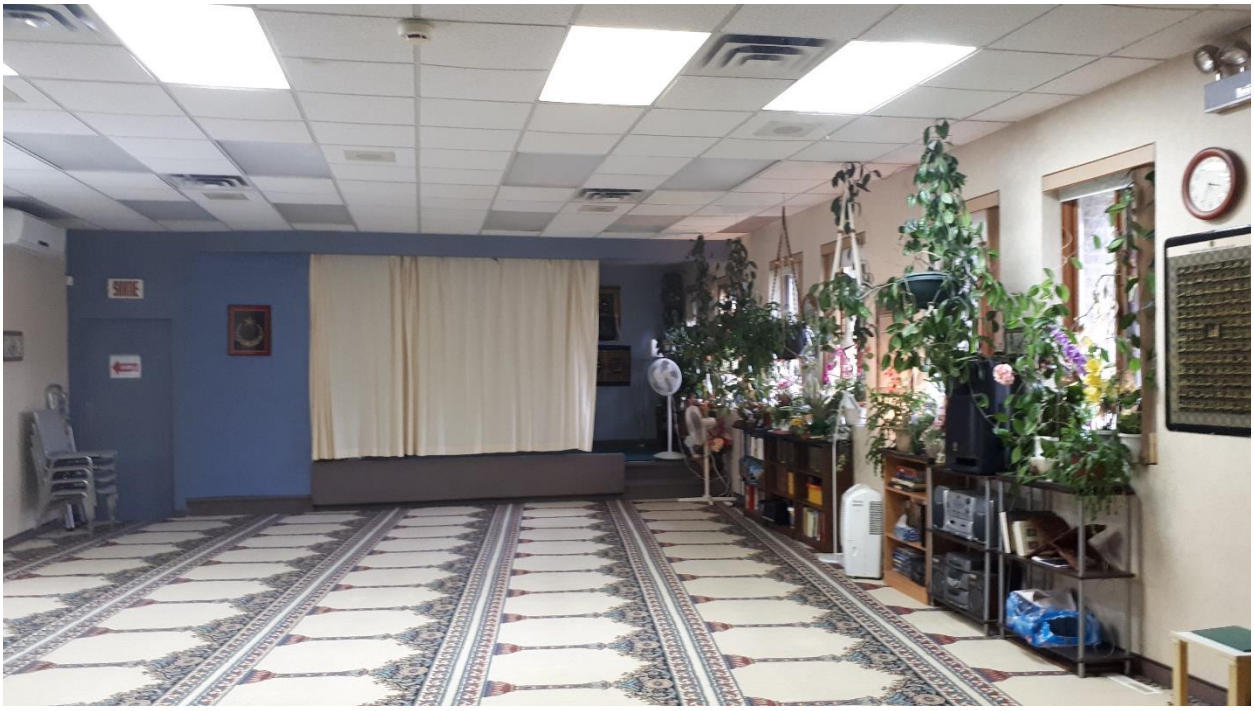

Figure 13: Dorval Mosque prayer area and the curtain that separates women's section.

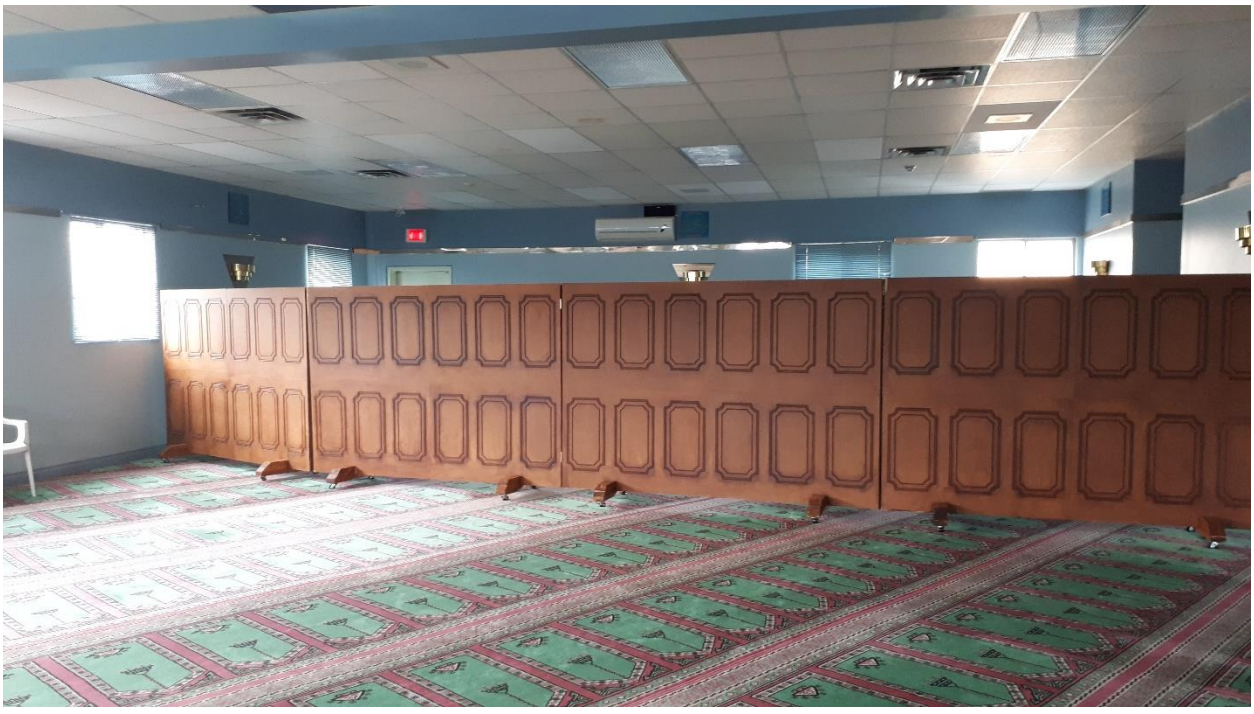

Figure 14: Separator panels for women's section inside Yunus Mosque.

Figure 15: Entrance to men's (on the left) and women's (on the right) ablution areas for Yunus Mosque at Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC).

Women's role in communal spaces has been gradually increasing. This is strongly related to the mosque's transformation into a social space by integrating religious practice and social activities together. Increased involvement of women allowed them to attend the mosques more frequently, as well as to have an influence and demand on their section's spatial organization inside the mosque.[210] The activities and events held at mosques like lectures, art exhibits, and multi-faith initiatives improve the versatility in the spatial use of the mosques, and help the integration of both men and women of the community within spaces. It is safe to state that it will be the gender-neutral Islamic spaces and mosques that will establish the future of women's roles in the Muslim communal settings.[211]

[210] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 47. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919

[211] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 221. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

3.1.3 Educational Spaces and Children

For most of the people of Turkish community in Montreal, having their children attend to community centers and mosques have the utmost importance for their cultural and religious education. All classes at these associations are intended as supplementary education, and they are in no place to provide a replacement for the children's mainstream education at Quebecois schools. These classes mainly consist of Qur'an and religious education, as well as language education. Qur'an classes are established due to the request of the elders and parents among Turkish community. Most of the elders within the community do not speak Arabic, and traditionally it is the ability of just being able to read Qur'an that has been usually passed down the generations. Consequently, without specifically understanding the language, children only gain the ability to recite Qur'an in Arabic.[212] According to Dr. Tariq Ramadan, these kinds of supplemental programs create a balance for the children between gaining a religious identity of their own and integrating with other children from different ethnicities and religions in the Canadian schools that they attend.[213]

Religious education and Qur'an classes take the lead in educational programs provided at Dorval Mosque and Yunus Mosque. These classes are more suited to be taught within the mosques, rather then regular classroom spaces. There are even specific desks that students use while sitting on the floor. Apart from these programs, children take part in many different classes and activities throughout the year. At MTCC, theatre club, music club, and the folk-dance team all hold activities at the multipurpose hall and classrooms on the weekends. Moreover, debate and discussion events, as well as Turkish, English, and history lessons are all organized and aimed for both children and adults who are interested. Turkish lessons are also offered to foreigners, in which grounds for a combination of different cultures is created. The demand for Turkish lessons

[212] Nadeem Memon, "From Mosques to Madrassas: Civic Engagement and the Pedagogy of Islamic Schools," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 196.
[213] Tariq Ramadan, *Western Muslims and the future of Islam* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004).

usually comes from Arabs who are usually influenced by watching Turkish TV series, or it comes from Canadians who have recently visited Turkey.[214]

Figure 16: Children in a religious education class held inside Yunus Mosque (MTCC Facebook group, 2018)

Apart from the prayer area of Yunus Mosque, there is a large multipurpose hall and three classrooms that serve educational purposes, along with organizations and activities. However, these classrooms were not designed to be there at first. They were added later during a renovation as a result of the demands from Turkish community. These spaces were created within the multipurpose hall, causing the hall to get smaller afterwards. There is even a small library room within the hall dedicated mostly to textbooks and religious books for the classes. The MTCC representative had the following personal remark on this spatial issue:

[214] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

> According to me, mosque was a bigger necessity here than cultural center. But of course, a place was also needed for the children to prevent them from forgetting their culture.[215]

Since the mosque is also being used for purposes other than religious practice which also serve to the children of the community, there are times when the use of the classrooms and the mosque overlaps. The mosque is even used as a classroom depending on the context. On the other hand, the actual classrooms are a few in number and very small in size. They have a simple furniture layout with the most basic necessities, and they resemble a smaller version of elementary school classrooms in Turkey. Along with valuable cultural teachings, children are also made familiar with the Turkish classroom setting with the help of specific spatial elements. At Dorval Mosque however, available spaces are very limited, hence they mostly consist of just prayer areas. As a result, these spaces are used interchangeably depending on the activity, including for classes as well.

Currently, all the course books and materials for the children's education are provided by the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa. They also support the organizations for weekend Qur'an courses, Turkish lessons, and many more Turkish cultural activities. The embassy's general involvement consists of religious and cultural activities for the community, including the occasional organization of outdoor trips.[216] Even though, outdoor activities like ski trips, or farm trips have positive impact on the children along with their parents, there are not adequate outdoor spaces provided for the community center and the mosques for sports activities and such. Deger stated that they use the outdoor spaces of Dorval Mosque, which is the parking lot, for exhibitions or sports activities for the children. However, since there are not many families with children in the vicinity of the mosque, the overall interest for children oriented outdoor activities remains limited.[217] It should be mentioned at this point that, these kinds of outdoor public areas have the

[215] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.
[216] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences* (2017), 32. Kindle
[217] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

strength to generate common spaces that might encourage a shared use by the people of different communities, immigrant or local.

Figure 17: One of the classrooms inside Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC). Items with Turkish national value are hung on the wall, along with a map of Turkey.

3.2 Activities that Shape the Cultural Landscape

Cultural landscape of a community is created by the interaction between places and the people of that community. This interaction is usually a reflection of their distinct cultural identity, which determines the design and characteristics of the places that the community interacts with. In a way, the activities a community demands for itself, which are direct or indirect human actions, affect the establishment and formation of social spaces that the community uses for those specific types of activities.

Over many years, Turkish diaspora in Canada has situated itself within the existing built environment of the host country. Apart from necessary functions for Turkish community's public use of spaces, their own built environment possesses mostly a base for Islamic practices and values. However, it also demonstrates Turkish national identity, its language, cultural traditions

and moral conduct. Turkish cultural landscape in Canada is directly related with all these aspects of the community. Consequently, the design, spatial characteristics and organization of their communal spaces are strongly affected by the community's mental and socio-cultural ties to its homelands. The properties that make up Turkish cultural landscape becomes transnational with the way of life Turkish diaspora carries with it.

3.2.1 Space and Function

As much as space is a social product and human interaction is prominent in its design and production, a dedicated function to any type of space is generally the main determinant in architectural design process. A space is often created out of necessity, whether it is handled by an architect, or it is established by the users. In the case of public, or communal spaces, demands from the community, along with spatial and financial constraints, socio-cultural inputs, and ultimately the intended use influence the end result. For immigrant communities, these public spaces often fall under the category of ordinary, or vernacular architecture as part of their cultural landscape. The commonplace architecture that reflects people's behaviours and actions define the main aspect of vernacular architecture.[218] New spatial arrangements emerge from studying and understanding the commonplace, when architecture is perceived as the composition of everyday activities and objects.[219]The definition of every space is then established depending on the activities that determine functions. Even if made up of commonplace architecture, some societies have the need to define every space that make up their built environment, within manageable and practical means of categorization.[220]

For Muslim and Turkish communities in Western countries, more than any type of activity or function, mosques have the priority in terms of the needs of these communities. However, especially in North America, they have been gaining multipurpose characteristics and take on

[218] Thomas Carter, and Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Invitation to vernacular architecture: a guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), xiv.
[219] Wilfried Van Winden, "Freedom Equals Happiness: A Plea for Pluralism in an Open Society," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009), 83.
[220] John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the vernacular landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 28.

some of the functions that community centers usually provide. Most of them turned into gathering spaces for the members of their community not just in a religious sense, but also for national and social purposes as well. This is also usually the result of transnational mosques being the manifestations of their home countries' foreign policy and national identity, as well as providing for the well-being of the immigrant communities that they belong to. In consequence, mosques started to address various needs of the community, such as education, women's activities, family functions, various community events, and even food preparation.[221] On the other hand, a community member's definition of space as only being religious may not be pertinent, since spatial quality can only be identified as a concept when uses of space are defined properly in a multipurpose setting.[222]

At Dorval Mosque, the imam Mehmet Deger is trying to provide various activities for all Muslim communities, as well as nearby local people. However, it is a repurposed building, and the space inside is very limited for more types of uses than just the intended religious practice. The mosque consists of two floors. The main prayer area is on the upper floor with a separate women's section. The whole area is occasionally used for Qur'an classes as well. A small office for the imam is accessible from here. A rather small multipurpose hall, as well as all ablution and WC facilities, and storage areas are located on the lower level. This hall is mostly used for many types of classes or student activities. However, it is also used for prayers when the mosque is too crowded on Fridays, and for iftar meals during Ramadan. The main problem with this hall is the fact that it is also being used as a storage area for various items and furniture. Since Dorval Mosque is regularly helping Syrian refugees to settle in Montreal, many clothing and furniture are being donated to the mosque. These are all mostly kept inside this hall because the storage areas in the building are not adequate. Deger stated that this building is not spacious enough for many uses, however, they are not considering moving to another place either.[223]

[221] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 19.
[222] Amos Rapoport. "The Study of Spatial Quality." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 4, no.4 (1970): 86. https://www-jstor-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/3331287.
[223] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.

