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**FELLOW COUNTRYMEN ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF
IBN KHALDUN’S ASABIYYAH MODEL: THE EXAMPLE OF THE
ASSOCIATIONS OF MACEDONIAN AND KOSOVO ALBANIANS**

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

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Abstract

Ibn Khaldun brought the concept of “asabiyyah”, an important concept of social analysis in social sciences, to the social science literature. In this study, the concept of “asabiyyah” was tried to be defined by Ibn Khaldun and different thinkers, and as a result of this definition, the asabiyyah Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians tried to examine the social relations developed by the citizenship associations. Their immigration, living conditions and association activities were examined, and as a result, attempts were made to examine how their nervous ties were protected despite an important transformation such as urbanization.

Key Words: *Ibn Khaldun, Asabiyyah, Macedon, Kosovo, Albanian, Townsman*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose of the Research

Ibn Khaldun defined the concept of asabiyyah, which he considered the fundamental bond of society, as the initial driving force that led groups possessing this bond to establish dominance or empires throughout history. These dominances and empires affected the asabiyyah bonds within the society. In this study, the relationship between the urbanization and modernization processes caused by dominances and empires over time and the existing asabiyyah bonds in society will be examined and supported with data obtained from the citizenship associations of Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians. This research, based on fieldwork, aims to contribute a new source to the existing literature in the context of asabiyyah.

1.2. Subject and Scope of the Research

According to Ibn Khaldun, it is essential for people to live in groups due to their needs for nourishment and protection. The types of social life that arise from these two needs are divided into two: Bedouin and Hadari. Bedouin signifies the primitive and refers to societies that only meet their basic needs. Hadari communities, on the other hand, are a continuation of Bedouin communities and are settled, urban societies. Bedouin communities are more inclined towards spirituality compared to Hadari communities. Ibn Khaldun explains this spiritual solidarity with the concept of Asabiyyah, which means the spirit of unity and the strength that arises from it. Asabiyyah, which describes communal solidarity based on blood ties, is more intense in Bedouin communities, while it weakens in Hadari communities as urbanization develops. The subject of this study is the fellow countrymen associations in the context of Ibn Khaldun's Asabiyyah model: the examples of Kosovo Albanians and Macedonian Albanians. It is assumed that Albanians who settled in Turkey after the Balkan

migrations have maintained these ties through associations despite the effects of urbanization. The study examines whether the associations established a while after settling in Turkey aim to maintain the spirit of unity and solidarity among fellow countrymen, and whether this solidarity continues with the progression of generations.

In the study examining Ibn Khaldun's concept of Asabiyyah through the lens of fellow countrymen associations, the impact of urbanization on the spirit of solidarity, unity, and togetherness among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians who migrated was analyzed. The role of associations in maintaining this solidarity was also addressed. In this context, Kosovo and Macedonian Associations located in Istanbul were included in the scope of the research.

1.3. Importance of the Research

In this research, the concept of Asabiyyah by Ibn Khaldun is used as the main starting point. The use of the concept involved various theses on Ibn Khaldun and his work. This approach aimed to delineate the boundaries of Asabiyyah by gathering different perspectives. In this study, an attempt was made to define Asabiyyah with data obtained from the literature, and field research was conducted in line with this definition. Providing new data to the discussions about Ibn Khaldun's concept of Asabiyyah, thereby emphasizing its relevance and importance today, is one of the significant aspects of this study.

1.4. Method of the Research

The research is qualitative and conducted in Istanbul. For the sample, six associations located in the city center and 15 association members were targeted. Interviews were conducted with

11 participants from six associations. Data were collected through one-on-one interviews with association members. The socio-demographic characteristics of the association members (age, employment status, education level, income level, etc.), as well as the changes and problems they experienced before and after migration, were examined.

The title of the research is: “Fellow Countrymen Associations in the Context of Ibn Khaldun's Asabiyyah Model: The Examples of Kosovo Albanians and Macedonian Albanians.” The problem statement focuses on the impact of the concept of Asabiyyah on the lives of Kosovo and Macedonian Albanians in Istanbul and the evaluation of this impact. The study explores the problems experienced by Kosovo and Macedonian Albanians in Istanbul after migration, their feelings, their relationships with the environment, how their lifestyles have changed, their fellow countrymen relationships, and what changes have occurred in their perspectives on life.

