

ASHURE AS THE REFLECTION OF THE COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE DIVISION POINT OF THE SOCIAL GROUP

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ABSTRACT

Food ensures the continuation of the body in terms of meeting individual needs. This organismic perspective of food constitutes the general acceptance of its treatment as a gastronomic phenomenon. However, the process in which food turns into something desired by the individual reveals the importance of evaluating it on social and historical grounds. Although food is perceived in certain regularities of the things to be consumed in terms of its objective dimension, the set of memories and experiences associated with it requires looking at food in terms of its social ground. The food in the memories turns into the food in the minds in an indirect way. In this case, it also enables the formation of some narratives on food in the collective memory. Therefore, the evaluation of food in the context of collective memory helps to benefit from the explanations of the phenomenological theory, especially in the context of its static and dynamic structures on social and historical shaping. In this article, it has been tried to develop a sociological perspective on food, with a special focus on ashura. The items here have helped in analyzing how the food is formed in the collective memory, how the social and historical situation is formed in terms of its static and dynamic structure through the food in the context of this collective memory and ultimately what kind of differentiation between social groups all this opens the door to. The conclusion reached in this article is that, in this sense, ashura, as a dish, takes place in the collective memories of social groups in different ways. This article is a preliminary study that focuses on the micro level of ashura in order to make social and historical comparisons of studies on food.

Keywords: Ashura, Collective Memory, Phenomenology, Group Differences, Micro Sociology, Generation.

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1. INTRODUCTION

It is a sociological reality that social structures are not only unifying but also contain a number of other discriminating elements. We can say that social structures include not only homogeneous but also heterogeneous structures. With its heterogeneous characteristic, social structure characterizes differentiation rather than regularity. The fact that differences are in competition does not mean the

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disappearance of the social structure. On the contrary, social structures experience change on the basis of these differences. Ashura, as a dessert and meal, is characterized by the composition of different nutrients in its content. However, in the case of ashura, there are grounds for differences between social groups.

The dimension of remembrance shaped by groups plays a functional role in the reading of the difference between social groups through ashura. When food or the objects/things eaten are subjected to a social reading, they become elements of difference in both naming and wanting/desiring by different groups. From this perspective, it becomes clear that food should not be read only in terms of nutritional value or the continuation of the vital elements of the individual. Therefore, the article focuses on the point that food should not only be interpreted in terms of meeting and maintaining biological needs, but also how it is evaluated by social groups. By focusing on the critical framework of the organismic perspective of food, it also critiques the shift towards positivism in the gastronomic approach of this paradigm.

The concept of collective memory emerges in the ways of remembering food. It is necessary to emphasize the point that remembering is not only individual, but rather connected with social ties. Because the flavor of food and its transformation into a desirable food is in fact a collective phenomenon, therefore it will be expressed that groups form narratives through these forms of remembrance. In this form of expression, there is the phenomenon of how food is transformed into a site by social groups. The ways in which social positions form memories and the ways in which this memory is transmitted are realized collectively. Forms of memory enable the interpretation of historical and social events through the recollection of food. It is precisely at this point that the question arises as to whether ashura is a dividing point or an integrative stage in memory. In answering this question, it is concluded that the discussions on food at the micro level in today's world have reached how they are connected to global discussions.

As a derivative of collective memory, ashura, in terms of food and dessert, contains both an integrative and divisive identity within the framework of its social and historical dimension. This social and historical perspective on food is briefly evaluated in the context of the possibilities offered by the phenomenological perspective, and as a result, it is emphasized how food assumes a functional burden in the cultural field with its socio-historical and static and dynamic structures.