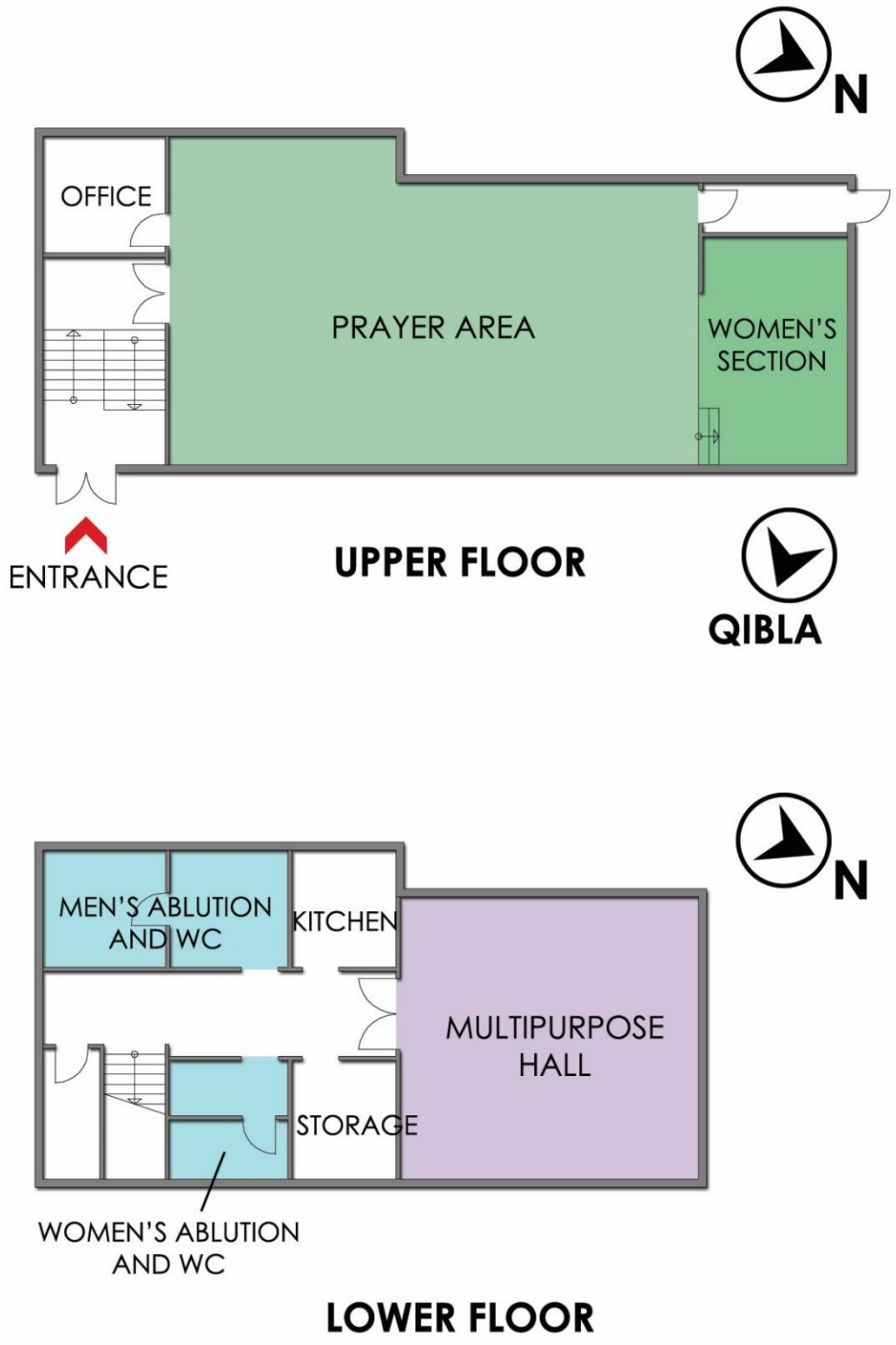

Figure 18: Floor plans of Dorval Mosque.

Figure 19: Multipurpose hall inside Dorval Mosque, lower level. The space is crowded with clothes, boxes, furniture, etc.

Considering building typologies and neighborhood morphologies, Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC), along with Yunus Mosque are established in a much larger building than Dorval Mosque. Since it is also a repurposed building, the spatial arrangements inside were limited in terms of answering to the demands of Turkish community. MTCC is serving a larger population of the community in Montreal, and most of Turkish associations from major cities in Canada use this community center for various events and activities. As a result, accommodating flexible spaces has the foremost priority in the interior spatial layout of the building.

The problem of limited space at MTCC is mostly solved by integrating a multipurpose hall on the upper floor. Even though Yunus Mosque, which is a separate prayer room across the hall, is also being used for purposes other than just religious practice, the multipurpose hall is used for every type of organization or activity, and by anyone who wishes to participate. Combined with the nearby classrooms, there is ample opportunity for these spaces to be accommodated for various functions, including classes, sports activities, national and religious holiday ceremonies, live performances, debate and discussion events, and many more.

According to the MTCC representative, the building has adequate space as a community center. The only exception to this occurs during Ramadan and iftar meals.[224] During peak hours for both these meals, and important prayer hours in which a large number of the congregation participates, Yunus Mosque and the multipurpose hall gets combined for the same use. For instance, when the hall becomes full during iftar, people are accommodated to eat inside the mosque as well. Similarly, when the mosque space is not enough for the whole congregation during prayer, people fill up the entire hall, and even the foyer area in between. During these times, the multipurpose hall is fitted with rows of linear rugs, each aligned with the direction of qibla, resembling a mosque setting. It is also interesting to notice that during iftar meals inside the mosque, people are inclined to adjust their eating arrangement aligned with the directionality of the prayer rugs on the floor. This is probably just an urge due to an involuntary spatial perception.

Figure 20: Iftar meal in the multipurpose hall (on the left) is overflowing into the mosque (on the right) (MTCC Facebook group, 2018).

[224] Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center, interview by Onur Yucel, Montreal Turkish Community Center, June 7, 2018, audio, 35:22.

Figure 21: The prayer in the mosque is overflowing into the foyer and the multipurpose hall (MTCC Facebook group, 2018).

MTCC building is comprised of two floors, however, almost all the spaces that belong to the community center and the mosque are located on the upper floor. This situation puts another constraint on the spatial layout of MTCC, in which the ground floor includes only the ablution and WC areas for men. The rest of the floor is filled up with several shops and commercial spaces. These shops also belong to MTCC in terms of ownership; but instead of being directly used as more available space, they are rented out as a source of income for the association. The imam of Yunus Mosque stated that people of Turkish community would prefer to have a larger institution in Montreal that represents them, like Diyanet Center of America in Maryland which has guesthouses, bathhouses, pools, and many other facilities. He continued that, it would have been better if they had at least a decent restaurant, or a tea house on the ground floor for families. These are the demands for extra functions that come from the members of Turkish community.[225]

[225] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.

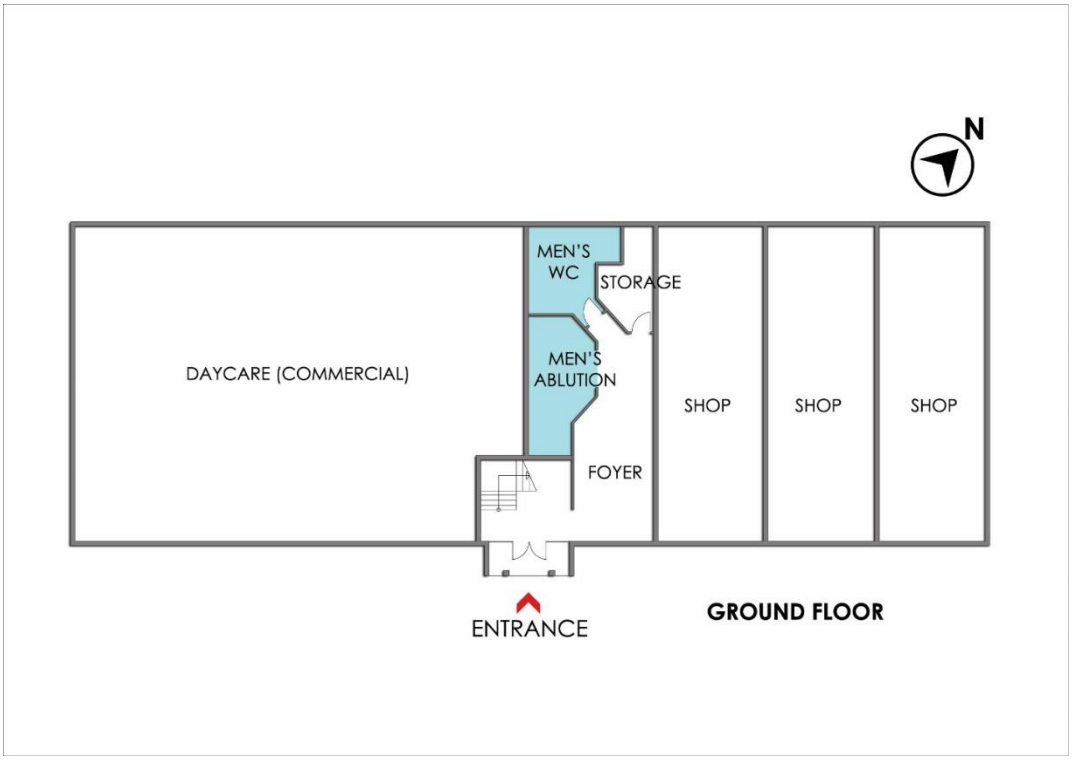

Figure 22: Ground floor plan of Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC).

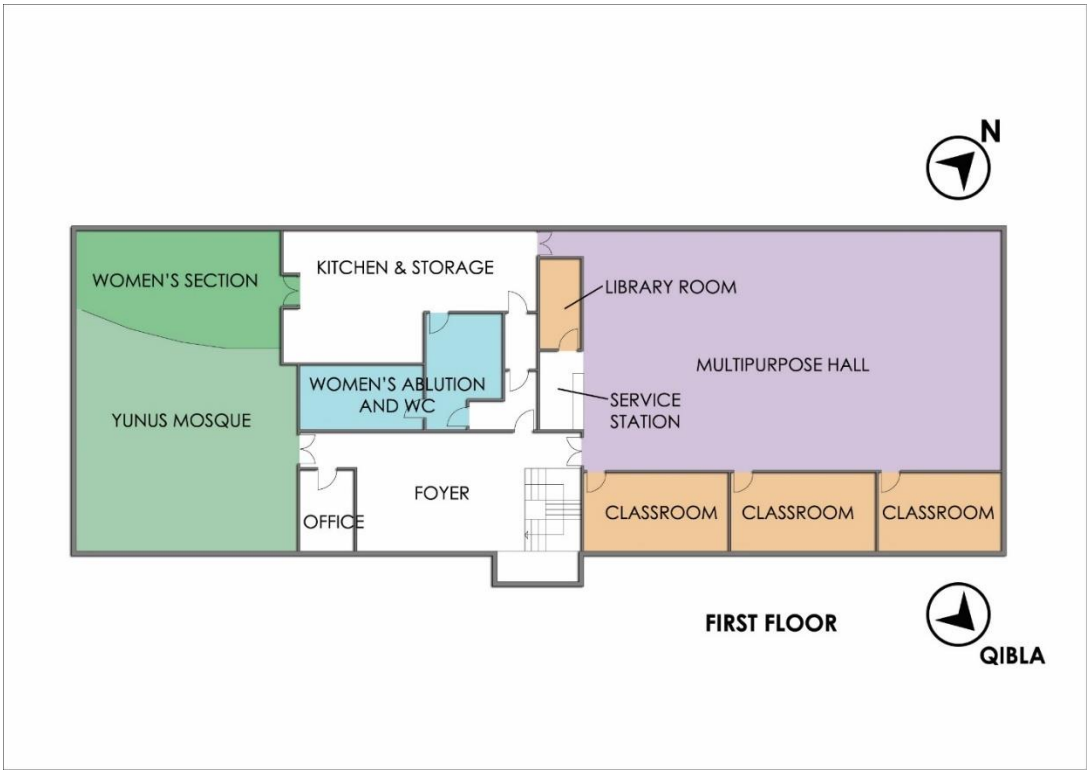

Figure 23: First floor plan of Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC).

There are some criticisms made for the spatial requirements of the community mosques in general. For instance, Mehmet Deger argued that, in terms architecture of these buildings, their interior layouts are not always entirely suitable for the Muslim community. Although there is only so much that can be done about the spatial configuration of repurposed mosques, he mainly pointed out the lacking issues concerning newly built mosques within diaspora settings. He mainly stated that, there are mosque buildings where floor plans are unusual, classrooms are inadequate, or there is no place dedicated for a library, or any meeting rooms. Moreover, he added that there should always be a place where the attendant of the mosque should stay through the night.[226]

Deger's arguments initiated from what is missing from, and necessary for Dorval Mosque, however, they also reflect on many issues that mosques across North America have. He made a comparison between a mosque space and a church space by stating that, it is a wrong approach to design mosques as just single spaces for prayers. This is in fact a church model; and even Christian communities are admitting today that, this kind of single space church model is not working anymore, both materially and spiritually.[227] Regarding the multipurpose use of mosques and defining spaces according to various functions, Cihan Bugdaci has the following statement in an interview:

> What we and many other young Muslims want is a mosque that we can "customize", in other words a standard but flexible building in which religion and community are central, but in which we can put together a programme attuned to our own needs. That means that it would have to include a variety of facilities, such as leisure – a lounge area or bathhouse, say – as well as counselling, clothes collection and courses. In that sense, this would be nothing new at all since mosques have always had that kind of multifunctional role. It makes them lively, ensures that the building is financially viable, and gives it a place in society, in the same way churches with their food banks and care for the homeless.[228]

[226] Mehmet Deger, interview by Onur Yucel, Dorval Mosque, June 5, 2018, audio, 73:14.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Mieke Dings, "Introduction: Beyond 'Us and Them.'" (Interview with Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci), in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 9-10.