To obtain more comprehensive information, the study utilized the semi-structured interview technique, a qualitative data collection method. Participants were informed about the study and verbal consent was obtained. Interviews were conducted at the associations by appointment at times convenient for the participants, lasted approximately 30 minutes, and were recorded with the participants' permission. The interviews were completed within a two-week period. In analyzing the data, numbers, percentages, and arithmetic mean were used.

1.4.1. Population and Sample of the Research

During the field research, fourteen randomly selected individuals from Albanian associations in Istanbul, established by people who migrated from Macedonia and Kosovo to Turkey, were interviewed using cluster sampling. In addition to the questionnaires used during face-to-face interviews, the information and observations obtained during these interviews were also

sources for the research. The criteria for the interviewees were that they had migrated from Macedonia or Kosovo and were members of an Albanian association; no additional criteria were sought. The sample used in the research is representative of the research universe in terms of the research's objectives.

1.4.2. Data Collection Techniques

To test the hypotheses of the research, the interview technique, a qualitative research method, was applied to the selected sample group. Pre-prepared questions were directed to participants using the face-to-face interview technique. The responses to the questions were recorded and used in data analysis. In addition to demographic questions, the questions prepared for the interviews with participants aimed to gather information about their reasons for migration, traditions, the establishment process of the association they are members of, their membership process, association activities, and their relationships with other associations and fellow countrymen. Additionally, observational data about participants were collected by considering their attitudes towards the questions during the interviews. When participants preferred not to answer certain questions, they were not pressured to respond. Similarly, participants who did not want their answers recorded were not forced, and the recording was not turned on.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MACEDONIAN AND KOSOVO ALBANIANS

Available upon request

3. IBN KHALDUN AND SOCIOLOGY

Available upon request

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

The research was conducted with 9 male and 2 female participants, whose ages range from 45 to 71. The participants were born outside Turkey in places like Kosovo, Gostivar, Skopje, Tetovo, Pristina, and Macedonia. Currently, the participants reside in the Fatih and Bayrampaşa districts of Istanbul. Nearly all participants are married and have at least two children. All participants are associated with the association they belong to; some are merely members, while others hold positions as managers or founding members. However, none of the participants are the direct founders of the association.

Five of the participants are Albanians born in Kosovo, and six are Albanians born in Macedonia. Among them, two are engaged in trade, one is a jeweler, seven are retired, and one female participant is a housewife. The education levels of the participants also vary, showing that all have undergone an educational process. Two participants have higher education, six have completed secondary education, one dropped out during secondary education, and two participants have completed primary education.

When examining the migration dates of the participants, the most recent migrants moved to Turkey in 1988, while the earliest migrants moved in 1956. All participants stated that they were children at the time of migration. The majority of participants cited escaping difficulties and pressures in their places of origin as their reasons for migration.

All participants migrated to Turkey with their families. The decision to settle in a particular location was influenced by having relatives or acquaintances who had previously migrated to the same area. Therefore, the participants migrated to a pre-planned location. Additionally, all participants visited their places of origin within a maximum of ten years after migrating.

4.2 Examination of the Components of Asabiyyah Among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

4.2.1 The Relationship Between Asabiyyah and Bedouin Life Among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

It is expressed that asabiyyah manifests in a Bedouin lifestyle, and the formation of Bedouin living conditions necessitates deprivation of qualities such as luxury, comfort, and political sovereignty. In this section, this relationship will be examined with excerpts from interviews conducted with participants.

The first participant stated that he had to migrate due to the pressure he experienced in his place of origin, that the reason for migrating to Turkey was that it is a Muslim country, and the reason for migrating to Bayrampaşa was that their relatives who had previously migrated were there. The participant mentioned that they faced economic difficulties for a while after coming here, but through the established association, they strengthened their kinship ties, provided solidarity through these ties, and thus reduced economic difficulties to a level that would not become a serious problem.

The second participant, whom we asked the same questions, stated that they migrated in 1964 and similarly migrated to escape the difficulties they experienced in their country. They mentioned that in addition to Turkey being a Muslim country, the good relations between Turkey and Kosovo, as well as similarities in language, culture, and religion, were reasons for their migration. While explaining the difficulties they faced, they mentioned economic hardships and added that they were excluded because they did not know the Turkish language, which caused difficulties in adapting to the environment. This participant also indicated that

the reason for choosing the location they migrated to (Bayrampaşa) was that acquaintances who had previously migrated had settled in this district.

