Haunted and Not So Haunted Women

Hasret Esra Çizmeci[1]

ABSTRACT

Based on a field research of a specific strictly patriarchal Sufi group based in contemporary Turkey, this article examines how Sufi women's embodied acts (everyday actions and interactions and ritual performances) relate to the idea of Derridian haunted narratives as political devices that are used to limit women's potential for spiritual growth. In order to analyse the current role women of a strictly patriarchal Sufi order play in contemporary Turkey, I focus on the theory of "hauntology," "dramaturgical analysis of everyday life" and "performativity" and examine how past events, memories, traumas and cultural narratives haunt and shape current day performances including women's worship rituals and their presentation of self in everyday life (Derrida, 1994; Goffman, 1956; Butler). This article focuses on how despite the haunted experiences that may somehow limit women's potential for self discovery and spiritual elevation, more and more younger women, witnessing each other's embodied acts, seek to separate themselves physically and mentally from their patriarchal ghosts and realize their potentials as Sufi teachers, educators and artists. While hauntology often relates to oppressive experiences, it also opens up spaces for resistance and subversion. Women use Sufi rituals and arts to fight the oppression of what they perceive as false Islam. This article argues how performing Sufi zikir, poetry readings and whirling turn into acts of resistance as well as worship with the embodied acts of Sufi women, who seek a release from their haunted minds.

Keywords: Hauntology, Women, Performance in Everyday Life, Embodiment, Performativity, Sufism.

Perili ve O Kadar da Perili Olmayan Kadınlar

ÖZ

Bu makale, günümüz Türkiye'sinde faaliyet gösteren katı ataerkil bir Sufi grubuna ilişkin saha araştırmasına dayanarak, Sufi kadınların bedenselleşmiş eylemlerinin (gündelik pratikler, toplumsal etkileşimler ve ritüel performanslar) Derridacı "musallat anlatılar" (haunted narratives) kavramıyla nasıl ilişkilendiğini ve bu anlatıların kadınların manevi gelişim potansiyellerini sınırlandırmaya yönelik siyasi araçlar olarak nasıl işlev gördüğünü incelemektedir. Katı ataerkil bir Sufi tarikatına mensup kadınların çağdaş Türkiye bağlamındaki rollerini analiz edebilmek adına, hayaletoloji (hauntology), gündelik hayatın dramaturjik analizi ve performativite kuramlarına odaklanılmakta; geçmiş deneyimlerin, anıların, travmaların ve kültürel anlatıların, kadınların günümüzdeki ibadet pratikleri ile gündelik yaşamda kendilik sunumlarını nasıl şekillendirdiği tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hayaletoloji, Gündelik Yaşamda Performans, Somutlaşma (Vücut Bulma), Performativite, Sufizm.

[1] Doç.Dr., Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi, Tiyatro Bölümü, cizmeciesra@yahoo.com,
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I. Patriarchy and Haunted Sufi Women

Even though it is usually some Muslim women's own choice to cover their heads, they also seem to manipulate one another by talking about the benefits of covering body parts and living in moderation. Even in spaces where men are not present, they accept without questioning the patriarchal interpretation of the Quran, telling one another that it should be women's main duty to have children and serve their husband. They even seem to compete with each other as they present their male-dominated ideas. But why? Even though it has been proven many times in a variety of Sufi orders across Europe and the United States that Sufi Islam can exist beyond the patriarchal domination of Islamic faith, it is as if some women are still living in the past, the Abbasid or the Ottoman period when Islam had become more about male domination. Although Turkey strives to protect it's secular values, how Islamic faith takes position in the social life of Muslim women seem to communicate mostly the patriarchal values of Islamic states such as Saudi Arabia and Iran. In this supposedly contemporary Sufi order, it is as if the kitchen is like a religious school with an extremely strict male-dominated education system and women are the guardian of this system. Deceased male Islamic scholars' ideas seem to be wandering around women's bodies and haunting them like some kind of ghost (Field notes).