In terms of multifunctionality and customization, mosques and churches are very different. As much as they both consist of single prayer spaces, their religious affiliation and communal dynamics separate them significantly. Bugdaci's statement approaches mosques as buildings with many spaces or even complexes with separate buildings. This way, different functions compliment each other under a collective religious meaning. However, this is something rather hard to achieve with repurposed mosques, in which flexible programmes make use of the same single space depending on the occasion.

3.2.2 Space and Cultural Identity

Apart from mere function, concepts like "space" and "spatial quality" are inseparable from understanding the influence of cultures, values and everyday lives on these concepts.[229] According to general perception, constant interaction between the people who share similar social environment within the same geographical location is what constitutes as their culture. Moreover, culture's binding strength is enhanced by the meanings people associate with that location.[230] Although culture is often reified in human objects, spaces and buildings created through human action, it is not bound to this material environment in which it is encapsulated, rather it is stored and transferred in social meanings and conduct that people establish over many generations. So, in reality, culture can easily expand into other locations depending on the mobility of a community; hence, culture gains mobility. Since space is perceived as a product of "social structures" or "social action,"[231] architecture and the built environment becomes the concrete representation of this physical and cultural mobility.[232] The shared culture, moral rules, ideas among people, and notions like what a building should constitute and resemble, all put people's social arrangements into political order.[233]

---

[229] Amos Rapoport. "The Study of Spatial Quality." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 4, no.4 (1970): 86. https://www-jstor-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/3331287.
[230] Stuart Hall, "New cultures for old," in *A Place in the World: Places, Culture and Globalization*, ed. Doreen Massey and P. M. Jess (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 181.
[231] Martina Löw, "The Constitution of Space: The Structuration of Spaces Through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception." *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no.1 (2008): 25.
[232] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 4.
[233] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 252.

Regarding Turkish immigrant communities, mobility signifies the citizens of Turkish Republic. In consequence, Turkey has undertaken many mosque projects in the countries where Turkish diaspora is located. These transnational mosques are considered to be essential in establishing a sense of belonging through ethnic, national or religious identities.[234] The Turkish government specifically seems to correlate ethnicity to religious identity through transnational mosques[235] at a time when the nomenclature of the mosque started to change into community or cultural centers in Muslim diaspora. In the United States alone, out of nearly 1000 Islamic centers and mosques, almost 90% of them have not been initially designed to be mosques; instead they were being used as community centers.[236]

Turkish government's transnational initiatives carry out the ambition claiming that Turkish Islamic Union will dominate the 21st century. This pretension is put forward when ethnic and racial roles are all divided into micro-identities globally.[237] However, in practice, it is not entirely possible for cultural formations of diaspora to demonstrate nationalist ideologies. These communities are attached to host countries and their own ideals from multiple networks, in which they are constantly struggling a negotiation between accommodating and resisting to the ideology of the host.[238] In this regard, mosques in diaspora settings not only fulfill purposes of mere religious practice, but also undertake socio-cultural roles for the representation of the community they belong to. As a result, major Islamic centers tend to carry out an even bigger significance than the embassy buildings of the Muslim countries that they represent.[239] Geography bound cultural relationships in the country of origin are in a way condensed and fit into mosques and community centers within the diaspora in a foreign country.

[234] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 195.
[235] Ibid., 28.
[236] Omar Khalidi, "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World*, (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm
[237] Rizvi, *The transnational mosque*, 65.
[238] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 251.
[239] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 227.

In Canada, members of Turkish community have faced many difficulties. Their level of involvement and interactions within the community often determine the amount of risk they take in terms of their conditions as professionals or members of the working class; basically, their social status. To that end, many Turkish people in Canada try to visit Turkish associations as much as possible and participate in cultural and religious activities. Daily life in diaspora is highly influenced by the way of life in Turkey, which is reflected within these associations.[240] Although, the spaces inside Turkish community centers do not entirely capture significant cultural cues in terms of spatial characteristics, Turkish cultural identity still emerges out of these spaces through human interaction and social activities.

In Montreal, leaving Yunus Mosque aside, Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC) as a building, or as a collection of spaces dedicated to various functions, does not necessarily possess any signs of Turkish culture, nor it does not represent a distinct Turkish cultural identity. In its everyday state, for instance, spaces like multipurpose hall do not have any elements or features in terms of objects of cultural significance. Instead, both the exterior and interior of the building fall under the category of "ordinary architecture." Although, the community center has been renovated to fit the needs of the community in terms of maintaining Turkish nationality, culture, and language, these notions are mainly sustained through activities. They are not necessarily transferred to spatial characteristics of the spaces that these activities take place. However, objects like Turkish flags and maps of Turkey can be observed on some of the walls of the hall, classrooms and the foyer that signify Turkish Republic in diaspora.

[240] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 26. Kindle

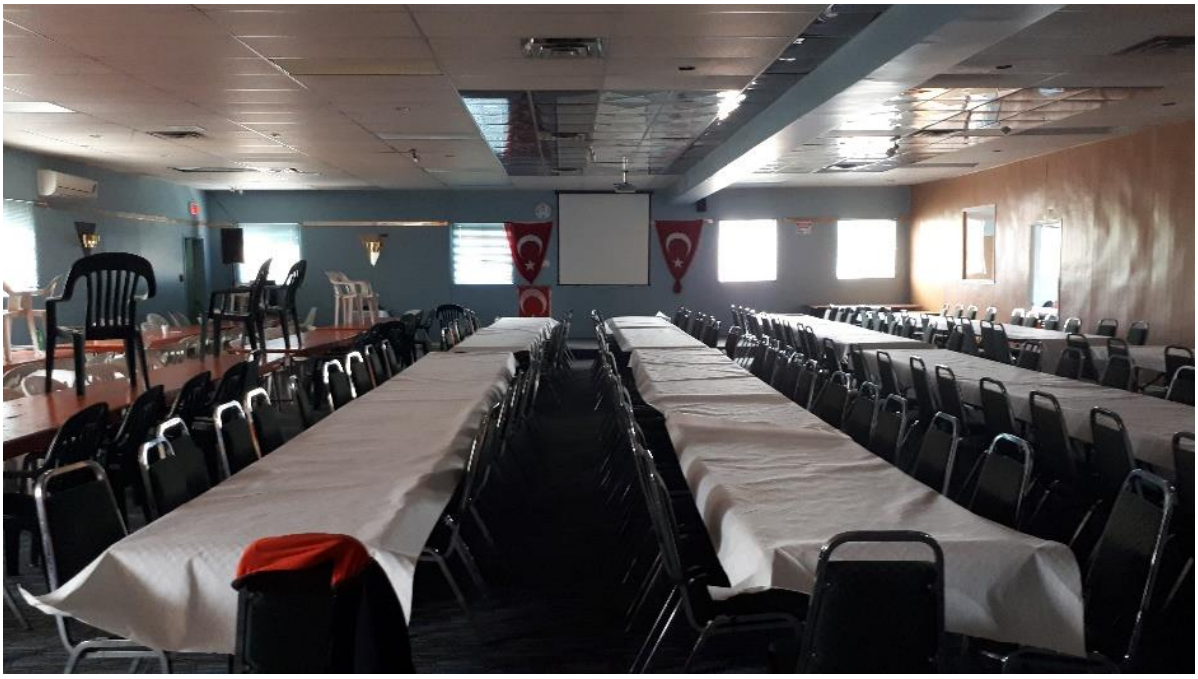

Figure 24: Multipurpose hall of Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC). The hall is devoid of any culture specific elements or objects. Turkish flags can be seen on the back wall.

Figure 25: Maps of Turkey and a photograph from Istanbul are on the staircase wall inside Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC).

Social space inside the community center is created by either emphasizing national identity, or cultural identity through events. The multipurpose hall and classrooms can be used by any community; hence they may be perceived as places with negotiating power for spreading Turkish language and culture. These spaces are also used for several national celebrations and performances where many politicians and authorities from administrative levels attend. At those times, the spaces are recognized as places that reflect Turkish national identity. In any case, certain architectural objects, furniture and ornaments are used on a temporary basis during such events, thus they are not part of the spaces that distinct identities originate from.

Spaces produced in terms of commonplace architecture hold "unique" meanings for the people that use them. These meanings are the driving power behind the creation of the related spaces. Members of the community feel more empowered in maintaining their own identities within such spaces, in which lack of any architectural styles, or abundance of ordinary spatial elements does not necessarily take any value out of those spaces. In other words, vernacular architecture creates a background for a comprehensive cultural diversity. It encourages the "neglected" to be examined to figure out how true meaning of struggle and difference manifests in the built environment.[241]

3.2.3 Religion and Spatial Constraints

A large number of Turkish immigrants in Canada participate in religious activities; perhaps even more so than their usual devotion they had in Turkey. Being in a foreign country has a certain mental effect on Turkish people that causes them to get even more involved in communal gatherings; religious practice being the most prominent one. Since Islam is the religion of the majority of Turkish immigrants, they share a common ground with all other minority Muslim communities. Especially in recent decades, mosques have been built outside of the lands of Islamic world due to high number of immigrants moving from these lands towards Western

[241] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 230.

countries.[242] Mosques are not specifically dedicated to either one community, and they are open to all Muslims; creating a diverse umbrella for various diaspora within non-Muslim settings.

Originated from Prophet Muhammed, "the whole earth is a mosque" is a widespread saying.[243] There are many reasons why Muslim communities have settled and spread around mosques over the course of history. Either for prayers or community mobilization, the way mosques are built and used have triggered the notion of creating new interests over public space.[244] The mosque is very versatile in its realization, scale and purpose. It may be dedicated to a small neighborhood or a big city; it may be situated within a shrine or a madrasa; it may even serve to the members of a certain ethnic community. Governments may be involved in its realization, or it may be built with supports from a benefactor. It is even possible for a mosque to be undertaken by the community itself.[245]

The roots of the word "mosque" or "masjid" originates from the word "sajda", which is Arabic, and means "prostration." In a literal sense, mosque is a place of submission and prayer. While in a church there is a religious practice of devotional nature, a mosque is a rather informal space due to the inexistence of prescribed liturgy in Islamic religious ritual. This ritual can even be performed in domestic environments and private settings, it does not have to occur inside a mosque.[246] Although Muslims pray five times a day ideally, this flexibility of prayer space brings in the question whether a "mosque space" is really required to be perceived as a built structure to begin with.[247] However, men in the Muslim community still need to pray as a congregation within the mosque on Friday afternoons and on certain religious days. For prayers, it is an obligation to be clean; thus, ablution facilities are provided close to the mosque for the members

[242] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 12.
[243] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 3.
[244] Narendra Pachkhédé, "Mosques and the Making of Muslim Identity," *in The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 20.
[245] Rizvi, *The transnational mosque*, 12.
[246] Ibid., 10.
[247] Azra Akšamija, "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 136.

of the congregation. This purification step before prayers is also a spiritual process, since mosque is qualified as a "House of God," and the entrance to the mosque is considered to be the door to a sacred space. Hence, it is no surprise that mosques have also been identified as places where people seek safety and asylum. Throughout the history, there are many examples of people trying to evade persecution and seeking refuge in mosques.[248]

According to the theologian and philosopher Tariq Ramadan, the establishment of mosques should begin with and it depends on some key principles. Traditionally, a mosque is a place dedicated to prayer, and it must meet certain criteria: it should be oriented towards Mecca, there should be a mihrab,[249] and there cannot be any images inside. A mosque is usually simple, yet it needs to be beautiful.[250] In addition to these features, there is usually an elevated seat called minbar[251] that imam uses to preach on Friday sermons. Minbar is generally located right next to the mihrab.[252] Both Yunus Mosque and Dorval Mosque mostly fit these descriptions. There is a mihrab in both of them, as in all mosques in the world. However, since they are mosques that have been established into existing spaces, or rooms; their orientations towards Mecca[253] cause their spatial layout to be misaligned to those spaces' boundaries. The directionality of the rug motifs on the floor give a good indication to the members of the congregation in where to orient themselves. Moreover, due to the multipurpose nature of the prayer area of Dorval Mosque, this room is somewhat cluttered with many objects and furniture, causing the mosque to be further from being simple and arguably beautiful.

[248] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 10.
[249] A niche that identifies the direction of a prayer.
[250] Mieke Dings, "Back to First Principles: Ergun Erkocu, Cihan Bugdaci and Mieke Dings Speak to Tariq Ramadan," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 53.
[251] Pulpit.
[252] Rizvi, *The transnational mosque*, 11.
[253] The direction of Qibla.

Figure 26: Minbar on the right, and mihrab in the center on the corner of the room are seen inside Yunus Mosque. The rugs' orientation is in parallel with the mihrab, so that the congregation faces that way (Qibla direction) while praying. There is also an additional pulpit right beside the entrance door for more general purposes.