"In our homeland, that is, in Kosovo, during the 1950s, 1956, 1955, there was a communist regime. Muslims, Turks, Albanians, and Bosniaks were disturbed by this. There was a kind of privilege; they became a more marginalized society. Moreover, their financial power was completely taken away from them. There was no reciprocity. For example, if you had two houses, you could only live in one. You had no right to two houses, or a four-room house. For instance, one room for a family, one room for children, one room for the elderly. In this way, the Turks there were constrained. Secondly, most Turks were tradespeople. Because they were tradespeople, they faced a second form of pressure. The third form of pressure was that even if there were minor anarchic situations among themselves, these could turn against the Turks or Albanians. Because of problems like having weapons or such, we would send our children to Istanbul for proper education about 50 years ago so that they wouldn't experience these problems in the future. As a family, we migrated. My father was in politics. His thoughts were very different, but to keep us connected to the society in Turkey, he instilled all the capitalist thoughts there into us. We had to abandon the communist thoughts there. Some became socialists here, and some new capitalists. We managed like this. But the youth, our children, are very comfortable now. They went to school, established their order. I honestly say that the youth before us struggled. But we were not selfish. We were not selfish. So, it was very good that we came."

Another participant, recounting their migration story passed down from their elders, used the following expressions:

"As far as I heard from my elders and the research I conducted later, due to the difficulties, especially those of an Islamic nature, our elders found them intolerable and decided to migrate to Turkey, asking, 'Where can we go, where is an Islamic country, where is our homeland?' Many Turks were settled by the Ottoman Empire from places like Konya, Diyarbakır, and the East. For instance, even among the families we know, there are still those with the surname 'Konya.' There are also those with the nickname 'Kurd.' We still know some who live. Therefore, they mainly migrated for this reason. At that time, America, Canada, Switzerland, Sweden, and Denmark were accepting migrants like us. But our primary goal was to settle in Turkish lands. Because even then, we had some friends and relatives here. For example, I had an uncle who came to Turkey in 1938. I had another uncle who came in 1929. So, they chose here based on that."

The same participant expressed the difficulties experienced after settling in Turkey as follows:

"Well, the initial period was very negative. I won't go into too much detail about my life; everyone knows their own problems. But for example, when we came here, my father's only goal was to bring his children to a Muslim land, not for money, land, or work. We came here, and three years later, my father passed away. After that, we grew up with some difficulties... There were many difficulties, of course. Even at the initial stage of making ourselves accepted, I remember, for example, when I was a child, many people in the neighborhood did not want to take us in. Why didn't they want to? Because we came from Macedonia, Yugoslavia, a country they considered nonmuslim

, but maybe 6-7 months later, these images changed. Everyone accepted this through our lifestyle, actions, and the respect we showed to our neighbors and friends. After that, I didn't experience any difficulties, and as we grew up and moved forward, we didn't face any issues related to those matters. But we did struggle, of course. Back then, Turkey wasn't as it is now,

there were no such facilities. I don't want to delve too much into these matters because the things we experienced were not pleasant."

Another female participant responded to the interview questions as follows:

"I will say as much as I can remember. The reason my family migrated here is that they had lived in Kosovo for generations, but due to subsequent political events and various difficulties, which re-emerged in 1999, they took their children and came here. We were migrants but received no assistance from the government. They settled in Sultanahmet due to the political difficulties there." When asked about the difficulties she faced initially after settling, the participant mentioned economic hardships. When asked how they chose the location to settle in, she emphasized the importance of being close to relatives and acquaintances with whom they shared blood ties.

Another participant, who stated that they migrated at the age of 9 or 10, described their situation after migration as follows:

"In the year 1955-56, we migrated as free migrants from our homeland, which was then known as Yugoslavia, from Macedonia. We went to Ankara because we had relatives there who had migrated much earlier, around 1938. We stayed in Ankara until 1972. Later, I moved to Istanbul, and naturally, my mother and father came along when I moved. But my brother stayed in Ankara... When we came here, we were practically penniless. They had sold their belongings for almost nothing. When we arrived in Turkey, we had nothing. We engaged in trade in Ankara, worked hard, and did the same here."