2. A CRITIQUE OF THE REFLECTIONS OF THE ORGANISMIC AND POSITIVIST PERSPECTIVE ON FOOD

The phenomenon of food can mean the consumption of an object as food, or it can be characterized as a form of social activity. In both cases, food refers to the basis of meeting the biological need of any object or set of objects. In terms of its biological content, food is functional in terms of the continuation of the life of the organism of the eaten object/thing. In a sense, the continuation of the

individual's vital elements cannot be realized without food. In terms of this role it plays in the functioning of the biological mechanism as its basic feature, considering food in an organismic framework would constitute an incomplete dimension in terms of focusing on the social aspect. Although the existence of the organismic paradigm in the historical background of the sociological perspective is an undeniable reality, the necessity of framing its boundaries in terms of thinking based on the social dimension is obvious. This is because this organismic perspective has reached the capacity to interpret human unions as synonymous with animal unions in the context of the biological identity of the social. It is precisely at this point, with the progressive paradigmatic changes and stages of sociology, the lack of organismic sensitivity has been revealed. This effort to position humans and animals as equivalent in terms of their biological structure and constitution has been critiqued together with a set of cultural explanations and structural criticisms.¹

The first and primary motto of food in the sense of the continuation of biological existence can only mean reducing the individual to the equivalent position of animals in absolute perspective. Even if the indispensability of the importance of eating in terms of the continuation of life has a rational identity as a motto, when considered together with the different reactions of life, it is inevitable that all performances performed for this thing to be eaten will be transformed into cultural compounds. The effort to place humankind within this organismic/evolutionary positivist scheme ultimately constitutes another aspect of its development and the development discourses developed within this framework. This evolutionary motif in the effort to achieve something at the point of ensuring the continuation of the organism leads to the development of a discourse, even an ideological mystification, that knowledge can also develop through realities such as putting forth the effort and experiencing the ways to achieve it. The maxim that the one who can reach the object/thing to be defeated can be the strongest is a modification of the dominant one. What is being modified is the acquisition of the object/thing, rather than the how and what of the movement of the strong. The object/thing is transformed into a symbol of power. The end of transformation is substituted for the end of power. This transformation of eating in relation to power/potency is an indirect shaping of each form of eating and categories of eating into forms of potency/power.

Food, then, becomes not only a thing/object that is eaten, but the power/potency that is represented and modified by what is eaten. The way in which power/potency, and not the object itself, is continually shown as what is eaten opens up the possibility of a transition from the micro to the macro. However, it is precisely in this sense that the organismic perspective, which focuses on the vital point of the organism in the biological sense of the defeated object, falls short. The logic of the necessity of the continuation of this essential and primary vitality of the biological organism is the main vein of the factualism in the

¹ In connection with a different topic, but in-depth critique of the organismic paradigm, we can look at Mannheim's work. In this work, Mannheim was able to show the shortcomings and faults of the organismic paradigm by addressing the concept of generation in the context of positions, which he characterized as concrete social groups, even though it has a biological background (Mannheim, 2018).

positivist scheme. The food, the object/thing eaten in the effort to be transformed into a phenomenon is similar in that the discipline that strives to qualify and define itself finds its object in itself. These defining/identifying activities in the context of the object/thing are not transforming itself in terms of scope, but rather transforming what is for itself into itself. This objectification activity, which takes place in a spiral manner, as a sum, expresses the logic of the positivist paradigm's reification. Therefore, the organism definition form of the edible object/thing, which is accepted as the starting point for food, cannot be considered separately from the edible object/thing.²

Since the stages of the mystification of the eaten object/thing cannot be considered separately from this reification that it contains, there is a danger of entering the dilemmas of the positivist and organismic perspective and paradigm. Focusing on the organic structure of the object/thing to be eaten/wanted to be eaten is like going down a dead end in the founding phase of the social sciences that wants to reduce itself to the physical sciences. The point that needs to be completed in this metaphorical sentence lies in ignoring the identity of the human being who gives meaning to the object/thing. Taking the nature of the human activity as a parameter would mean transferring this structuralist aspect of the organismic paradigm to the individual. Just as it is obvious that focusing only on the object/thing to be eaten/wanted to be eaten in terms of its singular meaning means opening the door to an absolute determinism, treating the individual as singular will not have a different aspect and content from this determinism.