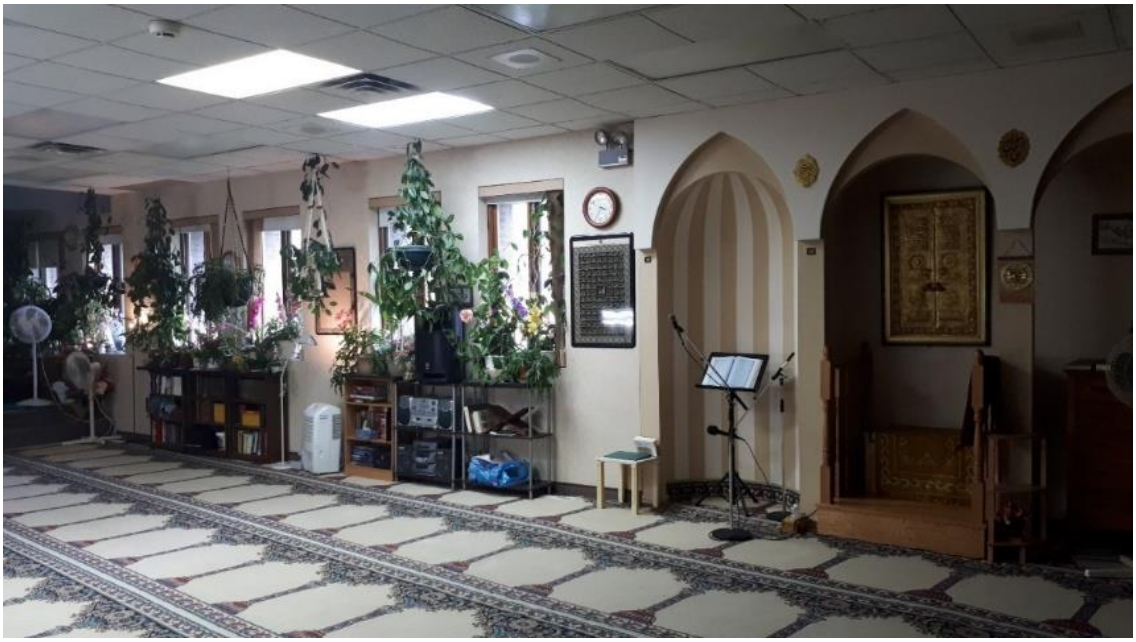

Figure 27: Mihrab is the first niche on the left, and minbar is next to it inside Dorval Mosque. Due to inadequate space, minbar is really small with only one step. Also, many unrelated objects and furniture create a cluttered praying space.

In Islamic communities, there have been many discussions over the function and value of the minaret among scholars; ascribing meanings like considering it as a symbol of victory, or as an urban node in the city.[254] In traditional mosque buildings that are purpose-built, architectural elements like domes and minarets are often used, and they even extend into symbolizing a Muslim identity through structure. However, they are by no means a necessity for the shape of a mosque; in fact, there are no descriptions of any kind in both Qur'an and Hadith[255] that demonstrate how a mosque should look like.[256] More importantly Ramadan states the following:

> "Mosques must be welcoming: they should encourage people to come and eat and talk there. They should also teach. No worship without knowledge…"[257]

The informal nature of a mosque space plays a big role in its welcoming attitude. This is also in concordance with the understanding of Islam. What is taught inside mosques is not just religious notions, but also community roles and moral conduct. Mosques should be recognized as places where spiritual experience is lived through everyday struggle of life. Having no major architectural or structural requirements make mosques more down to earth, and less intimidating for the people as a religious place.

In diaspora settings, mosques are usually established into existing buildings with different previous functions; in such they become "storefront" or "repurposed" mosques. Within the urban built environment, various storefront mosques create a distinct re-usage of Muslim communities; much like storefront churches do for Christian communities.[258] These mosques generally fall under the category of "non-pedigreed architecture" as Rudofsky defines it. This term denotes

[254] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 11.
[255] Words of the prophet Mohammed and the second most important book of the Muslims.
[256] Nebahat Avcioglu, "The Contemporary Mosque: 'In What Style Should We Build?'" in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 62.
[257] Mieke Dings, "Back to First Principles: Ergun Erkocu, Cihan Bugdaci and Mieke Dings Speak to Tariq Ramadan," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009), 54.
[258] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 204.

"anonymous and vernacular" buildings or spaces that belong to informal environments.[259] Depending on resources and conditions, these spaces can be a rented shop space, or a mosque converted from an old church or synagogue.[260] For the creation of an Islamic identity, architecture here takes the role of a mediator by establishing certain forms and symbols.[261]

Whatever building repurposed mosques have been converted from, they are often considered to be affordable choices, and their interiors and exteriors usually require very few alterations to fit the desired needs. These factors generally enable the members of the community to renovate the buildings themselves, without having to work with architects or other professionals.[262] Barbara Metcalf Daly points out several ways of making Muslim space. As examples, the activity of prayer itself, Muslim congregation and gatherings, and visible Arabic calligraphy can be provided as necessary elements that make up Muslim space. She continues to suggest that other than these visual and activity-based markers, understanding Muslim space is dependent on how Muslim space is intricately related to Muslim way of life in a network of inner community relations. This is a notion which is not specifically emergent from general Islamic history and should not be mistaken with a life full of luxury and debasement.[263]

Objects of material culture that reflect religious identity are abundant in Muslim spaces, and by extension mosques. In these settings, Muslim presence is reflected in visual cues such as certain objects, furniture, or Arabic scripts.[264] Objects like lamps and prayer rugs are part of a mosque which are usually given as gifts in an act of charity.[265] For instance, mihrab and minbar themselves are the most prominent architectural elements that belong to Islamic identity. Apart

[259] Bernard Rudofsky. *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964).
[260] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 19.
[261] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 5.
[262] Omar Khalidi, "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America," in *Muslims on the Americanization Path?*, ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, and John L. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
[263] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 2.
[264] Oleg Grabar, "Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture," in *Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today: the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture*, ed. Renata Holod (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1983), 29.
[265] Rizvi, *The transnational mosque,* 11.

from those, there are various Arabic scripts and symbols on the walls of Yunus Mosque and Dorval Mosque. Along with Islamic motifs on the prayer rugs, they are symbolizing the sacred space that make up the mosque. Specific furniture for students in Qur'an classes, Qur'an reading tables, pulpits and small stools all respond to certain necessities, as well as signify the material nature of Islam's influence in religious spaces.

Figure 28: Furnitures specific to Muslim space at Yunus Mosque. Student desks are on the top, and Qur'an reading table is on the bottom.

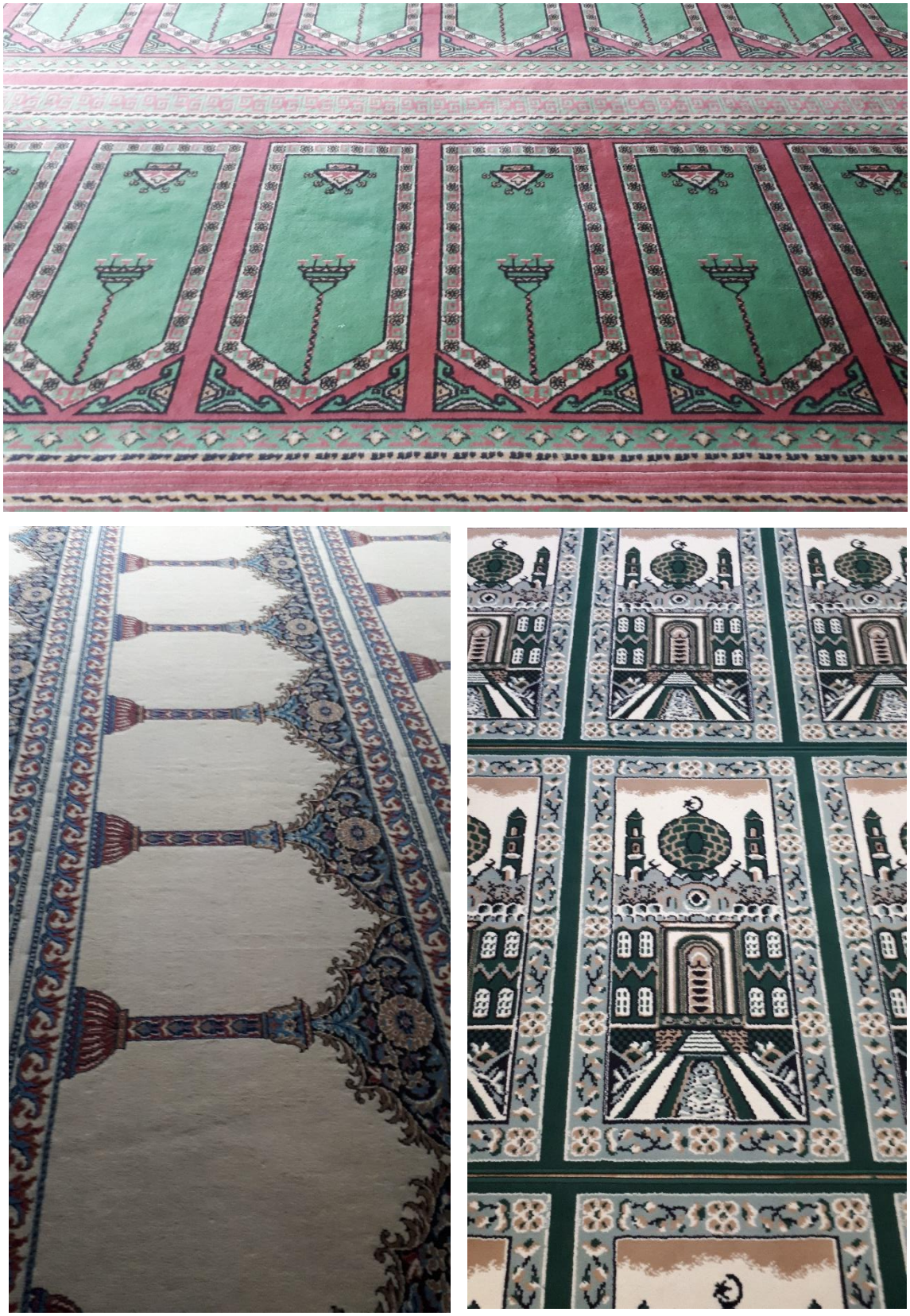

Figure 29: Prayer rugs with distinct Islamic motifs. The one on the top is from Yunus Mosque, and the other two are from Dorval Mosque.

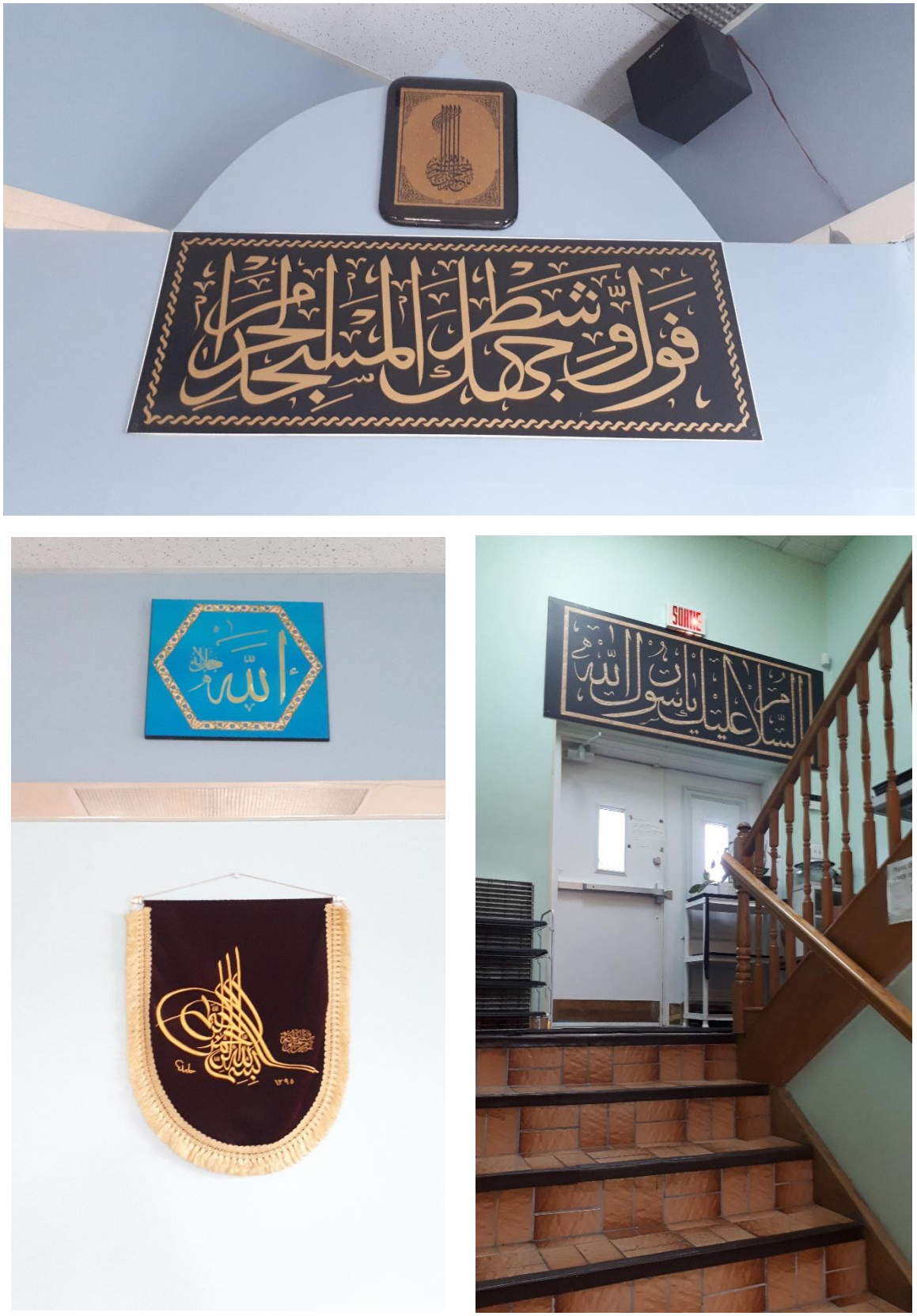

Figure 30: Some Arabic script examples from Yunus Mosque and Dorval Mosque.

The function of the mosque is similar to any other type of religious building in countries where various immigrant communities have their own places of religious practice. For instance, in Canada and the U.S., except for the approvals and permits from relevant authorities for the buildings, mosques do not have any direct connections to the state. There is no such thing as inspecting the sermons' content, or mosques' staff, as well as controlling the maintenance of the mosques. Moreover, authorities do not have any political power over the distinction between a "jami" and a "masjid." All of these conditions enable Muslim communities of diaspora to have a greater sense of freedom in practicing their religion, compared to their own governments' imposed controls over Muslim way of life.[266] This is also true for Turkish communities in Montreal and Canada, in which many Turkish people feel more comfortable in their conservative lifestyles, and away from social pressures they claim to have been facing from secular communities in Turkey.