A participant who migrated from Skopje described their migration process and situation after migrating as follows:

"We had the intention to come here because of our relatives. The reason was that we could no longer endure the pressures there. We were treated as second-class citizens. After completing my military service there, we prepared for about 9-10 years before settling in Turkey. Before fully settling here, we used to visit Turkey. In 1988, we migrated to Turkey... We did not encounter any negative situations. On the contrary, we encountered positive things. Our relatives were already living here. That's why we chose this place, and since settling here, we haven't faced any negativity."

Compared to other participants, this participant indicated that they did not face any negative experiences.

Another member of the same association responded to the same questions as follows:

"My grandparents came at a young age. We were not born here. My mother and father were born here. They had to come here due to the difficulties and oppression faced by Turks there. My mother's sister was born in 1911; they were born here. The first ones came about 110 years ago. My uncles were killed by Greek gangs while coming to Turkey. There were Greek gangs that gave them a hard time on the way. Those who could, came to Turkey. When they first arrived, they came to Istanbul, Yeniköy, in terms of land. Some of them spread out to Izmir and Bursa. My grandparents participated in all the wars. Wherever they found land, they settled. They have always resided there. After coming here, I never went back..."

As data to support the relationship between asabiyyah and Bedouin life, the following statements were obtained from the final participant:

"The migration at that time began from Yugoslavia in 1952-53, freely. There had been migrations before, but not in an organized manner. They allowed free migration, but it was not done through agreements, nor did they provide any facilities. During our period, an agreement was made between the then Yugoslav Federation and Turkey. Some rights were at least recognized; for instance, property owners were to be compensated by the state. However, neither we nor our families received any compensation. There was such an agreement, but very few benefited from it. Many people came here penniless, even in debt."

4.2.2 The Relationship Between Asabiyyah and Sedentary Life Among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

According to Ibn Khaldun, the removal of deprivation of property that occurs with the transition to sedentary life and the transfer of security provided by asabiyyah to institutions result in the weakening and disappearance of asabiyyah. This situation will be analyzed and supportive or counter-argumentative statements will be produced based on the responses obtained from questions asked to the participants.

An expression derived from the guiding questions of the first participant is as follows: "Our youth before us, I sincerely say, struggled. But we were not selfish. We were not selfish. So, it was very good that we came. No one among us regrets it." As understood from this, the first migrants struggled with their relationships with property and turned towards wealth and abundance, which could weaken their asabiyyah bonds. The explanation continues: "The elders of our families were very good at trading, so they did not struggle here. That is, they did not move from that town to this city. Wherever they came, they stayed in the Aegean. They came to Istanbul, they stayed there. Because the exchange migrants who came much before us could

not come to Istanbul. They did not have such a luxury. They either migrated to the Aegean or Anatolia. We are more fortunate as free migrants. We settled directly in Istanbul." This indicates the privileges provided by the places they settled.

The second participant states that kinship and neighborhood relations disappeared over time after settling in the city. "It wasn't like that in the past, we used to live together as a family in one house. Now, of course, the children got married and moved away. We can't meet very often. ...we also don't have many neighborhood relations. Not bad, but just not there. There are too many people now, we don't know each other."

The third participant mentions that despite the difficulties of urban life, they improved intra-group relations among the group they migrated with, indicating the process of belonging to the city and the separations experienced during this process. "Despite the difficulties, we grew. Thank God, I have a son, and I educated him. Even at the initial stage of making ourselves accepted, I remember when I was a child, for instance, many people in the neighborhood did not want to take us in. Why didn't they want to? Because we came from Macedonia, Yugoslavia, from a country they referred to as infidel, but maybe 6-7 months later, these images changed. Our lifestyle, our actions, the respect we showed to our neighbors and friends, everyone accepted this. After that, I experienced no difficulties. As we grew up and moved forward, we did not face any issues related to those matters. But we did struggle, of course."

One of the female participants expressed this situation in her own words: "...they faced great economic difficulties. This is an international migration... when we came here, we were practically penniless. They had sold their belongings for almost nothing. When we arrived in Turkey, we had nothing." When asked why they established the association, she responded,

"We wanted people, fellow countrymen, to be close to each other." This shows the purpose of establishing the association and how they tried to maintain asabiyyah while having a sedentary life.

4.2.3. The Relationship Between Asabiyyah and Deprivation Among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

According to Ibn Khaldun, one of the fundamental elements of asabiyyah stems from the acquisition of property and political power. Therefore, asabiyyah emerges and develops as a result of deprivation of political authority and property. The difficulties faced by the participants, especially when they first migrated, support this situation. Their responses to these difficulties also support the formation of asabiyyah.