Why humans eat an object/thing is, of course, a holism that includes a biological as well as a sociological dimension. From a formal point of view, although the point of continuity of the biological existence of the eaten object/thing causes a static situation, the effort to turn towards and obtain this object/thing characterizes a dynamic identity. The fact that eating contains two aspects that need to be emphasized, directly and indirectly, is mentioned in a non-direct way. The fact that both perspectives contain a complicated structure in terms of their internal integrity and consistency provides a different atmosphere and mood when we include the state of desire. The form of influence in terms of how the object/thing desired is desired or the explanation of this desire with an absolute intuitive dimension seems to require the individual, who is the subject, to be kept in the foreground in the final situation. The fact that this desire gains different dimensions and qualities at different times and places expresses the possibility of evaluating the event by ignoring a relativist approach. In this case, the fact that the object/thing is desired does not come from the object/thing itself, but rather shapes the intricate structures in which both its instinctive and social dimensions intertwine.

Although the focus of thinking on the object/thing to be eaten is of primary importance for the continuation of biological existence, the transformation of the object/thing into desire is social in nature.

²It is quite fruitful to show that the phenomenon of reification developed over food is actually adaptable to sociology itself. Although it focuses on German sociology in this regard, Vandenberghe's work can be looked at in terms of detailing how this reification practice in the foundation of sociology in general works (Vandenberghe, 2016).

The desire for the object/thing spiraling and complementing each other from a vertical field of development forms a tidal wave from human to society and from society to human. In this form, which develops in a mutual interaction, it is not the object/thing that needs or requires to be eaten, but rather it is integrated with the existence of the social. There is no need to go from the Rousseauian good savage to the modern evil individual in a purely individualistic scheme. The fact that what is eaten and what is desirable to be eaten is integrated with the spatial and social structure requires us to stay away from a crystallized sociologism. The effort to turn to food in the context of the possibilities offered by formal sociology allows us to look at it with its dynamic and static aspects.

This organismic representation of the human being as a biological being is equivalent to the positivist paradigm that parallels his biological change and transformation with the change and transformation of societies. The inevitable and instinctive presence of eating in the performance of vital functions can also be observed in the inferences made about food. We can see a perspective that focuses on food, especially the object/thing eaten, and is based on this in its pure form in the majority of studies on food. Because we can state that this perspective, which constitutes the basis of the science of gastronomy, is concentrated on the organismic reflections of the consumed object. The discipline of gastronomy, which tries to explain its own discipline as inspired by the eaten object/thing itself, can be seen when the whole of the principles it has shown in terms of how and in what form the eaten/desired object/thing should be. The effort to expand the practice of legitimization in the context of the making, construction and presentation of the object/thing to be eaten/wanted to be eaten, and from this point of view, provides both the adoption of organismic laws as a priori and the shaping of the positivist schema.

3. FOOD AS A SOCIAL SITE AND LOCATION

The social scientific importance of focusing on the eaten object/thing stems from the fact that it contains a collective element. When the object/thing eaten is considered as food, certain social sites are shaped. It is precisely at this point that desire becomes functional. Although what is desired is an individual, a mode of action performed by the agent, there is a transformation of this into the desire of others, that is, the others that make up the group. This aspect of transformation has a dynamic content. It is dynamic because of the beauty and desirability of the object/thing eaten. From the point of becoming desirable, the feature of eating that can be defined by the group and reduced to the status of conformity can provide the structure of the group and its difference from the other. What is characterized as the other lies in the fact that the contents of this meal are only realized by that group as doable. Its transformation into a habit reveals a parallel identity with the phenomenon conceptualized as socialization. The important role of socialization in the formation and continuation of the group is instrumental in shaping the internal structure of the group. Ensuring the unity of the group, making the socialization of its formation and continuation work through food makes some strategies developed on food meaningful.

4. COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND FOOD

Can the transformation of strategies into specific positions be made possible by collective memory? Framing the question in this way means that collective memory should be emphasized over food. As is known, collective memory is based on the creation of memories through others (Halbwachs, 2018). Based on the fact that remembering should be emphasized not only on an individual basis but also on a group basis, collective memory characterizes that memories develop in the form of reminders of another individual(s). Halbwachs, who developed the concept, emphasizes that children's memories are transformed into a memory through the sharing of their parents' memories. Therefore, in the case of food, we can state that the first eating activity is a harbinger of a mutual transformation. The first eating activity turns into a cultural transfer of the group's taste. The individual's perception of food works indirectly in parallel with the group's perception of food. We should state here that emphasizing the phenomenon of food only in the context of the existence of the group by putting the group at the center carries the danger of sociologism. Since the individual also has the ability to influence the group in some way, there is a mutual interaction.

Although the individual makes the distinction of which of these patterns are beautiful or not beautiful while performing the activity, the transformation of these opportunities offered by the group into a schema is a step. Then, the practice of acceptance and the way in which the group adopts the existence of the group and transforms it into a code is the shaping of the memory at the final point. This pre-group appreciation plays a key role in shaping the situation. Therefore, the transformation of the thing into a collective is the making possible of this interaction. Even if these collected memories of the individual are psychological, the individual's formation of recollection regimes within the integrity of the group will also mean the shaping of collective memory. Olick's point needs to be clarified at this point. Because, according to him, in the transition from these collected memories to collective memories, the fact that collective memories have their own internal integrity and consistency constitutes the distinctive aspect (Olick, 1999). This is because collective memory can come to light in the ways in which collective memory, for example, manifests collective trauma. The existence of individual capacity in the modes of transmission of collective trauma is not denied, but it allows for the formation of differences in the practices of interpreting this trauma in the context of group regimes and positions rather than individual psychology. The strategies by which similar events are defined by different groups are ultimately evident in the transformation of collective memories.

Continuing with the example of collective trauma, we can observe the interpenetration between the individual and the group. In the words of Geoffrey White, it is this capacity of the personal to intertwine with the collective that shapes the categories of I and we (1999; 509 and all). Part of what characterizes me becomes evident from us in a non-direct way, overlapping with what belongs to the group rather than with the part of the memory that belongs to me. A distinctive feature of collective memory lies in the fact that personalization is achieved. In this period when static features come into

play, culture performs a specific function. The function of culture in the personalization effort here characterizes the transition from individual memories to collective memories. Culture, collective memory is indirectly involved in ensuring institutionalization. The effort of groups to transform these dynamic elements into a narrative is the transformation of memory into collective. Therefore, collective memory is dynamic, as Halbwachs puts it. What gives collective memory this dynamism is hidden in the communication skills and modes of transmission of groups. What constitutes the collective memory of the group is in the strategies of transmission to other members of the group. The explicit existence of certain things and the non-transmission of others is parallel to the way in which the group ensures what is and what is not transmitted at this point.

The static formation of this dynamic element of what is evident in collective memory by transforming it into culture shows that the processes are mutually operative. What is transformed into culture is integrated with the existence of what is in the collective memory. These points of realization of integration in this way are a form of narration. Depending on whether the transmission is direct or indirect, its transformation into a form of narration shapes the operational aspect of collective memory. When this situation is evaluated in the case of food, it can be interpreted within the framework of the place of the eaten object/thing in the collective memory and the practice of transforming it into a strategy.