This is an excerpt from my journal, where I witnessed women's everyday service ritual that was performed to prepare food for communal Sufi gatherings. It was not easy to coperform this serving ritual with women unless one was a member of the group. Unlike the post-tariqa Sufi groups (which seek to be much more progressive in regard to connecting women of different social backgrounds and appearances with a mission to create an empowered female community and gender egalitarian sacred sites), this particular group invited me to attend the sacred events only as a guest. I wasn't allowed to take on any roles such as helping with the everyday tasks (Çizmeci, 2024). While I was allowed to cook, clean, serve and dance with the women of progressive post-tariqa Sufi groups, who were striving for a forward looking mission in terms of gender equality, I was only allowed to sit in the events of this patriarchal Sufi order and watch the female followers performing their responsibilities.

As I sat and observed the women, I found myself questioning not their commitment to their faith based activities, but their commitment to a patriarchal interpretation of Islam. Women and men could not perform the *zikir* ritual together, side by side. In the gatherings organized in private homes, female and male followers served the snacks and tea to men first while women waited for their turn positioned in a separate section of a specific room or in a second room organized for female devotees. It was men who were the spiritual leaders, never the women leading a Sufi community. Women could only take roles as spiritual teachers, but only to teach women.

Although, as a performance ethnographer, my methodology was against observing a community from a distance, for a while I had no other choice. In a variety of Sufi communities, I conducted extensive fieldwork embracing Dwight Conquergood's method of coperformative witnessing, trying to participate everyday activities and rituals in Sufi women's everyday life (Conquergood, 1985). Three guiding points enlightened my path as a

performance ethnographer. The first was that *the art of fieldwork* was performance, the second, the people with whom I met and performed everyday life during fieldwork were *not fools*, and the third is that I needed to imagine Sufi culture as a *matrix of boundaries, borders, intersections, turning points, and thresholds* (Peña, 2011:3). As Elaine Peña, a scholar whose work focuses on performance ethnography, explains, *this mode of research is a deeply politicized way of seeing and being in the field"* and shows the vitality of creating *sensual communication* with the subjects or more specifically *deeply coded moments of bodied exchange—that produce knowledge, ideas, opinions, mores and traditions* (Peña, 2011: 3). With this group, having limited access to coperform everyday activities and rituals with the women, I convinced myself that I could honour their need for distance without letting go of my mission to include the female devotees' words and actions in my research.

In this article, I will not mention the name of the group or real names of the people I had chance to communicate in order to respect their privacy. Instead, I will use nicknames to share their words about Sufi devotion and patriarchy. What is necessary is to give voice to these women and try to examine how these women define their spiritual goals in relation to male dominated values of a patriarchal Sufi order. Based on my field research of this strictly patriarchal Sufi group based in Turkey, I am focusing on how Sufi women's embodied acts (everyday actions and interactions and ritual performances) relate to the idea of ghostly performances and haunted narratives both as political devices that are used to limit or provoke women's potential for spiritual growth. In order to analyse the current roles women of a patriarchal Sufi order play in this specific group, I focus on the theory of *hauntology*, *dramaturgical analysis of everyday life* and *performativity* and examine how past events, memories, traumas and cultural narratives haunt and shape current day performances including women's worship rituals and their presentation of self in everyday life (Derrida, 1994).

II. Hauntological and Dramaturgical Analysis of Sufi Women's Everyday Life

A term coined by philosopher Jacques Derrida, hauntology refers to the study of ghosts and the determined presence of the past in the present. In Derrida's thought, ghosts can be perceived as entities that denote the past or the absent presence within language and culture (Derrida, 1994: 202). Today, the idea of hauntology draws from interdisciplinary perspectives, including performance studies, cultural studies, psychology and anthropology, specifically suggesting that the theory often informs cultural and political contexts where past injustices continue to haunt contemporary societies. With Sufi women, this manifests as the presence of ghosts that communicate complex Islamic histories and patriarchal memories that effect today's Sufi practice. It is possible to look into the everyday actions and interactions of Sufi women to investigate how their performances are sites for the expression of collective and individual patriarchal memories and how they seek to overcome male domination.