A 68-year-old retired participant describes this deprivation through the absence of property caused by economic difficulties. Another participant emphasized the social aspects in addition to economic difficulties. "We faced economic difficulties. Due to language barriers, we struggled and were excluded because we did not know Turkish, and we had difficulty adapting to the environment. When we came from Kosovo, we stayed in Alibeyköy for 1-2 months, and then we settled in Bayrampaşa because our acquaintances were here. His father and uncles built a house together, and we all lived in the same building."

Another participant's words should be noted: "...families did not live apart. For example, our house had three sons and two daughters, but when they got married, the whole family stayed together. The budget was combined. When the budget was combined, our economic difficulties did not show outwardly, and gradually we all became property owners. Since we knew trading,

we adapted to it quickly. I don't believe we experienced great difficulty. It was much easier." It should be noted here that they also faced housing difficulties along with economic difficulties after migration.

A board member of the association who migrated from Macedonia expressed their deprivation in their own words: "When we came here, my father, mother, brother, and I were practically penniless. They had sold their belongings for almost nothing. When we arrived in Turkey, we had nothing. We engaged in trade in Ankara, worked hard, and did the same here. Now our situation is good." The participant lived in deprivation, giving up their property to survive when they migrated.

4.2.4. The Relationship Between Asabiyyah and Religion Among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

It is not possible to definitively define the relationship between religion and asabiyyah as separate and distinct. Ibn Khaldun, in various sections of his *Muqaddimah*, considers religion and asabiyyah as intertwined and complementary elements. Therefore, the relationship between religion and asabiyyah, which is trying to be delineated in the research, is also sought in the participants' responses.

Participants, while listing some of their reasons for migration, mentioned that they had to migrate due to the difficulties they experienced from religious oppression. Among the most important reasons for choosing the country was the ability to practice their religion freely and the fact that it was a Muslim country. One participant said, "We came to Turkey because it is a Muslim country, and the relations with Kosovo are good, and also because they were connected to this place during the Ottoman era."

They expressed that they could not practice their religion freely due to the country's communist regime. "In the 1950s, '55 and '56, there was a communist regime. Muslims, Turks, Albanians, and Bosniaks were disturbed by this. They became a more marginalized society. Moreover, their financial power was completely taken away from them. There was no reciprocity. For instance, one room for a family, one room for children, one room for the elderly. In this way, the Turks there were constrained,". This is why they migrated. As a result, they were separated from their property and political power, and their relationships transformed into a social structure based on asabiyyah.

4.2.5 Activities of Associations for Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians

Participants who migrated due to difficulties in their regions have maintained their kinship relations in the places they migrated to through associations they established, creating a more permanent and secure structure against dangers. Each association has social and cultural activities, and these activities further enhance kinship and close relationships.

In response to a question about the activities of the associations established by those who migrated from Macedonia, one participant provided information about the activities of the association: "The association was established in 1952 to aid Albanians and Turks. Upon recommendations, I joined the association in the 90s and became the president two years later. I joined with a sense of belonging for solidarity and fellow countrymen relations," indicating that the participant communicated with the association to build and preserve asabiyyah. Another participant from an association established by Kosovars stated, "I revitalized the association after the events in Kosovo. We took steps for Kosovo in the 90s, and in 1991, I served as the

general secretary in the association. To do something for Kosovo, I met the association president at an Istanbul Chamber of Commerce event and became a member."

Another member of a Macedonian association described the activities of the association as follows: "In the association's activities, we provide scholarships. We try to give scholarships mostly to those who come from Macedonia and study here solely as students. Why? Because we know that if they come from Macedonia and study here, they have difficulties. The situation in Macedonia is not very bright in terms of salaries. We try to help them. We organize tours for income purposes. We try to give monthly assistance to families here who are not financially well-off. We visit them during holidays. We have meat donated during Kurban Bayram, we stock it somewhere and distribute it to those specific families every month. Wednesdays are music days. The music group is mainly attended by elderly people who feel that longing. There must be peace before anything else. We organize Mawlid on certain days, once a year. We organize evenings related to local nights. We organize tours for members. For example, on the fourth of the month, we have a trip to Topuk Plateau. We generally do these things. We also accept participation from outside."