This place of food in collective memory also emphasizes the need to place it on a social and historical ground. When the concept of position is evaluated in the context of Mannheim's perspective, it is the existence of a particular social group, that is, its social and historical grounding. The set of skills or practices shaped by those who occupy a particular position in the context of this position enables them to be interpreted as concrete groups. A particular position is characterized in economic and social terms. The derivative of social position is the realization of certain thought, action or movement on common ground. The transmission of collective memory based on this location can be expressed through the bond of commonality in social location. Generation-to-generation or intergenerational transmission processes are the subjects here. Therefore, the formation of collective memory and the processes of its transmission from generation to generation operate in direct proportion. This view, which goes beyond the biological content of a single generation understanding, reveals that memories are also functional in the transmission process with similar qualities. The transmission of memories is intertwined with the formation of narratives. The level of historical and sociality can be read with the level of realization of these intertwining and encounter grounds. The ability of the individual's memories to become common with the memories of the group, and the ability of groups to form common or different memories between each other, give rise to relations of both unity and opposition. The group's constructed narratives ultimately shape the formation of positions and forms of communal relations.

5. ASHURA: COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND REPRESENTATION

The formation or emergence of collective representations about food has content that can be evaluated within the scope of collective memory. The formation of the object/thing to be eaten develops in direct proportion to social and historical practices. The emblematic or symbolic interaction forms formed by the group in the specific object/thing eaten is a door opening on how food can be analyzed on social grounds. At this point, the evaluation of food on a sociological ground in the social and historical sense in the specific case of ashura requires to be emphasized both as a point of unification and as a point of separation/break. Although ashura as a food is a food that a certain community or a large section of society agrees on, the narratives developed on Ashura and the forms of transmission in social memory in this context create different organizational and thinking capacities.

Ashura has become a social symbol, not just a food. The symbolic codification of food in this perspective ultimately shapes social categories, and thus the positions formed by these categories lead to the emergence of different historical narratives. These forms of narration created by groups are passed down from generation to generation and again become a structural element of collective memory. In a sense, Ashura can also be considered as a social positioning or a social framing. First of all, the historical situation of the formation of these narratives will be emphasized, and then the subject will be discussed on social grounds.

6. ASHURA HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Ashura is known by a similar name in a certain geography despite the fact that it is cooked in different ways in different societies as a food and the elements used in its content vary. In the content of the dish, wheat, legumes and nuts etc. items are mixed in different proportions. It is observed that there are differences at this point. It is a reality that there are different evaluations in different regions where different elements are included in the dish.³ Despite regional differences, the month of Muharram is the historical period in which the presentation and consumption of ashura is valid. There are different narratives about this month in the Islamic tradition. The focus on the month of Muharram is not necessarily in the Islamic context, but also in the Jewish tradition. The sequence of historical events has an influential aspect in legitimizing the origin of the word ashura. For example, the acceptance of Adam's repentance on this day, the day Noah's (pbuh) ark landed on the top of Mount Gudi on this day and the believers were saved, and for this reason a fast of thanksgiving was observed, the day Moses and the Children of Israel were saved from Pharaoh's oppression on this day, etc. (Baş, 2004: 168). Obviously, the fact that such historical situations coincide with the same period reflects an interesting situation in terms of ensuring social legitimacy. The above-mentioned situation, in which narratives constitute an important aspect in the formation of social memory and the functionalization of this memory, is also

³See what kind of items are included in the content of ashura in order to qualify as a meal. (Baysal et al., 1993; 333).
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centralized here with a similar characteristic. Because, although historically any event makes the meaning of that day important in the perspective of a certain day, without an objective historical situation, that is, without the possibility of dating, it means being faced with the event of legitimization in the special case of ashura. As Baş points out in his article, although it is stated in the holy book that these historical events actually took place in history, it is obvious that it is difficult to determine and think that they actually took place on this day. To put it bluntly, the fact that so many important events coincided on the same day prompts us to think and examine whether the authors of the texts that were written as the sources of such events were molded in a certain pattern of thought and what kind of philosophy of history they were oriented towards (Baş, 2004: 169). As can be seen, although historical narration in the case of ashura contains an effort to create an objective history in the perspective of a certain chain of events, it enables the discussion to expand in direct proportion to how this objectivity should be handled within the framework of the perception of history by the political powers of the period rather than the authors of history.