More than a place to honor God, mosque is also a place for the community to gather in a social sense. It has the qualities of a communal space that is different from a church. In other words, mosque generates an opposite alternative space to the individualized, segregating aspect of "public" space.[267] Mosque has an integrative strength in bringing people together, in which the imam of Yunus Mosque stated that:

> We are embracing people from all ethnic roots in Turkey. They all became Canadians here. We try to strive for their efforts in how they could be useful for this country, how they could represent Turkey and demonstrate what it means to be Turkish. We want inclusion, not segregation or discrimination. That's why we have Turks, Kurds, Laz, Cherkes, Arabs, and many more ethnic groups in our congregation. After all, Montreal is a multicultural city. Whether Muslims or non-Muslims, we are trying to help everyone in their difficult times with our best efforts.[268]

In this sense, mosque is a unique public space. It delivers a diverse experience for the people involved and willing to participate regularly. Certain ongoing problems and conflicts between

[266] Renata Holod, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 19.
[267] Roemer Van Toorn, "Counteracting the Clash of Cultures: Mosque Architecture as an Emancipating Factor," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009), 112.
[268] Imam of Yunus Mosque, interview by Onur Yucel, Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018, audio, 22:47.

different ethnic communities seem to dissipate under the roof of a mosque, and an intangible bond emerges out of the spiritual experience that mosque conveys. Turkish people use this situation as a means to reach out to various Muslim and non-Muslim communities in an attempt to gain their trust and form a unity.

In the diasporic contexts, mosque has provided the grounds for comprehending Muslim life in terms of political and social standing, as well as helped in realizing the importance of religion in establishing people's religious identities.[269] "Making Muslim space" within Muslim immigrant communities among non-Muslim context should mainly be about identifying what a "space" for Islam means for the inner dynamics of those communities, instead of worrying about how outsiders might perceive Muslim space.[270] Negotiation process should primarily begin with empowering the community of diaspora. Members of Turkish community in Montreal are also marking their presence by using spatial elements, and by defining how their Muslim space should represent themselves in creating a strong religious identity in Canada. These spatial elements and specific spatial characteristics of mosques and other communal spaces of Turkish immigrant community determine the way cultural solidarity is established within the members of the community. This is a step towards maintaining distinct identities and forming negotiations by using spatial dynamics of the built environment.

[269] Nadia Kurd, "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 130. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

[270] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 27.

CHAPTER 4

Design Identifiers in Immigrant Spaces

The observations and analysis made in previous chapters provide a clear understanding of how public communal life of Turkish diaspora in Montreal can be interpreted with architectural discourse. Cultural identity, solidarity, spatial characteristics, and the negotiation processes that connect all these notions establish the basis for the articulation on Turkish built environment within a foreign urban context. The transnational nature of mosque architecture, influence of government policies, religious values and Islamic identity add new dimensions to both temporal experience and self representation of Muslim and Turkish diaspora in the West. Architecture's role in determining the factors that influence socio-cultural behavior and presence of Turkish immigrants in Montreal is further discussed in this chapter.

4.1 Cultural Solidarity in Gathering Spaces

Unless there is some kind of urgent situation that forces people, immigrating to a new land is not an instantaneous decision. Immigration causes drastic changes on people's lives; and not just theirs, but also their descendants'. As a result, it requires a well thought out decision and planning process. As much as it can simply be perceived as a physical move from one location to another, its effects on people's mental state is much more significant. Formation of diaspora requires effort and time. Basically, diaspora is not like travel, it is a permanent situation. Accommodation and sustainability of communities, as well as creation of new settlements far from homelands are all part of diaspora. New public spheres are constructed for the displaced people from scratch. These new settings need to maintain a community solidarity and sensibility, which would preserve diasporic identities to form a new life inside the confines of diaspora; a detached life from the outside, and from the ties of national space and time.[271]

In communities of diaspora, which are generally minority populations in foreign countries, people tend to associate their cultures, traditions, family values and structures, nationalist

[271] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 251.

ideologies, even languages with the built environment that govern and surround them. These people often feel the need to stick together to mark their presence in a collective strategy, much like what strategic essentialism suggests. Since the connection between various attributes of communities and objects of material world usually becomes very strong, this connection provides a safe environment in which people can find something to hold onto collectively within a foreign setting.

When members of a diasporic community start to establish public spaces of their own, their socio-cultural and religious needs are often most telling. However, these public spaces are also essentialist retreats of solidarity. Gathering spaces, or communal spaces are primary public domains of mutually performed activities in minority populations. These public spaces act like collective private spaces in a certain way, which makes people of a community seem as if they are a single entity with a single identity. Hence, public spaces with rather private boundaries are created within a much larger public urban context of the host country.

The presence of Turkish communities in Montreal are not confined to specific areas or neighborhoods. Their settlements within the city are dispersed in different locations depending on many factors including demographics, social and economic status, and professional life. However, cultural and religious values form an intangible bond among the members of the community despite their residential locations. This strong connection is materialized and lived in communal spaces that people establish for themselves. Unlike other ethnic communities such as Asian minority populations, the community bonds and the sense of solidarity in Turkish diaspora are represented and reflected in singular buildings, rather than whole ethnic neighborhoods. Space has a potential of being both "concrete" and "abstract" simultaneously, since it both acts as a means for social practices, and a physical boundary that encompasses the whole society.[272] Accordingly, community centers and mosques provide concrete settings for the abstract notions of Turkish culture and Islam.

[272] Lukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on space: architecture, urban research, and the production of theory* (Minneapolis [Minn.]: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 133. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=765500

Through the actions of Turkish community, social spaces are produced over time. Spaces without any distinct architectural qualities have significant meanings for Turkish people in terms of actions that make up those spaces. People maintain both their individuality and plurality through these spaces and buildings. Culture and religious attributes create a story of Turkish community that has temporal significance. This story originated in the cultural landscape of Turkey, and many years later, it is being relived within the communal spaces of Turkish diaspora. Artifacts and stories are different in the way they are captured, however they both arise out of temporal experience and they are formed according to certain cultural patterns. The story is unidirectional on the timeline of a community. Its interactions with people and its appropriation to space evolves through time. Consequently, artifacts are perceived through spatial experience.[273] Culture and its artifacts are constructed under a collective influence of a community, however its social associations with space and time can be experienced both individually and as a group.

Dietmar Rost mentions Hall's suggestion on the evident distinction between identities according to related subjects, which are personal identity on the one hand, and social identity on the other.[274] In this regard, social identity is a collective notion of a community. In the case of Turkish immigrants in Montreal, and in Canada general, mosques and community centers appeal to both. There is a personal aspect to the solidarity in these communal spaces. For instance, both Yunus Mosque and the multipurpose hall inside Montreal Turkish Community Center cater to different uses depending on the occasion. This situation allows for a multifaceted notion of solidarity to emerge based on the type of activities held in these spaces. Communal meanings can be generated as a national identity, a cultural identity, or many others that have collective properties. On the other hand, these spaces also invoke personal identities to shine through. In the most basic sense, even performed within a congregation at a mosque, religious practice is ultimately a personal spiritual devotion to God. Hence, that person's connection with the religious space is a personal experience; but at the same time, there is a communal motivation to

[273] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 47.
[274] Dietmar Rost, *New regional identities and strategic essentialism: case studies from Poland, Italy and Germany* (Münster: Lit., 2008), 489.

it, that is generated by the intangible mental influence of the congregation. Imam also plays a huge part in establishing this spatial experience by leading his congregation.

The fact that mosques and community centers of Turkish people are not specifically designed by architects is not necessarily a negative aspect. On the contrary, transnational boundaries are overcome by the people's own efforts in architecture and production of their spaces. Solidarity emerges from these efforts and it is preserved within the confines of their built environment. Many objects, furniture, signs, symbols and Arabic scripts inside the communal buildings of Turkish community reflect the material evidence of that community's way of life, which is deeply rooted in its traditions that have passed down from a long line of generations. Then, through immigration and formation of a diasporic community in the West, all these collective values establish themselves well defined boundaries in the shape of distinct spaces and buildings. This is not just about necessary functions, but also about transnational meanings within the dynamics of Turkish diaspora. It is perhaps then possible to question whether architecture and the built environment in fact serve people or they serve culture.

As much as repurposed the mosques and community centers may be, the design of these buildings is not completely absent, instead they are hidden in everyday uses and they are often limited. The design elements may be identified in the flexibility of communal spaces as well as the renovations that have been made over the course of the buildings' lives. The temporal experience changes according to the needs and reuse of the spaces. The design decisions often arise from the members of the community. Hence, the communal strength of these buildings emerges from a comfort of the familiar; from a simplistic notion of a space created out of social construct, rather than from imposed design solutions. In consequence, the power of the commonplace is undeniable over the community's collective gatherings. A strong community context can be observed in the familiar attributes of everyday building.[275] This demonstrates the importance of vernacular architecture on the inner social dynamics of community life, as well as people's perceptions of their own ordinary spaces that create their own cultural landscape.

[275] Thomas Carter, and Elizabeth C. Cromley, *Invitation to vernacular architecture: a guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 8.

Unlike grand transnational mosques or Islamic centers that are purpose-built, small repurposed mosques and community association buildings usually evoke a more intimate feeling of community among the members of diaspora. There is a possibility that people might feel more at ease without having the fear of being stigmatized under the traditional and symbolic Islamic architectural elements like domes and minarets. However, under the dome of a purpose-built mosque, members of the community might also feel the need of forming closer bonds among themselves as an involuntary reflex of solidarity if they feel the pressure of marginalization from the non-Muslim host environment. Nevertheless, there is a notion of solidarity in both cases, but under different dynamics. Moreover, a mobilization of Muslim diaspora is formed under spatial influences, which is equally valid for Turkish immigrant populations.

Another aspect of the cautiously formed solidarity can be seen in ezan[276], or rather the lack of it in non-Muslim environments. Ezan is an integral part of Islam in Muslim countries. It is broadcast five times a day from the minarets of the mosques and emanates a spiritual atmosphere into the city, calling Muslims for prayer and reminding them of the all encompassing and generous nature of Islam. However, in a predominantly non-Muslim city or country, broadcasting ezan becomes a controversial issue, hence it is avoided. Along with the disappearance of minarets in the architecture of repurposed mosques, ezan is also not being broadcast to the outside world. On the other hand, it can still be heard only inside of the mosques and even community centers, and only on Friday sermons. It is still an essential part of Muslim and Turkish communities; thus, people can not just leave it behind after immigrating to new lands. The binding strength of ezan should not be underestimated, as it adds a new divine dimension to the Muslim space and enhances the solidarity of the community.

Whatever the motivations behind the notion of solidarity may be, Turkish people in Canada are dependent on various associations and organizations in many ways, religious or otherwise. In this sense, organizations have a very essential place in Turkish immigrant communities. They are the representation of their unity. One of the first organizations of this kind is the Turkish Cultural Association of Canada, founded in Montréal in 1964. After that year, Vancouver and Toronto followed with Turkish-Canadian Association and Turkish Canadian Cultural Society

[276] Call for prayer in Islam.

respectively. Later, one of several organizations, the "Communauté Islamique Turque du Québec," also known as "Centre Communautaire Turc de Montréal[277]" opened up with a Turkish mosque as well, which is Yunus Mosque.[278] Most of these associations and their services are primarily defined by religion which has a unifying role. In fact, the impact and influence of these associations and mosques are taken to an even higher level by the establishment of an umbrella organization in Toronto in 1985, called the Federation of Canadian Turkish Associations. This organization is cooperating with at least fourteen Turkish and Muslim associations across Canada.[279] Ultimately, the architectural aspects and administrative structures play a role together in supporting the collective social identity and solidarity of Turkish immigrants in Canada. It is also important to mention that these associations are relatively new compared to the whole immigration history of Turks in North America. There is no concrete proof that shows whether Turkish immigrants in the early twentieth century established any permanent organizations in Canada or the U.S., which would have helped them to be recognized as an ethnic group in America. At that time, Turkish immigrants grouped as small communities around temporary mosques, and they relied on their own education, personality and willpower to mark their presence with distinct Turkish identity.[280]

4.2 Maintaining Distinct Spatial Characteristics

Even though there are a large number of repurposed mosques in North America, interestingly they are often not in the scope of academic studies. One of the reasons for this situation is because these mosques do not relate with the notion of how traditional Islamic architecture defines them. Secondly, the knowledge that the community produces out of these mosques over a period of time do not provide long-term value. Instead, these repurposed mosques usually meet immediate needs of a community. They challenge the traditional mosque image, and how mosque represents Muslim identity in the West.[281] On the other hand, the use of traditional style

[277] Montreal Turkish Community Center
[278] James H. Marsh, The Canadian Encyclopedia, (1999), McClelland & Stewart.
[279] Kemal H. Karpat, "Turks in America," in Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 632. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751
[280] Ibid., 617.
[281] Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, and Ed Grazda, *New York Masjid: The Mosques of New York City* (New York: PowerHouse Books, 2002), 32.

of mosque architecture today has also been a target of criticism in the architectural discourse. The revivalist notions of mosque architecture have often been labelled as conservative and kitsch, thus being kept at a distance from the scope of some scholarly works.[282]

Nevertheless, since the 1980s, theological revivalism and nostalgic tendencies have been influencing the architectural design of transnational mosques.[283] There are many temporalities involved in these types of mosques. Even though their transnational nature embodies political and nationalist ambitions in their initial establishment, their lifespans actually transcend these ideologies, as well as their designers and patrons. Grand transnational mosques do not just mark a certain instance in time, instead they create a projection towards many possible futures of Muslim diaspora.[284] Changes over time are expressed in cultural landscapes. However, preserving old architectural styles and using them out of their contextual period may create complicated meanings and perceptions for the architecture of mosques within the progress of a particular cultural landscape.