One of the female participants expressed the association's activities for women and within the association as follows: "We provide scholarships as a form of assistance. We have entertainment, meals, Ramadan iftars, domestic and international trips. There is no separation in participation in activities. The important thing is for them to feel close to us." Another participant from a Kosovo association described the similar features of their association with other associations as follows: "We have aid activities. We provide food assistance to families in poor conditions. We offer scholarships to around 300 students from 27 different countries. We do not provide these aids to members of the association." Similarly, another participant

described their association's activities as follows: "Our association provides scholarships, food assistance to poor families, clothing for children during Kurban Bayram and Ramadan Bayram. We help people from all regions. We do not discriminate. It is also not permissible in religion. Our association's doors are open to everyone. Everyone benefits from it."

5. CONCLUSION

According to Ibn Khaldun, it is essential for people to live in groups due to their needs for nourishment and protection. The types of social life that arise from these two needs are divided into two: Bedouin and Hadari. Bedouin signifies the primitive and refers to societies that only meet their basic needs. Hadari communities, on the other hand, are a continuation of Bedouin communities and are settled, urban societies. Asabiyyah, which describes communal solidarity based on blood ties, is more intense in Bedouin communities, while it weakens in Hadari communities as urbanization develops. This study examines the relationship of asabiyyah through the fellow countrymen associations of Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians.

Before the research, a literature review was conducted on Ibn Khaldun's concept of asabiyyah. The concept of asabiyyah, obtained from the review, was examined within the framework of four different components. Firstly, the relationship between asabiyyah and Bedouin life was examined, concluding that asabiyyah is based on blood ties, genealogical unity, and cohesion (iltiham), meaning that asabiyyah is a functional element rather than a genetic one. The second component examined the relationship between asabiyyah and Hadari life, concluding that Hadari life (luxury and prosperity, military order established for security, etc.) weakens or even eliminates asabiyyah. The third component examined the relationship between deprivation and asabiyyah. According to Ibn Khaldun, the ultimate goal of asabiyyah is property and political authority. Therefore, independence from property and political authority gives rise to asabiyyah. However, submitting to the authority of another political power or asabiyyah and giving up the struggle leads to the disappearance of asabiyyah. The fourth component, religion, was identified and its relationship with asabiyyah was examined. Although Ibn Khaldun does not clearly state this relationship, various parts of his Muqaddimah and analyses by different thinkers suggest that there is a relationship, concluding that asabiyyah is achieved through what

is good and natural, that is, through religion. The data obtained from the research examined the relationships of the specified components of asabiyyah.

The research concluded that the bond of asabiyyah plays a significant role in the social lives of the participants. In the early years of migration, participants tried to establish asabiyyah and survive through relationships formed on blood ties. Supporting findings included participants indicating that they settled near relatives when they migrated, they established relationships only with relatives and close persons due to social exclusion, and they formed social solidarity through associations to combat other economic and social difficulties. Among participants, it was concluded that the establishment of asabiyyah during the early migration period occurred due to deprivation of property caused by economic difficulties and deprivation of political dominance due to being a minority. However, as participants indicated, over time, economic difficulties were overcome, deprivation of property was eliminated, and security issues were transferred to the state. This situation led the migrants to adopt a Hadari lifestyle, and asabiyyah bonds weakened. However, it is not possible to say that asabiyyah has disappeared among Macedonian and Kosovo Albanians. This conclusion was reached through the functions of associations established through asabiyyah relationships and the social and cultural activities carried out by these associations.

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PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1- Can you tell us a little about yourself?
- 2- Can you share a bit about your or your family's journey to Turkey?
 - 2-a After arriving, have you ever returned to your homeland (Kosovo/Macedonia)? (Why?)
- 3- What positive/negative situations did you or your family encounter after settling here?
 - 3-a How did you deal with the problems you faced? (What kind of methods?)
- 4- Can you tell us about the process of establishing the association and your story of becoming a member? How did you hear about it, Why did you join/Why did you establish it?
- 5- Can you talk about the activities of the association? What kind of activities, types of activities (social and aid-related) and their frequency, who participates, is there participation from outsiders?
- 6- Do you have communication with other Albanian associations?
- 7- Do you have communication with your fellow countrymen living within or outside the city?
- 8- Can you tell us a bit about Albanian traditions?
- 9- Do you think today's Albanians continue your traditions? Why?

10- Do you think there is solidarity among Albanians in your area? Can you talk about this solidarity? If there is, why; if not, why?