The idea of hauntology opens a lens through which I examine how ghosts of Islamic patriarchy signify what is no longer present but continue to generate authority. These ghosts, in this sense, are the remains of history that affect the present, shaping the

perceptions and interpretations of current day Sufi practice and role of Sufi women. Unfortunately, the dominant practice in patriarchal Sufi orders is that all followers need the guidance of a male spiritual teacher. All the power seems to be in the hands of male, living or nonliving. The authority of male is crucial since according to one of the elderly female devotees, *women can be sensitive and emotional (Field notes).* Therefore, most of the female group members seemed to have no desire for any type of leadership. Women believed that they should be aware of *their own gender qualities such as nurturing the elderly or sick*, *mothering children* and *reminding men the significance of love and compassion (Field notes).* Many women shaped their lives, defined their identities and organized their actions and behaviors according to the ideas of a male constructed past, how the nonliving male Islamic scholars interpreted the Quran and the Sufi way.

Another theory that sheds light to the analysis of Sufi women's relationship to patriarchy is the *presentation of self in everyday life* or more specifically sociologist Erving Goffman's dramaturgical analysis of *performance in everyday life* (Goffman, 1956). The dramaturgical perspective, introduced by Goffman, is recognised as a theory that perceives everyday life as a theatrical presentation. According to this perspective, individuals present themselves to others based on their cultural values, societal norms and the expectations of their audience. People perform different roles in different situations and these experiences become like scenes in a play. For Goffman, theatre is a tool for research that highlights how human beings repeat and restore their everyday actions. Engagement with his theory, I evaluate how women's embodied acts in everyday life transmit their ideas, needs and memories. Their sense of hauntedness is hidden in their repetitive actions and interactions.

In fact, many scholars of theatre and performance reiterate a significant observation regarding how theatre and theatre like everyday actions are repetitions and restorations of previous actions/ behaviors. As presented by Margaret Drewal Thompson in her work on Yoruba ritual, I observe repetitive actions of Sufi women with *a critical difference* (Drewal, 1991: 3-5). Despite rigid, patriarchal rules, women's actions and behaviors transform from one ritual to another. Marvin Carlson, in his seminal work, *The Haunted Stage*, argues that all drama is the repetition of past actions (Carlson, 2003). Actors, during the creation process of their performances, are haunted by their previous roles and previous actors who performed the given character. Other scholars who have made similar observations were Herbert Blau, Richard Schechner and Joseph Roach, who discussed theatrical representations as repetitions of what audiences have seen before (Blau, 1987: 173; Schechner, 1985: 36-37; Roach 1996: 3). Schechner famously extended this idea to all forms of performance. With his idea of *restored behavior*, he examined how all actions are restored versions of prior actions (Schechner, 36-37). These theories of repetition in performance provide multilayered perspectives about how Sufi women create haunted patriarchal identities that are controlled by the previous roles women embodied and previous teachers that they studied or once knew.

In *Gender and Drone Warfare: A*

Hauntological Perspective, Lindsy Clark discusses how she explores *the ghostly to draw attention to places and spaces of instability, contestation and discomfort* (Clark, 2019: 64). This idea is valuable in order to assess how and why women through repetitive actions and behaviors have the potential to generate insecure or secure sacred sites for themselves and for their younger generations. Clark refers to a political science expert, Jessica Auchter, to examine how "haunting is essential to understanding the way in which identity is politicized" and to argue that *Haunting allows us to investigate the way in which subjectivity is not just created/destroyed in death but also as lives are lived* (Clark, 2019: 64; Auchter, 2014). Drawing on these ideas on the creation and destruction of identity, I analyse how Sufi women restore everyday behaviors. As I conduct fieldwork with Sufi women in this patriarchal Sufi orders, I often find myself questioning how certain male dominated ideas complicate women's personhood, their visibility as the oppressed gender, their sense of power and their relationship to today's world.