Although many mosques that belong to Turkish diaspora are established in repurposed buildings and community or Islamic centers, there are also some examples of purpose-built transnational mosques with revivalist, neo-Ottoman style. Diyanet Center of America (DCA), or Turkish-American Community Center as previously called, is one such example located in Washington DC. It is established within a complex of buildings surrounding the mosque with various functions.[285] Batuman describes this whole complex as an "architectural theme park" with Turkish-Islamic characteristics that displays a Turkish new Islamism.[286] Sehitlik Mosque is another example from Berlin with dome and minarets, which has a more modest scale compared to the mosque of DCA. The reason behind building a mosque with a traditional Islamic architectural style originated from the urge to emphasize Turkish people's long presence in

[282] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 24.
[283] Ibid., 25.
[284] Ibid., 22.
[285] Bulent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey* (Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 39. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919
[286] Ibid., 42.

Berlin, and to pay homage to the community's Ottoman heritage.[287] In both examples, foreign nationalist policies of Turkish government are very prominent in the representation of Turkish people in the West, as well as associating and empowering their diasporic presence with Islam.

Other than grand mosques with domes and minarets, the presence of Turkish government in Canada is not very influential spatially. Architectural diplomacy has its limits in the built environment of Turkish immigrants. The impact of the government usually depends on political relations and various activities held at Turkish associations and mosques in Canada. The characteristics of Turkish community's public sphere are largely determined by the decisions and efforts of the community itself. Spatial characteristics required for the necessary spaces for the community are then established accordingly by the people.

In many purpose-built transnational mosques, architecture is being used to capture and disseminate religious and national ideologies. Practice of Islam has been associated with building styles. However, Islam does not impose monumental domes or minarets for proper religious devotion. Repurposed mosques of Turkish and Muslim communities in general like Dorval and Yunus Mosque display almost minimum requirements for prayer purposes. It is a fact that all mosques need to face the direction of Qibla, and they need to have a mihrab to indicate this direction. Turkish mosques in Canada are no exception to this rule, and they do not need to conform to any other architectural elements. This simplicity of Islamic prayer space makes it easier for mosques to be integrated into existing buildings, converted from other functions, and even to accommodate additional functions if necessary. Religious conformity brings spatial adaptability and flexibility to mosque architecture. Even in the past, mosques have been used for almost everything including conducting business and levying soldiers. In short, practice itself is more important than the mosque as a space for Islamic ritual.[288]

In general, establishing mosques in Canada was a difficult task for new immigrant Muslim populations. Like Toronto's first mosque, storefronts, homes, abandoned houses and churches

[287] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 39.
[288] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 6.

were among the first places that were used as mosques. This situation made immigrants realize that a hybrid life awaited them in the West. As much as they wished to see grand mosques in their new land like they were used to in their own countries,[289] they settled with using makeshift mosques as their sacred spaces.[290] Today, Turkish people in Montreal still use repurposed mosques as their main communal spaces for religious practice. However, they are more than just religious spaces in which their rather diverse functions are a result of the community's needs. Some of them are even intertwined within community centers spatially and functionally, like Yunus Mosque and Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC).

Spatial characteristics are often determined by functions and use of spaces. However, they also depend on religious and cultural values of the people that use and interact with the spaces. In this sense, maintaining certain characteristics of a space rely on multiple factors. The public spaces that Turkish community created for itself can be examined architecturally to make certain assessments about the community dynamics and attributes. From the location of the buildings to inner spatial layouts and material objects, there are certain aspects that need to be paid attention to. For instance, the fact that not many changes have been made to the exterior of the buildings like Dorval Mosque or MTCC after refurbishments demonstrates that, apart from financial reasons, Turkish community does not necessarily feel the need to express its physical public presence in the urban context. The subtle and ordinary architectural design of the buildings provide more enclosed community dynamics and require less specific architectural conditions to be met.

For a Muslim space to be recognizable by non-Muslims, and be familiar for Muslims, most of the time Arabic scripts have the utmost importance.[291] Even though the exterior of the buildings lacks any such scripts, they are usually abundant inside the mosques. Along with mihrab and minbar, Arabic scripts and Islamic patterns on prayer rugs are used collectively and harmoniously to create a general religious spatial atmosphere. All these elements are distinct

[289] Jane I. Smith, *Islam in America* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999).
[290] Nadeem Memon, "From Mosques to Madrassas: Civic Engagement and the Pedagogy of Islamic Schools," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 190.
[291] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 4.

characteristics of mosques and they reflect the prominent religious aspect of Turkish community. However, although the influence of this religious identity usually goes beyond the boundaries of mosques, aforementioned elements are not carried with it. For instance, even though there are times when the multipurpose hall in MTCC is also used for prayers, this space has no architectural or religious elements that make up a mosque. There isn't even a mihrab, but people can still use this space for religious purposes when needed. This situation is actually quite common in Muslim countries and Turkey as well. During overcrowded Friday sermons, the congregation usually overflows the boundaries of the mosque, and people lineup on nearby available areas which is usually a narthex in front of the mosque, or even on the streets if the outside area is limited. As long as people face Qibla during prayer, it is not absolutely necessary to physically be inside the mosque. The same principle applies for repurposed mosques of Turkish diaspora. Consequently, a regular hall with no distinct spatial characteristics or qualities may be used like a mosque when needed.

Turkish traditions and cultural values are generally lived within the confines of family. Consequently, other than religious purposes, public spaces of Turkish diaspora are often used depending on simple communal necessities. These can be classes, hobby activities, music or sports activities, national holiday celebrations, or formal events of other associations or organizations. Instead of using any culturally significant signs or elements that represent Turkish people, spaces for these activities are created according to the easiest, fastest and the most economic solutions. There are not many architectural design concerns other than areas of the spaces and furniture being used. People of the community certainly wish to have more available spaces and even a large community complex like Diyanet Center of America, however, finding an available land and financial constraints are main reasons behind lack of space and architectural rigor. Income for associations and mosques are usually limited, and these places rely on operating as a foundation. As a result, it is not a surprise to often come across design solutions that solely rely on financial conditions.

Both mosques and community centers derive their spatial organization from inner community dynamics. Ever changing demands from the people create a path for opportunities for new design solutions and new spatial experiences. Age-based, or gender-based differences add to the

versatility of spaces and possible new approaches in understanding the impact of spaces on people. While having constant and strict spatial characteristics may be essential to a certain extent for mosques, this is not the case for other communal spaces. Answering to the changing needs of different times is more important for the dynamic nature of Turkish cultural landscape. Since creating social space depends on the interaction between human action and space, then spaces are constantly affected by the nature of actions. The actions should be interpreted, and the spaces should be designed accordingly. Democracy in terms of spatial means often establishes the basis for how public sphere is formed. These kinds of spatial frameworks enable concordant principles to emerge through the contestation between opposing interpretations.[292] The production of Turkish communal spaces also relies on these dynamics, in which people of the community need to agree on similar meanings and understandings of their values and establish spaces according to mutually agreed principles.

4.3 Spatial Formation within the Dynamics of Negotiation

Diaspora mainly constitutes of an immigration timeline, memories related to originating country, integration or segregation in the host country, a prospect of returning to, as well as support from the homeland, and a communal identity that binds all these aspects together.[293] However, originating point and ideas about going back mean more than just "homeland" when it comes to Muslim diaspora. Instead of a "place-centered" diaspora concept,[294] the notion of "returning" correlates with an attachment more than just spatial terms. In Muslim diaspora, attachment to the roots depends on collective identity, rather than just a specific place, or ideas about returning to a place.[295] Cultural "roots" become transnational along with diaspora, and a desire to go back to homeland is preserved within transnational communal spaces.

---

[292] Roemer Van Toorn, "Counteracting the Clash of Cultures: Mosque Architecture as an Emancipating Factor," in *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations,* ed. Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009), 112.

[293] James Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 247.

[294] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return." *Diaspora* 1, no.1 (1991): 83-99.

[295] Clifford, *Routes,* 255.

Space acts both as a tool and an interface in the socio-cultural stance of a community. Built environment is a means for the formation of everyday lives of the people. It is also grounds for the people to acknowledge their communal strengths and weaknesses, places where people act out as a community to establish distinct norms and values. Architecture allows communities to empower themselves in the struggle of interacting with "other" communities. The differences that separate communities such as immigrants and locals, are also reflected to a certain extent in the architecture of the built environment. Architecture divides, limits and recreates undefined spaces into meaningful places, and brings out the experience of spatial dimension.[296] In this process, architecture also provides a clear reflection of the cultural changes that govern communities over time.[297] It is often possible to tell different places and times of a group of people's lives by observing their spatial formations and attributes of their built environment. Understanding their cultural landscape provides the possibilities of understanding their position within other communities.

Integrating into a foreign country which has completely different religious ideologies and socio-cultural dynamics is a difficult task for Muslim communities, including Turkish immigrants. A process of adaptation emerges from the negotiations between the integration policies of the host country and integration intentions and struggles of the diasporic community. These negotiations are often heavily based on religious affiliations and practices. A religious tolerance is most desired between Christianity and Islam, which is reflected constantly within public discourse.[298] Since almost half a century, Islamic identity has become very prominent in the public domain of Muslim countries.[299] This attitude has also become transnational, carrying both religious and nationalist ideologies with it. Architecture plays an essential role in delivering the concretisation of these identities within the built environment in terms of religious spaces and providing a basis for the establishment of a diasporic community consciousness in a foreign setting.

[296] Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 231.
[297] Ibid., 303.
[298] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 165.
[299] Ibid., 7.

The universality and the simplicity in the spatial requirements of mosques allow these religious buildings and spaces to carry universal meanings for Muslim communities. Along with religious practices, mosques also embody a comforting sense of familiarity which signals back to the communities' memories of their homelands. Mosque architecture brings out a monolithic identity out of the representation of Islam, which is disseminated through centuries and across continents.[300] This identity emanates from both grandiose traditional appearance of purpose-built mosques and renovated spaces of repurposed mosques. Moreover, efforts of representation and negotiation with the host community add to the formation of Islamic identity.[301]

In terms of religious practice and devotion, Muslims congregate the same way regardless of the country, nation or government. However, in some cases, their way of life may get contested with Muslim states. On the other hand, usually Muslims feel freer about practicing their religion in democratic countries compared to some Islamic countries. In this sense, there is no specific distinction between being an American, Canadian, European or a citizen of any kind of secular country and being a Muslim.[302] In fact, one of the main reasons of Muslim populations immigrating to more democratic states in the West is due to the promise of getting more freedom and more equal rights in the integration of their religious identities into their everyday lives. The negotiations between different Muslim communities in terms of how Islam relates to Western notions of gender equality, national citizenship, and secularity are particularly being observed by non-Muslim communities. Moreover, they pay explicit attention to the views of radical and rebel Muslims.[303] Architecture comes into this equation as a symbol of Islamic ideology that challenges the non-Muslim West, while challenging itself in the process by carrying similar styles across boundaries. It is often the case that, concerns and fears about the propagation of Islam may surface in non-Muslim lands because of the Ottoman-style mosque imagery. This

[300] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 7.
[301] Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 18.
[302] Haroon Siddiqui. "Anti-Muslim Bigotry Goes Official – Canada's Newest Dark Chapter," in *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 49.
[303] Meena Sharify-Funk, "Marketing Islamic Reform: Dissidence and Dissonance in a Canadian Context," in *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmin Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press. 2012), 141.

leads to the situation where the appearance of a traditional mosque, and its representation within the built environment play a primary role in the articulation of xenophobia.[304]

Compared to the possible upheaval that traditional style mosques may bring, smaller community mosques provide a better communication between Muslim communities of diaspora and the local population of host countries. The fact that almost all these smaller mosques are repurposed buildings puts them in a self-negotiating context. These buildings were initially built for different purposes, and their architectural designs and their locations in the neighborhoods were considered accordingly. However, they were not thought to be used under completely different cultural contexts and by different groups of population in the future. They already had a place in the collective memory of local population even before Muslim communities acquired the buildings for themselves. Many local people might not even have noticed the change in the use of the buildings immediately. Hence, this preestablished notion of non-Muslim urban familiarity allowed for a smoother transition process for the immigration of Muslim populations to the West and a relatively easier integration to the host countries.

Muslim diaspora constitutes of many different nationalities, and it comes across as a rather generalized notion when one attempts to understand its negotiation dynamics with the West. Although these nations bond over religion, their cultural structure and national ambitions may be vastly different. What non-Muslims perceive usually focuses on the religious aspect of Muslim communities instead of their distinct cultural qualities. Islam becomes the main determinant of how immigrant communities of Muslim countries situate themselves in the urban host environment. Morality, ethics of public discourse and certain values of many societies mainly rely on religion. Religious philosophy leads the way in the development of primary notions like human rights, justice and well defined administrative structures. Despite the fact that the secular

[304] Kishwar Rizvi, *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 18.

structure of the state may be targeted, the underlying cultural values of a country is inseparable from its spiritual past.[305]

Turkey is a country in which the majority of the population is Muslim. However, there is a constant conflict between the secular structure of the state and the Islamic ideology of the government. This duality is reflected in the versatile socio-cultural life of Turkish citizens. More importantly, it is prominently transferred to the designs of many grand revivalist mosques and contemporary mosques in Turkey. These approaches in the mosque architecture did not always find a place in the establishment of Turkish immigrant settlements in the West because of the widespread use of commonplace repurposed community mosques. However, the religious agenda and support of Turkish government persists to sustain its presence even within the confines of repurposed mosques in non-Muslim countries.