Today, while it is true that historical theses originating in nation-states are shaped by the perspectives of the elites present in these nation-states, it may also be the case that the history writers of the period and the elites that legitimize this writing are guided by the political judges of that period. Because the validity of a certain historical situation in the social and cultural structure may be parallel to the narratives that these elites will create. Or it can also take place in the context of the selection of narratives by different groups in the social sphere. History, which emerged as a discipline in the modern sense, has built itself on the discourse of being universal and objective over the histories of existing groups in society. Instead of micro-histories shaped by the collective memories formed by different groups, there is the shaping of the science of history with the validity of being universal and objective. However, the science of history and historical narratives, which are attempted to be created based on the discourse of real history of the founding elites of the nation-state, are not only and absolutely derivative of a particular region or discursive capacity. As Benedict Anderson emphasizes, local historical perspectives are also functionally transformed into a device at this point (1995). This point is key to how the myth of historical origins developed through the Ashura operates within the framework of historical science or historiography. Historically, the sequencing of specific events is key to how they become functional to characterize and make sense of the event, rather than how and in what form. Even if it is not on the same day or in the same month in historical terms, the interpretive situation, which is shaped by the narrative, is active in the creation of the social and historical ground.

Balcı's critical attitude towards the writing of historical texts about ashura in terms of dating can be repeated here: "Unfortunately, our historical sources, which narrate that the events in question took place on the 10th day of Muharram according to the lunar calendar, do not have any historical evidence and sources to rely on. Apparently, as a result of the occasional coexistence of Muslims with Jews and Christians, the rumors about the events that supposedly took place on this day settled in oral tradition

and then passed into written sources without any criticism" (2004: 169).⁴ The character of the political and economic powers of the period may also have played a role in this lack of criticism. The practice of writing history can be observed in recent theories that attempt to explain the relationship between the nation-state and history, where it can reflect the perspective of dominant social groups or centers of power. The validity of the scope of historical literature is directly proportional to the dominance of the collective memory of one social group over another. The transmission of any social and historical event from one generation to another is related to how the elements of this collective memory are received and transmitted.

7. ASHURA: CAN IT BE EXAMINED AS A SOCIAL SITE?

The most appropriate answer to this question can be given by focusing on the dynamic processing of the meaning and significance of the day of ashura by which social groups. Even though ashura is a composition of certain food items, the forms of narration developed for this eaten thing turn the eaten object/thing from being an object or thing into strategies of differentiation between social groups. In terms of dating, the day of ashura means the transformation of an important event for Islamic societies into collective memory. As Yusuf Şevki Yavuz points out, ashura has a political aspect in Islamic history. After the martyrdom of Prophet Hussein in Karbala on 10 Muharram 61 (October 1, 680), this date gained importance for the Shia and became a day of mourning on which the vow to avenge the death of Prophet Hussein was renewed. This mourning fast, which the Shiites started to keep every year by beating and torturing themselves, was performed with state ceremonies under the auspices of the Shiite Fatimid state, and later these ceremonies became a tradition in Iran (1991: 25-26). In historical terms, this event, which took place on the 10th day of the month of Muharram, has become the name of the dessert that has gained meaning as ashura.

The fact that the name of the food is engraved in the memory in the context of this event exemplifies that meal or food causes compartmentalization between social groups. As an example of sects transferring the event to social memory in different ways, Ashura gains importance in terms of the fact that the food creates points of division as well as the realization of social unifications. The importance of this event in the shaping of collective memory gains importance in terms of how it is transmitted to the next generations. This is because the way groups inherit the event is the source of the collective functioning of memory. The efforts of the political and social elites that form the internal dynamics of the groups to centralize the event give rise to differences in the meaning of the meal.