IV. Sufi Women's Relationship to the Ghosts of Islamic Patriarchy

Today, there are great number of seminal works that question the patriarchal interpretation of Islam. Pakistani-American scholar Asthma Barlas presents the falseness behind the patriarchal reading of the Quran and the problem of perceiving other historical texts such as hadiths as a guide for understanding the complexity of the Quran (Barlas, 2019). Barlas discusses in great detail how Quran's message has nothing to do with perceiving men as privileged (Barlas, 2019: 78-79). Another scholar and Islamic feminist, Asma Lambaret, in her book, Women in the Qur'an, discusses the importance of taking a different path through which Muslim women can emerge from the prevailing methods of studying Islam today (Lambaret, 2016). The irony according to many scholars is that the Qur'an, in contrast with Islamic traditions that discriminate against girls, is a particularly mindful text that promotes women's well-being and development.

The challenge for most Muslim women is to realize that it is not against Islam to speak of their visions and goals as independent human beings. However, most are also aware of the idea that the cause of oppression in countries that consider themselves Islamic is not Islam. The cause has been the misinterpretation of Islam or what Gül, a Sufi woman calls *false Islam* controlling the minds of many Muslims (Field notes). During my fieldwork, I have come to understand Lila Abu-Lughod's arguments regarding going against the r*eductive interpretation of veiling as the quintessential sign of women's unfreedom* (Abu-Lughod, 2019: 40). If the women performing the ritual has an educated decision, veiling was not about denying freedom. It was a form of worship allowing women more seclusion.

The year I had chance to participate a variety of ritual activities with these women, I witnessed their love and attachment to owning certain aspects of the Islamic tradition. Alya, an elderly Sufi women, once said, *I enjoy hiding myself from the world, anyone who is not close to me (Field notes).* Cooking in the kitchen quietly was a form of worship for Alya. She enjoyed staying in the background, away from crowds. This allowed her to spend more time with her private zikir practice, repeating God's names quietly as she performed her everyday chores. Alya was

generous in sharing her observations that she said t*his type of isolated practice might not be for every woman, some choose to adjust (Field notes).* Some women were finding ways to fight the patriarchal system that limit their visibility, power and ability to practice Sufism fully through music and other forms of artistic practice. Although, I enjoyed listening Alya talking about her ideas about a woman's freedom to choose her way of practicing Sufism, I knew that not all women were aware or believed that they had the position or the courage to leave.

Some women, while owning the patriarchal values seemed to deny themselves the right to prioritize their spiritual training. Having witnessed their experiences, I have become aware that there also women, who had the need and desire to practice some, more visible, Sufi sacred rituals that include, poetry, whirling and singing as in the Mevlevi (whirling dervishes) tradition. Historical data also shows that many Sufi orders during the Ottoman Empire prioritized arts including music (composing, playing instruments, vocalizing and teaching), poetry (writing, speaking and teaching) and drawing (calligraphy practice and teaching) for spiritual elevation. Although, most women were aware of their needs, taking the action to leave required *a lot of courage (Field notes).* Many were afraid of *staying alone* or *coming across wrong people (Field notes).* It wasn't easy to stay free of the ghosts of the patriarchy. However, it was also possible to come across women in this strictly patriarchal order who have realized the performative nature of their existence, their bodily power to open up spaces for a less patriarchal Sufi worship. These women found ways and organized gatherings to practice Sufi music and poetry without leaving their families.

V. Sufi Women's Bodies as Archives

This multilayered nature of women's Sufi practice assured me once again that a researcher focusing on the gender dynamics of Sufi orders could not trust the authority of archival documents about how women practiced Sufism in contemporary Turkey. As discussed by Rebecca Schneider and Diana Taylor, it is necessary to look into embodied archives to see how knowledge is transferred (Schneider, 2011, Taylor, 2003). Taylor points out: *By shifting the focus from written to embodied culture, from the discursive*

to the performatic […], we alters what academic disciplines regard as appropriate canons, and might extend the traditional disciplinary boundaries to include practices previously outside their purview (Taylor, xviii). Embodied knowledge is necessary to examine how patriarchal interpretation of Sufi Islam speak to different women.