The ordinary architectural nature of repurposed mosques and community centers provides a more welcoming environment for the non-Muslim local population, as well as other minority communities in Montreal. This situation distinguishes the people who are genuinely interested with Turkish associations and mosques, allowing them to experience the spaces through personal curiosity and activities. This way, a rather positive impression is received from the neighboring communities, instead of evoking deeply rooted Islamophobic or marginalizing perceptions. Most of Turkish immigrants in Montreal are in favor of bringing people from all kinds of ethnicities and nationalities together. Turkish associations and mosques are working towards this mutual goal which is highly dependent on the support of Turkish government.[306]

In terms of spatial experience, dynamics of negotiation are apparent in religious spaces on one hand, and in nondescript common spaces on the other. Arabic scripts and Islamic symbols add to the diverse nature of the religious spaces in the eyes of both Muslim and non-Muslim populations. In addition, an inclusive policy attracts and embraces all kinds of people within

[305] Karim H Karim. "Speaking to Post-secular Society: The Aga Khan's Public Discourse," *in The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto, 2015), 99.
[306] Nadine D. Jammet, and Okan Ozdemir, Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences (2017), 31. Kindle

mosques. In the case of common spaces of community centers and associations, inclusion is either on an individual level, or on a governmental and administrative level. Spatial experiences inside classrooms, halls and other spaces are evoked with the interaction between people from various origins. The fact that these spaces have very little cultural connotations provides a more familiar environment for the non-Muslim locals depending on the context. Even though Turkish associations undertake a nationalist role for Turkish citizens, they embody enough flexibility on an organizational level that enables Turkish immigrants to coexist peacefully with Canadian citizens and other minority communities within the boundaries of the same built environment.

The locations of Turkish mosques and community centers also need to be taken into consideration in the expression of negotiation. For instance, Dorval Mosque is in complete contrast with its surroundings socio-culturally. However, its coherent architecture with its surroundings make up for this cultural gap. Negotiations in this neighborhood are based on the dynamics between Islam and Christianity, where people who find other ethnicities disturbing and people who are influenced by the mosque and decided to convert to Islam coexist in the same environment. Montreal Turkish Community Center (MTCC) and Yunus Mosque on the other hand, are situated at the heart of the city and close to many different ethnic minority communities. MTCC is already within a diverse urban environment. Turkish people in Montreal take advantage of this situation by integrating themselves to the city more directly and display a more inclusive self-representation towards the local population. On the other hand, as discussed before, Turkish population's own communal structure is rather directed inwards, as also reflected in the architecture of MTCC. A nondescript architectural design has a unique role in keeping the community somewhat concealed, but at the same time making it more consonant with the existing socio-cultural structure of the city.

Public urban space should be considered as a mediating area in a city that affects the formation of identity and what it means to be a citizen. In Canada, whenever a building or a project that is designed for the use of immigrant minority communities gets negative reactions from the locals, this causes conflicts in terms of inequality and alienation issues.[307] Thus, it is important to

[307] R Alan Walks, "The Urban in Fragile, Uncertain, Neoliberal Times: Towards New Geographies of Social Justice?" *Canadian Geographer* 53, no.3 (2009): 351.

consider the added value of cultural mix in an urban environment, and not base the incorporation of immigrant communities solely on the notion of nation related differences.[308]

The design identifiers of Turkish communal spaces are not prominently determinant in establishing community specific isolated places. How people interact with spaces and spatial elements are more indicative of social dynamics than the design decisions, architectural styles or production processes of those spaces. What constitutes as a place that belongs to Turkish population in Montreal actually refers to a place that is established by Turkish population for Montreal. Negotiations start from the ideas and intentions of both sides. However, despite the integration policies of the host country, the buildings' spatial and social relationships often fall on to the responsibility of the minority.

[308] Y. Michal Bodemann and Gokce Yurdakul, *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 139, https://link-springer-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/content/pdf/10.1057%2F9781403984678.pdf

CONCLUSION

The main premise of this study emerged from the argument that the social standing of Turkish diaspora in Montreal, its cultural and religious ties to homelands and negotiation process within the predominantly non-Muslim environment can be identified by the community's spatial organization in their communal spaces, its architectural solutions to spatial needs and how people of the community situate themselves and express their distinct cultural identities through religious connotations embedded in their public spaces. Placing mosques and community centers at the focus of the study provided valuable insight to understand such social and cultural dynamics between different communities, as well as Turkish people's settlement decisions and motivations in certain neighborhoods of Montreal. However, the built environment reflects just one aspect of the whole reality of diaspora.

Even though the study revolved around the issues concerning Turkish immigrants and observations made specifically at Dorval Mosque, Montreal Turkish Community Center and Yunus Mosque, understanding and interpreting the impacts of spatial attributes and certain design identifiers depend on a bigger picture involving Muslim and Turkish diasporas in North America and Europe. Transnational movements bring geographically bound values across borders into new environments. Acts of immigration stigmatize Turkish people with Islamic context from the non-Muslim perspective of the West, and religion becomes the main identifier of how Turkish immigrants are perceived and labelled in the first place. Although there are many skilled professionals, successful students, worker families, and various range of people immigrating from Turkey to Western countries, they are first and foremost identified by their religion. This situation is usually the starting point of challenging negotiation process between non-Muslim communities and Muslim and Turkish communities. Moreover, xenophobic policies create more alienated and marginalized groups, instead of promoting inclusive actions. This study touched upon possibly marginalizing religious negotiations in Montreal, since xenophobic tendencies and Islamophobia are more noticeable in Quebec than any other provinces of Canada.

According to the observations made at the chosen community center and mosques in this study, the fact that these buildings and spaces have nondescript characteristics with very few religious and cultural signifiers provides a hint for the somewhat recessive nature of Turkish people in

Montreal. Although the history of Turkish diaspora in Montreal goes back decades, people of the diaspora still exhibit a cautious attitude in their public settlements and self-representation under the hidden pressure of possible Islamophobic behaviors. It is indeed a reality that there have been some acts of vandalism made towards Turkish mosques, and there have even been some threats originated out of Islamophobic aggression of Quebecois people. Non-Muslim extremists do not usually make any distinctions between different nationalities when it comes to Muslim communities. The communal places of Turkish communities have become the target of such degrading acts based on the fact that these places represent Muslim communities in general. It does not matter if they have been established by Turkish people, or they represent solely Turkish diaspora.

This study put built environment and architecture in the middle of these very delicate issues of negotiations between seemingly opposing communities due to the fear of cultural and religious differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. Mosques, as places of religious and national ideologies and mosque architecture in general represent the pinnacle of this conflicting environment, and unjust fears and accusations. Any insights gained from Dorval Mosque and Yunus Mosque coincide with the nature of transnational mosques and governmental support behind them. Even though religious practice in Islam does not require a specifically consecrated prayer space, mosques still represent the physical manifestations of Muslim identity. Consequently, even the smallest repurposed mosques hidden in non-Muslim neighborhoods may possess the power to harness ideological conflicts that grand purpose-built mosques with traditional Islamic architectural styles usually do.

The iconic appearance of a mosque with a dome and minarets represents the one extreme end of how certain architectural design elements for religious buildings may become the symbol of Islamophobic fears and a threat to Western democracy. However, in case of Turkish immigrants, being inclusive to everyone regardless of their ethnic, religious and national identities is paramount. For this reason, Turkish people prioritize a welcoming attitude and simple functional needs in the spatial characteristics of the spaces inside their mosques and community centers, instead of insisting on demanding mosques with tall minarets or large religious complexes like

Diyanet Center of America. It is also about creating a balance between raising unnecessary attention and preserving their own cultural and religious values.

Turkish communities are not necessarily alone in Montreal, and in Canada. Although they may seem to display a rather self-enclosed appearance for their inner communal gatherings, they are very well respected by various authorities, as well as federal and provincial governments. The support from Turkish government is also very important for Turkish immigrants since it enables people to have a sense of belonging and connection to their roots and their home country. However, their presence within the built environment of Montreal and other Canadian cities depend on their own spatial representation and architectural decisions they make for themselves for the future. Their negotiations with the host city determine the path they take in establishing their spaces in a multicultural context, which would enable people from various ethnic and national origins to benefit from.

Apart from architectural styles, material objects that signify Turkish culture or Islam, and the lack of the involvement of architects or other professionals in the design and establishment of Turkish mosques and community centers, the main concern coming from Turkish people and the people in charge at the community center involved financial constraints and lack of available spaces. The information gathered from the interviews suggests that, although people try to make do with what they have, they would also rather have a building that provides better spatial layouts with adequate spaces that create enough opportunity for various kinds of activities. Turkish people's own cultural and religious activities carry more significance for them than the distinct architectural representation of these people that situate them in the existing built environment of Montreal.

Spaces are created with various influences and criteria in mind, whether an architect or a designer is involved in the process or not. Architecture serves for the purpose of creating connections between people and space, and buildings are a part of what objects of material culture constitute of. An association between creators and users emerges from the products of architecture. In the case of Turkish mosques and community centers in Montreal, the characteristics of vernacular architecture is witnessed predominantly where creators and users tend to originate from the same groups of people. What people of the community deem important

and necessary for themselves dictate the design and establishment of the spaces that they will use. The way that these people are conditioned to situate themselves within the city physically and culturally provide them with the means and opportunity to reflect their identity spatially.

In the design of a mosque, architects are the ones responsible to adapt a design that will initiate a significant Islamic religious experience between the worshipper and the religious prayer space. Moreover, architects also need to foresee and take into consideration the political, economic and cultural factors that might arise from the particular design decisions made in the process. These factors are embodied in the transnational meanings that mosques of Muslim diaspora have in foreign countries, and they are often enforced by the governments that people of specific diaspora belong to. When architects or other professionals are involved in this process of transnational mosque design, they are usually restricted by the political rules dictated by the foreign policies of the governments. Consequently, mosques in foreign lands become more than mere religious spaces, but instead they carry political and national roles with them, much like embassy buildings.

On the other hand, when people of the diaspora have direct relationship with the design process of mosques, they form more concrete bonds with the host community. This relationship evolves over time as the spatial attributes of these spaces evolve with it. A dynamic process of creation and recreation accompanies the development of the immigrant community as the years pass, and the spaces start to create and represent their own cultural landscape depending on how people use and interact with them. Deeply rooted cultural and traditional tendencies that a community possesses have a close connection with the expectations and demands of social groups of people have of architecture. This is also a relationship between the ordinary nuances of everyday life and architecture, in which creators of social space need to address to the reality of everyday needs. On this note, as mentioned in previous chapters as well, vernacular architecture finds it way into the repurposed buildings for the specific yet ordinary needs of Turkish diasporic community.

Intertwined with human endeavors, architecture takes a mediating stance between everyday hassle and long-term struggles. It creates a bridge between personal identity and collective memory, as well as individual and communal experiences of space. Architecture tackles history

and time while constantly changing, evolving and adapting depending on human actions. For Turkish immigrants in Montreal, mosque architecture in particular defines the majority of public spaces, in which architecture demonstrates a recessive character. However, the recessiveness is only on the surface, just related to the material space itself. On a deeper level, mosque architecture unveils historical ideologies, ulterior motives and repressed conservative segments of Muslim life. On the other hand, the mosque conquers a new built environment to settle in a foreign city. It confiscates the buildings of an existing cultural landscape from within and turns them into something else entirely. Its allegiance belongs to another landscape and the captured building now serves to new groups of people.

At a time when contemporary mosque architecture is challenging the meaning of Muslim space and Islamic identity all around the world, repurposed mosques of Muslim diaspora in the West contribute to this movement with their increasingly flexible spatial nature. As simple as mosques like Dorval Mosque and Yunus Mosque may be, there is an innovative aspect to their simplicity. Straying away from the effulgent; making the design of a prayer space about the religious ritual, instead of the space itself has a deeper essence for what it means to create a mosque. Mosques in foreign contexts need timely innovations for the changing dynamics of immigrant communities. Terms like "multifunctionality" and "flexibility" are the newly adapted signs that direct architects and users towards the right path for the future of Muslim spaces. Turkish people in Montreal achieved this level of clarity from just basic community needs. They just needed a space for prayers, and they wanted to be able to use that space for other uses as well when needed; however, they did not seek for some monumental masterpiece of architectural diplomacy.

As much as Canada has attracted Turkish people as the "land of opportunities" over many years, there has always been issues involving their social and family structures, education and professional lives, lack of language and adaptation processes. However, there are significant differences between Turkish people who come from Turkey, and who are born in Canada. In the case of the latter, the social and psychological impacts of Turkish-Canadian duality on especially children's identity is very prominent in their lives. How these children position themselves within the community is usually determined by the constant contestation they face in their

Turkish family lives and Canadian public lives. According to this study, Turkish culture and Islamic values are introduced to these children through the key role that Turkish associations in Montreal play. The level and context of negotiations are different for Muslim children and parents within a non-Muslim context, and the associations address to both of them in a collective manner. The spaces that make up these association buildings are then organized to cater to the needs of the community according to different age groups and genders.

The negotiation of a community is also affected by its presence in the local and national media. Turkish community in Canada does not have much recognition in the Canadian media. Most of their news and media material are intended for inner community events, activities and developments. To maintain connections with the homeland, news from Turkey is also very essential for the members of the community. Turkish people are aware of their lack of involvement in the Canadian press, however it is not a priority for them. Their rather localized structure within Canadian cities present a timid appearance. Moreover, the little mention they get in the media mostly involves attacks and threats to mosques, or their participations in collaborative projects like Peace Garden in Montreal. Either way, Turkish people are reflected with their ambitions of integration and challenges of preserving their religious identity.

Turkish people in Montreal have been benefitting from the attractive immigration policies and diverse multicultural environment that Canada offers for years. However, along with socio-cultural ties, the negotiation process between the immigrant and the host also needs to involve architectural discourse as much as possible. Although lack of architectural design in vernacular architecture does not mean lack of spatial integrity, it does provide a basis for spaces that are easier to get neglected over time. For instance, the seemingly random use of Arabic scripts inside the spaces have the danger of becoming just superficial objects, creating a space out of context and time. More overarching and progressive methods of Muslim space design are necessary in this regard. As much as Turkish people's own efforts in creating their own public spaces are invaluable for maintaining their integrity and identity, involvement of architects in the design of these spaces and buildings would be more beneficial in terms of integrating the nuances of immigration policies, intricacies of design policies and delicate details of Turkish religious and cultural identity together. Better yet, involving Turkish architects that have contributed to the

future of contemporary and transnational mosques would generate both the recognition in the architectural discourse that repurposed mosques lack, and the representation of Turkish community in the eyes of Canadian citizens and the media.