This codification of food is, in another sense, the validation of social framing. Here, social framing is the integration of a certain event with a certain point of view and its transmission to the next generation

The existence of studies stating that ashura originated from the Jewish religion is a sample in the explanations of the formation of perceptions of similarity and difference. However, for a broader analysis of the debates on the point that this situation is really a center of the Jewish religious belief, see (Baş, 2004).

in this context. The dimension of the event's manifestation as mourning and its realization with a dessert is obviously the formation of a cultural ground. The dynamic structure of collective memory is observed in the evolution of the event from being a mourning to being symbolized by a particular type of dessert. The ground of meaning of the dessert as a dessert, on the other hand, is revealed through historically differentiated ways of symbolization. The way both groups view the event not only leads to different patterns of perception and meaning, but also has the potential to be interpreted as the framing forms of social groups in the transmission of memories. Here, how and in what way the food object, which is made desirable in the case of ashura, is made desirable lies in the deep fracture lines in the formation of collective memory. In a sense, the want and desire to purify the event from the atmosphere of mourning necessitates a return to the food itself. Therefore, what is desired has evolved into what has been made desirable. This transformation of social practices occurs in the spread of a cultural atmosphere that can be called static.

The emblematic and symbolic significance of the thing to be desired, the food, continued in its presentation. The specific set of hierarchical and symbolic elements followed in the production and distribution of Ashura has led to the integration of the cultural atmosphere with the collective memory. This is because the production and presentation of Ashura in Islamic societies has gained validity within the framework of certain rituals.

The form and manner of the rituals are important for the validity of the narratives. The fact that this active/dynamic aspect of collective memory can be static in the sense of being institutionalized in order to ensure transmission from generation to generation is directly proportional to the transition of the former from collective memory to store. These forms of transmission by social groups cause the dynamic to become static and to acquire similarly established elements. At this point, the transformation of the object/thing to be desired into the desired object/thing itself is completed. Collective memory also plays a key role in ensuring this transformation. For a certain social group, the Ashura becomes a form of selfhood/commonality in the sense of forming itself through food. The limits of the group's self-definition are not only made possible by the transformation of food into something desirable, but also the existence of the out-group becomes important in the context of the narratives developed by different groups outside the group about the event. Crystallizing the realization of the event through the desirable object/thing to be eaten, rather than an air of mourning, serves as a bracket at the point of determining the boundaries of the group. In a social sense, the ability and potential of the group to form memories also means the framing of the group. Therefore, the individual within the group conforms to these eating strategies that the group directs and frames. Although the forms of transmission for individuals create universes of meaning with their symbolic and symbolic levels, when the situation is evaluated formally, it is possible to see how social and historical grounds are formed.

Today, the meanings attributed to ashura in the course of daily life seem to have a distinctive quality in shaping social assumptions and distinctions from a form of food/dessert. In the formation of

such social acceptances, it is important how and in what way collective memory becomes operational. The fact that this dish is integrated with collective memory in terms of integration in the social sphere lies in the fact that collective memory spreads over time through different communication channels. The importance of different communication channels here is that they include a set of practices that extend from the oral culture universe to the written food list. While the gastronomic perspective on how to make the meal constitutes the formal dimension of the meal, it also constitutes the ground for the realization of memory. Oral culture, on the other hand, ensures the transmission of the narratives created about this dish from generation to generation. This is because the narratives created about it, as Brockmeier puts it, convince that events that seem to be independent of each other have a certain totality of meaning (2002). A similar situation is observed in the formation of forms of interpretation in parallel to the beating in the legitimization of Ashura in the month of Muharram. Although a religious motif is kept in the foreground here, the transmission of collective memory and legitimization practices are shaped within the framework of this memory. Therefore, the formation of different aspects of a single event among groups is functional in terms of showing how and in what way memory is realized, and phenomenological in terms of historical and social aspects.