In the context of Sufi Islam, women often engage in various embodied acts including ritual performances that serve multiple purposes, including asserting agency, negotiating identity, and resisting oppressive narratives. Sufi zikir, considered as the primary ritual that is performed in private and in public, and in many forms such as sitting, standing, whirling, is about remembering God's unity at all times by repeating God's Quranic names. It is a natural process that all followers seek to remember God at all times through a variety of individual and communal rituals. These rituals are vital for the devotees to experience a sense of togetherness with the divine. Sufi devotees perform zikir in their everyday life as they sit and practice the counting the beads ritual (counting their beads as they repeat God's names),

and as part of their everyday actions such as cooking and cleaning. All were considered as forms of meditations to remember God at all times. Aside from these personal zikir practices, there was also a communal zikir ritual, where all the devotees came together and performed a variety of movements as they chanted God's names in unison.

Communal zikir ritual has an ecstatic quality. Performing communal zikir, devotees move their heads with such devotion and care as they repeat God's names, vocalize religious hymns, while at times lamenting their longing for God. This ritual of remembrance (zikir) is repetitive and fast paced that at times the sounds and the movements, according to some followers encourage feelings of *joy, excitement*, *love* and *peace (Field notes).* Devotees often explain that they leave the zikir circle feeling released. The sounds and movements have cathartic effects that in a way devotees also define their experiences as releasing *stress, anxiety, and fear* about their material needs and social problems (Field notes). As one devotee explained, *zikir brings his soul away from any thought other than God (Field notes).*

In the patriarchal Sufi order's zikir ritual gatherings, women sat in the background, usually at a separate, smaller space, and simultaneously repeated God's names in a low tone. The spaces women occupied also transformed with women's embodied acts. Women tended to perform their rituals in secondary spaces. Not only in mosques but in many Sufi lodges and homes, men performed communal zikir in a large space designated as the main ritual hall while women sat behind men participating in the background. There are gender equal examples of mosques with prayer halls for both men and women in Europe and the United States, but this practice is uncommon in Turkey. In gender equal sacred spaces, ritual halls are designed to ensure that the men's prayer hall in the mosque is equal in size to the women's prayer hall. Even in such spaces men are in front lines and women are still in the back.

In most zikir ritual gatherings, women's silent or low tone participation defined their gender roles in relation to men. While men often tested their spiritual progress by how they trained their minds, women seemed to define their spiritual progress through how they appeared in the eyes of their husbands, brothers and fathers. Due to patriarchal inferences about how Islam should be practiced, women tended to warn and educate each other on many issues in the business of daily life. More women were haunted because of this memory transfer. As Ceylan once expressed *The words spoken to daughters have been different from encouraging words spoken to sons (Field notes).* She explained how her parents and relatives reminded her the importance of *withdrawing, adapting and obeying (Field notes).* It was not only the parents. She stated, as children we were *guided to obey. Not only at home, in the Sufi house, but also in school. This was how we learned Islam. We believed God asked us to stay invisible and quiet (Field notes).* Her words were full of memories of the deceased family members or teachers, the words of ghosts. In environments where men were present, women took on roles that spoke less and were deemed less worthy of leadership positions. The women were deemed worthy to cover their head, remain silent, sit behind the *zikir* circle to watch and participate the chanting in a low tone.

Every time a woman stayed in the background, silent and motionless, her embodied acts and her use of the ritual space became a haunted performative constantly reminding women their position and role in relation to men. Such ghosts distort today's perception of Sufism for many limiting some followers' capacity to seek visibility and power. Mary Luckhurst and Emilie Morin discusses in Theatre and Ghosts: Materiality, Performance and Modernity … *the ghost of more modern times is not so much the revenge figure of previous eras but often a cipher for signifying trauma, violence and otherwise hidden human rights abuses* (Luckhurst, 2014: 2). Women's spaces, their outfits, the ways in which they participate communal rituals, their lack of visibility, all of these rules become haunted performatives that influence women's position in everyday Sufi practice.