The future of religious architecture depends on the ability of understanding historical context and shaping it into today's innovative world. Along with the core ideas of religion, establishing a balanced approach towards the dynamics of diaspora, negotiations of public life, and ethnic, economic and political inequalities create a basic level of comprehension for what Muslim space and religious architecture should entail. In the end, Turkish diaspora will likely continue to be recognized as part of Muslim diaspora in the West, and acts of immigration will keep on prevailing geographically bound community lives in the globalized world. Consequently, efforts of transnational architecture and how architecture and the built environment lay the groundwork for the interaction between intangible Turkish identity and its physical material counterpart needs to be investigated and applied for the settlements of diaspora for the future generations to come.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akcapar, Sebnem Koser. *Turkish Immigrants in Western Europe and North America: Immigration and Political Mobilization*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.

Akkaymak, Guliz. "Social network development experiences of immigrants from Turkey to Canada." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42, no.15 (2016): 2611-2628. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1164589

Akšamija, Azra. "Generative Design Principles for the Contemporary Mosque." In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 129 -139. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009.

Aksan, Virginia. H. "Turks." In *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, edited by Paul R. Magocsi, 1275-1280. University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Anatolian Cultural Centre. "About Turkey." Accessed February 10, 2018. http://www.anatolian.ca/turkey/

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Key concepts in post-colonial studies.* London: Routledge, 2001.

Ataca, Bilge, and John W. Berry. "Psychological, sociocultural, and marital adaptation of Turkish immigrant couples in Canada." *International Journal of Psychology* 37, no.1 (2002): 13-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/00207590143000135

Avcioglu, Nebahat. "The Contemporary Mosque: 'In What Style Should We Build?'" In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 61-68. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009.

Batuman, Bulent. *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey.* Milton: Taylor and Francis, 2017. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=5206919

Bayoumi, Mustapha. "Racing Religion." *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6, no.2 (Fall 2006): 267-293.

Bilge, Sırma. "Communalisations ethniques post-migratoires : le cas des «Turcs» de Montréal." PhD diss., Sorbonne University New Paris 3, 2004.

Bodemann, Y. Michal, and Gokce Yurdakul. *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. https://link-springer-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/content/pdf/10.1057%2F9781403984678.pdf

Bouman, Ole. "The Cosmosque." In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 159-161. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009.

Canada 2016 Census. "Ethnic Origin, both sexes, age (total), Canada, 2016 Census – 25% Sample data." *Statistics Canada*. Accessed February 10, 2018. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/imm/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=31&Geo=01&SO=4D.

Canada 2016 Census. "Ethnic Origin (279), Single and Multiple Ethnic Origin Responses (3), Generation Status (4), Age (12) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data." *Statistics Canada*. Accessed July 4, 2018. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=110528&PRID=10&PTYPE=109445&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2017&THEME=120&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=

Canada Census 2011. *Statistics Canada*, 2011.

Canadian Association of Turkish Professionals. "The Association." Accessed February 10, 2018. https://proturk.ca/en/the-association/

Carter, Thomas, and Elizabeth C. Cromley. *Invitation to vernacular architecture: a guide to the study of ordinary buildings and landscapes.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005.

CBC News, "Dorval mosque targeted by anti-refugee threat," November 29, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/montreal/dorval-mosque-refugees-phone-threat-vandalism-1.3342703

Census Profile, 2016 Census. "Dorval, Ville [Census subdivision], Quebec and Montréal, Territoire équivalent [Census division], Quebec." *Statistics Canada*. Accessed July 2, 2018. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2466087&Geo2=CD&Code2=2466&Data=Count&SearchText=Dorval&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1.

Classement Sociodémographique. "Villes et arrondissements de l'agglomération de Montréal 2011." *Ville de Montréal*. Accessed July 2, 2018. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/MTL_STATS_FR/MEDIA/DOCUMENTS/CLASSEMENTSOCIODEMO2011.PDF

Clifford, James. *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Dant, Tim. *Material culture in the social world: values, activities, lifestyles.* Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999.

Deger, Mehmet. Interview by Onur Yucel. *Dorval Mosque*, June 5, 2018. Audio, 73:14.

Dings, Mieke. “Back to First Principles: Ergun Erkocu, Cihan Bugdaci and Mieke Dings Speak to Tariq Ramadan,” In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 53-55. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009.

Dings, Mieke. “Introduction: Beyond ‘Us and Them.’” (Interview with Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci), In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 8-12. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2009.

Dodds, Jerrilynn Denise, and Ed Grazda. *New York Masjid: The Mosques of New York City.* New York: PowerHouse Books, 2002.

Ember, Melvin, Carol R. Ember, and Ian A. Skoggard. *Encyclopedia of diasporas: immigrant and refugee cultures around the world.* New York: Springer, 2005. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3062515

Ennaji, Moha. *New horizons of Muslim diaspora in North America and Europe*. New York, NY : Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1218719

Esposito, John L., and Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, ed. *Muslims on the Americanization Path?,* Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1998.

Fuss, Diana. *Essentially speaking: feminism, nature & difference*. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Ghamari-Tabrizi, Behrooz. "Loving America and Longing for Home: Isma'il al-Faruqi and the Emergence of the Muslim Diaspora in North America." *International Migration* 42, no.2 (2004): 61-86. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00281.x.

Glassie, Henry. *Material culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Grabar, Oleg. “Reflections of Islamic Art.” In *Muqarnas I: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, edited by Oleg Grabar, 1-14. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983.

Grabar, Oleg. “Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture.” *In Architecture and Community: Building in the Islamic World Today: the Aga Khan Awards for Architecture*, edited by Renata Holod, 25-32. Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1983.

Graves, Theodore D. “Psychological Acculturation in a Tri-Ethnic Community.” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23, no.4 (1967): 337-350.

Groth, Paul. “Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study.” In *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth & Todd W. Bress, 1-21. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, and John L. Esposito. *Muslims on the Americanization path?* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Hall, Stuart. “Cultural identity and diaspora.” In *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.

Hall, Stuart. “New cultures for old.” In *A Place in the World: Places, Culture and Globalization*, edited by Doreen Massey and P. M. Jess, 175-213. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Hanley, Lisa M., Blair A. Ruble, and Allison M. Garland. *Immigration and integration in urban communities: renegotiating the city.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008.

Hirsch, Alison B., and Aroussiak Gabrielian. "Grounding Diaspora: Negotiating Between Home and Host." *Journal of Architectural Education* 70, no.1 (2016): 116-131.

Holod, Renata, Hasan-Uddin Khan, and Kimberly Mims. *The mosque and the modern world: architects, patrons and designs since the 1950s.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

Imam of Yunus Mosque, Interview by Onur Yucel. Yunus Mosque, July 11, 2018. Audio, 22:47.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the vernacular landscape.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Jammet, Nadine. D., and Okan Ozdemir. *Turkish Immigrants in Montreal: Immigration Trajectory, Community Organizations and Individual Experiences.* 2017. Kindle.

Karim, H Karim. "Speaking to Post-secular Society: The Aga Khan's Public Discourse." *In The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self,* edited by Nurjehan Aziz, 97-107. Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto. 2015.

Karpat, Kemal H. "Turks in America." In *Studies on Turkish politics and society: selected articles and essays,* 612-638. Leiden: Brill, 2004. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/columbia/detail.action?docID=253751

Khalidi, Omar. "Approaches to Mosque Design in North America." In *Muslims on the Americanization Path?,* edited by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, and John L. Esposito, 317-334. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Khalidi, Omar. "Import, Adapt, Innovate." *Saudi Aramco World,* (November/December 2001). http://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/200106/import.adapt.innovate-mosque.design.in.the.united.states.htm

Kilickiran, Didem. "Migrant Homes: Identities and Cultures of Domestic Space Among Kurdish and Turkish Women in North London." PhD diss., University of London, 2010.

Kurd, Nadia. "Competing visions, common forms: the construction of mosque architecture in Canada and the US." PhD diss., McGill University, 2014. http://digitool.Library.McGill.CA/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=126982

Lal, Barbara Ballis. "Ethnic Identity Entrepreneurs: Their Role in Transracial and Intercountry Adoptions." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 6, no.3-4 (1997): 385-413.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The production of space.* Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991.

Löw, Martina. "The Constitution of Space: The Structuration of Spaces Through the Simultaneity of Effect and Perception." *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no.1 (2008): 25-49.

MacKenzie, John M. *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Arts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Malkki, Liisa. "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees." In *Culture, Power, Place. Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, edited by Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 52-74. Durham: Duke University Press. 1997.

Marsh, James H. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, (1999), McClelland & Stewart.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press., REV Edition, 1994.

Memon, Nadeem. "From Mosques to Madrassas: Civic Engagement and the Pedagogy of Islamic Schools." In *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*, edited by Jasmin Zine, 185-207. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.

Metcalf, Barbara Daly, ed. *Making Muslim Space in North American and Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Montreal Turkish Community Center. "About Montreal Turkish Community Center." Accessed July 9, 2018. http://tr.turkcommunity.net/index.php/hakkimizda/tarihce.

Montreal Turkish Community Center. “Photos.” Facebook, 2018. https://www.facebook.com/pg/mtlturkcenter/photos/?ref=page_internal.

Municipal By-laws. “Urban Master Plan: By-law revising the Urban Master Plan adopted in 2005 (Sustainable Master Plan 2015-2031) - Master Plan No. RCM-60-PU-2015.” *City of Dorval*. Accessed June 1, 2018. https://www.ville.dorval.qc.ca/en/the-city/page/municipal-by-laws

Nekuee, Shervin. “Throw Open the Doors!” In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 57-59. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009.

Ozcurumez, Saime. “Immigrant Associations in Canada: Included, Accommodated, or Excluded?” *Turkish Studies* 10, no.2 (2009): 195-215. https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840902864002

Pachkhédé, Narendra. “Mosques and the Making of Muslim Identity.” *In The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self,* edited by Nurjehan Aziz, 18-27. Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto. 2015.

Petersen, Andrew. *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Pipes, Daniel. “The Muslims are coming, the Muslims are coming.” *National Review*, November 19, 1990.

Pipes, Daniel. *Militant Islam reaches America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2002.

Powell, John. “Turkish Immigration.” In *Encyclopedia of North American Immigration*, 297-298. Facts On File, Inc., U.S.A., 2005.

Rabbat, Nasser. “The Arab Revolution Takes Back the Public Space.” *Critical Inquiry* 39, no.1 (2012): 198-208.

Ramadan, Tariq. *Western Muslims and the future of Islam*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Rapoport, Amos. "The Study of Spatial Quality." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 4, no.4 (1970): 81-95. https://www-jstor-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/stable/3331287.

Relph, Edward. "Temporality and the rhythms of sustainable landscapes." In *Reanimating places,* edited by Tom Mels, 111-121. Aldershot (England): Ashgate. 2004.

Representative of Montreal Turkish Community Center. Interview by Onur Yucel. *Montreal Turkish Community Center,* June 7, 2018. Audio, 35:22.

Rizvi, Kishwar. "Transnational Architecture, Ethics, and the Reification of History: Park51 Islamic Community Center in New York City." In *In the Wake of the Global Turn: Propositions for an 'Exploded' Art History without Borders,* edited by Aruna D'Souza and Jill Casid, 40-60. Williamstown, MA: Clark Art Institute. 2013.

Rizvi, Kishwar. *The transnational mosque: architecture and historical memory in the contemporary Middle East.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4322252

Rost, Dietmar. *New regional identities and strategic essentialism: case studies from Poland, Italy and Germany*. Münster: Lit., 2008.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964.

Safran, William. "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return.", *Diaspora* 1, no.1 (1991): 83-99.

Sayed, Asma. "Who I Really Am: Communicating Islam Across Generations." In *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self,* edited by Nurjehan Aziz, 108-117. Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto. 2015.

Schinkel, Willem. "The Production of Marginality: The Social and Physical Space of the Mosque in the Netherlands." In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations,* edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 70-78. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009.

Sevgur, Serperi. "Professional Identity at the Heart of Belonging: Insights from a Case Study of Turkish Canadians." In *Immigrant Integration: Research Implications for Future Policy,* edited by Kenise Murphy Kilbride, 263-278. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc., 2014.

Shaker, Fouad E. "Turkish Canadians." *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* (11 June 2015), Accessed July 4, 2018. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/turks/

Sharify-Funk, Meena. "Marketing Islamic Reform: Dissidence and Dissonance in a Canadian Context." In *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada,* edited by Jasmin Zine, 137-160. Vancouver: UBC Press. 2012.

Siddiqui, Haroon. "Anti-Muslim Bigotry Goes Official – Canada's Newest Dark Chapter." In *The relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self,* edited by Nurjehan Aziz, 44-96. Mawenzi House Publishers Ltd., Toronto. 2015.

Sloterdijk, Peter. *Sferen.* Amsterdam: Boom, 2003.

Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Stanek, Lukasz. *Henri Lefebvre on space: architecture, urban research, and the production of theory.* Minneapolis [Minn.]: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=765500

The Muslim Council of Britain. "CIA," *The Economist*, September 13, 2003.

Une leçon d'histoire. *Ville de Montréal.* Accessed July 2, 2018. http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=8638,142672813&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL

Upton, Dell. "Vernacular Building," In *Built in the U.S.A.: American Building from Airports to Zoos*, edited by Diane Maddex, Washington, D.C., 1985.

Upton, Dell, and John Michael Vlach. *Common places: readings in American vernacular architecture.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Van Toorn, Roemer. "Counteracting the Clash of Cultures: Mosque Architecture as an Emancipating Factor." In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 107-112. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009.

Van Winden, Wilfried. "Freedom Equals Happiness: A Plea for Pluralism in an Open Society," In *The Mosque. Political, Architectural and Social Transformations*, edited by Ergun Erkocu and Cihan Bugdaci, 80-87. Rotterdam: NAI Publishers. 2009.

Walks, R Alan. "The Urban in Fragile, Uncertain, Neoliberal Times: Towards New Geographies of Social Justice?" *Canadian Geographer* 53, no.3 (2009): 345-356.

Welzbacher, Cristian. "Die Architectur des Euro-Islam," *Baunetzwoche* 84 (June 27, 2008).

Zine, Jasmin. *Islam in the hinterlands: exploring Muslim cultural politics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.