8. CONCLUSION

Food constitutes a composition based on how and in what way individuals consume the objects they consume. Aside from the biological importance of the object/thing consumed, revealing its social and historical characteristics is the functional burden of the sociological perspective. The importance of the functional structure here is in the shaping of the social base that takes place as the food itself evolves from an objective structure to the object/thing consumed. This organic periphery of food, in the sense of meeting the biological needs of individuals, has the potential to expand into the social and cultural tissue as it extends to the shaping of likes and desires. The structural cores of the formation of socialness, which constitute the focal point of sociology, can also be read through food. Trying to explain the consumed object/thing by focusing on the individual cannot be read separately from the structural situation in the form of his desire for this food and forming a taste for it. In this direction, it is necessary to move away from positivist schemes shaped by an organismic perspective and to evaluate it in a more functional and phenomenological framework. The possibilities offered by these two methodologies will become more integrated with the emphasis on the need to start from both the individual and the social in the formation of the social. The central importance of meeting this basic need of the individual is compatible with the understanding of the individual in the center of the social and turning the transformation experienced after the fulfillment of this need into desire and demand also creates the center of sociality. Therefore, the reflections of this relationality, in which both elements complement each other, bring about similar inferences in the case of ashura.

Although the emergence of ashura as a food is a reflection of certain individual demands, the fact

that it can be consumed in the social sphere reveals how and in what way the social creates transformation. It not only shows the fundamental flaws of the organismic theory of food itself as a means of ensuring the survival of the biological organism, but also transforms it into a positivist expansion of the progressive structure in the social sphere. The progressive and evolutionary structure that will be tried to be revealed in the context of the development in the social sense of the use of different elements in different ways in meals will be able to show how the positivist paradigm works. This is ultimately seen in the interpretation that the development of the organism equals the development of society.

Ashura shows how food, as a form of food, is transformed into practice as a way of dealing with the social structure. The basis of our focus on Ashura is that it is shaped by the social practices of groups within its social and historical context rather than a meal. The situation that can be observed here in the concept itself reveals similar qualities in the effort to place it on the line of historicity. For, in historical terms, the fact that Ashura corresponds to the month of Muharram is the creation of a certain reality, the shaping of its relationality with previous periods in direct proportion to a series of events on the historical ground, and thus the formation of a form of legitimacy. The practice of historical sources being permeated into historiography through the influence of the policy makers of the period, albeit in a certain way, could indirectly justify the discussion of the legitimization of food on historical grounds. Nevertheless, despite the fact that the main element is based on the martyrdom of Hussein as a religious event, the event has taken on different qualities in the memories of the groups. This is where the loss of individuality in collective memory and indirectly the dominant character of the social group emerged. The mode of transmission of this plot in the collective memory, which is tried to be operated in direct proportion to the group's forms of legitimization rather than the memories of individuals, could be realized through ashura. Ashura, as a concentration of collective memory, has been institutionalized through cultural transfers on the social ground, thus enabling a static structure to reach a dynamic structure. This is among the most important inferences of this study.

The second issue is that the institutionalization of food in this way leads to different perception capacities of different social groups. Although this difference focuses on the similar point of the event to a certain extent, in practice it extends from mourning and mourning to forgetting this sadness. The strategies of forgetting and keeping in memory have been tried to be continued in an integrated way through Ashura. However, these working strategies question the perspective of how memory is accepted and disseminated among both political and social groups. Strategies to keep an event in memory through food or to make the sinister aspects of this event be forgotten have gained continuity in the form of political discourses and substitutions. Even today, on a micro scale, the presentation of certain foods by global strategies causes the food to lose its importance in the memory of social groups, and it contains similarities with the basic perspective that the food inherent in the social groups themselves should not be forgotten. For this reason, even though it is handled at the micro level, food needs to be handled at

the macro level in the context of the political economies developed on it. This situation is among the second inferences of this study.

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