However, Sufi worship, specifically, the practice of zikir brings such liberation to the mind of many women, whom I had chance to meet during this extensive fieldwork. Zikir, whether performed in the form of sitting, standing or whirling, is a performative act that transforms the performer's breath, movements, speech and feelings. Sufi practice is about knowing self, one's ego and its shortcomings. It is a training of the mind. The goal in Sufism is to let go of any attachments that limit one's potential for annihilation. Devotees believe that through annihilation of self, one can realize his/her nothingness and unite with God. On one hand, the Sufi follower is seeking a release from nefs (self), a sense of letting go of all identities in search for God's unity, including any attachment to their haunted gender identities. Sufi performance, for some women, convey a repertoire of spiritual progress, moving beyond the imposed roles of the patriarchy. What occurs is a potential embodiment of woman's desire to know self in relation to God.

V. Embodying Self: Fighting the Ghosts

In the case of the Sufi women of this Sufi group, despite the haunted experiences that limit women's potential for self discovery, more and more younger women seek to separate themselves physically and mentally from their patriarchal ghosts and realize their potentials as Sufi teachers, educators and artists. While hauntology often relates to oppressive experiences, it also opens up spaces for resistance and subversion. Sufi women also employ various strategies to challenge and disrupt oppressive narratives and structures, reclaiming agency over their lives and bodies. Through acts of resilience, creativity, and solidarity, they seek to confront the ghosts of the past and imagine alternative futures. Women's complex position in relation to the ghosts of patriarchy are embedded in their expressive acts and these acts have the potential to show how there are many ideas that guide women in the direction of recreating and restoring self in relation to the forces of society and nature. It is these women's expressive acts and their desire to restore what Roach calls collective social memory through gender egalitarian *substitutions* (Roach, 1996, 5). Therefore, since each restored behavior is haunted with the past performances, some of these women are also haunted by the expressive acts and words of women, who resist patriarchy.

When devotees organize women-only Sufi gatherings, their rituals are loud and full of joy. They sit and move their heads or whirl as a form of zikir. They seem to own their spiritual progress as they read Sufi poetry

or sing religious hymns. Some sit and move as they repeat God's names, others whirl or play instruments and sing. Their decisive movements and concentration convey their desire to break free from the performativity of the conventional Muslim woman, who chooses to be silent and in the background. These women's bodies, as they repeat God's names in unison, show their commitment to let go any gender related identities. As Eslem, a writer and a private school teacher, explained, her performance of zikir reminded her that she could worship both silently and loudly, in the front lines. Eslem's body movements as she moved her head from one side to another repeating *lailahe illallah* reminded her that her main responsibility was *to get to know her real self*. Her purpose in life was to seek self knowledge through Sufi arts, music and dancing. When I asked Eslem, why she was still spending most of her free time with people in a patriarchal Sufi order, she said that she was happy with organising ritual gatherings for women and teach them that they deserve to sing, dance and use their bodies as tools for worship. She was aware of the power of her body as an effective tool to connect to God and heal her mind of the distortions of social life.

Eslem's presence in the order, organizing female ritual gatherings, was performative in the sense that how she talked, walked, sang and spoke was reflecting Sufi women's empowerment. She was a veiled Muslim woman, who was carrying her body with such openness and courage as if she was a male. She was not hiding. She was showing other women that what they learned was not the only way to worship God, that their faithfulness was not about obeying or following male dominated rules. Eslem's presence, her standing upright as she walked and her using her vocal power as she spoke with her male and female acquaintances, was showing women that they had no need to be modest, quiet, obedient and too well-behaved to be good, faithful human beings. Eslem's gentle but strong voice as she delivered a religious poem and her choice of words as she performed a sohbet ritual was performative in the sense that her everyday performances were influencing many younger women. Many were repeating, restoring, and regularly embodying Eslem's actions and behaviors.

With Eslem, more and more women were constituting their gender with a variety of performative acts. While most of these women's gender was created through the performance of acts that are defined by the living patriarchy and the ghosts of the patriarchy, gender is a performative that is in constant transformation. Many theorists argue that gender roles are not physiological only. Butler describes gender as *an identity tenuously constituted […] through a stylized repetition of acts* (519). As long as there is enough stylized repetition as in the case of daily Sufi gatherings organized by Eslem, performativity is at work continuing to transform younger minds and bodies. In this case, while patriarchal female Muslimness is a set of stylized repetitions, behaviors that are restored overtime, new female Muslimness is also in the process of creating itself. The idea of a female Muslim is a strong performative that controls how these Sufi women should conduct their bodies and only through women, who can speak, walk, dance and sing, women like Eslem can overcome the patriarchal oppression. While the ghosts of the patriarchy continue to haunt many of the elder Sufi women's bodies in the Derridian sense, Eslem and her younger friends fight

their ghosts and design their potential Sufi selves as women seeking spiritual meaning that is beyond pleasing their male relatives and other Sufi acquaintances. Eslem uses performance (her body) as a medium to realize her Sufi training and to transfer her idea of a female Muslimness that is in direct contact with religious poetry, music and dance, all as highly effective forms of zikir worship.

VI. Conclusion

This field research and the embodied experiences of the female devotees depict how Sufi women use their embodied acts (everyday actions and interactions and ritual performances) to move beyond haunted narratives as political devices that are used to limit their potential for spiritual growth, self knowledge and perceiving the joy in their faith based everyday lives. It also shows that current role women of a patriarchal Sufi order play in contemporary Turkey is multifaceted in the sense that each women have different needs and ways of practicing their worships. Some seek seclusion, some togetherness. The focus on the theory of *hauntology*, *dramaturgical analysis of everyday life* and *performativity* open a lens through which one can examine how past events, memories, traumas and cultural narratives haunt and shape current day performances (Derrida, 1994). Butler's idea of performativity once again helped comprehend how women through embodied acts influence one another and show alternative ways of creating self. This article focused on how despite the haunted experiences that may somehow limit women's potential for self discovery and spiritual elevation, more and more younger women use their words and movements to separate themselves physically and mentally from their patriarchal ghosts. In the case of these women, it is possible to recognize that while hauntology often relates to oppressive experiences, it also opens up spaces for resistance and subversion. Women use Sufi rituals to fight the oppression of what they perceive as false Islam.

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Notes

[i] The position of the tariqa is a very complex matter in contemporary Turkey. Despite legal restrictions, Sufi orders continue their activities as foundations and/or other types of organisations. As I discuss in Performing Post-Tariqa Sufism, some are very doctrinal and strict in regard to how they follow Islamic teachings. Some of them focus more on the spiritual aspects of Islamic religion while others perceive social matters as important as spiritual ones. The position of women in these orders also tend to be multi-faceted, especially when the matter is the role the patriarchy plays in the everyday life choices of female devotees.

[i] Also see, *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 1999).

[i] Deceased Sufi teachers are a significant part of Sufi worship practice. Devotees often visit the tombs of deceased Sufi teachers and believe that the deceased has the power to assist them in their spiritual journeys.

[i] Also see, *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 1999).

[i i] The position of the tariqa is a very complex matter in contemporary Turkey. Despite legal restrictions, Sufi orders continue their activities as foundations and/or other types of organisations. As I discuss in Performing Post-Tariqa Sufism, some are very doctrinal and strict in regard to how they follow Islamic teachings. Some of them focus more on the spiritual aspects of Islamic religion while others perceive social matters as important as spiritual ones. The position of women in these orders also tend to be multi-faceted, especially when the matter is the role the patriarchy plays in the everyday life choices of female devotees.

[iii] Also see, *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 1999).W

[iv]Deceased Sufi teachers are a significant part of Sufi worship practice. Devotees often visit the tombs of deceased Sufi teachers and believe that the deceased has the power to assist them in their spiritual journeys.

[v] Also see, *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida's Specters of Marx*, ed. Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 1999).