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The Mediating Role of the Perception of Traditionalist Gender Roles in Career Choice on the Association Between Egalitarian Gender Perception and STEM-related Career Preference Among Third (Junior-level) and Fourth (Senior-level) Grade High School Students

Sevim Sılanur Küçük¹, Sami Çoksan*²

Abstract: The current study aimed to investigate two points among junior and senior-level high school students. First is to examine the mediating role of the perception of traditionalist gender roles in career choice on the association between egalitarian gender perception and STEM-related career preference. Second is to explore differences between gender groups (female vs. male) and school types (Anatolian high school, religious vocational high school, vocational high school, and science high school) in terms of variables and the outcome. A hundred and sixty-four students (76 females, 46.3%; 88 males, 53.7%) between the ages of 15-20 ($M = 17$, $SD = .789$) participated in the study. They responded to demographic information form, gender perception scale, and gender roles in career choice scale. Simple mediation analyses showed the mediating role of the perception of traditionalist gender roles in career choice ($\beta = .144$, 95% CI [.001, .286], $SE = .073$, $z = 1.971$, $p = .048$), as we hypothesized. Exploratory analyses revealed that students in Anatolian high school and science high school preferred egalitarian gender roles more, and preferred traditionalist gender roles in career choice less than those in other types of school. Also, students in science high school preferred STEM-related professions more. Moreover, female students preferred STEM-related professions more than male students. We discussed the findings in the context of social psychology.

Keywords: Egalitarian gender roles, Gender roles in career choice, Gender roles, STEM-related career preference, Traditionalist gender roles in career choice

Lise Üçüncü ve Dördüncü Sınıf Öğrencilerinde Eşitlikçi Cinsiyet Algısı ile STEM İlişkili Kariyer Tercihi Arasındaki İlişkide Kariyer Seçiminde Gelenekçi Cinsiyet Rollerinin Aracı Rolü

Öz: Mevcut çalışma, lise üçüncü ve dördüncü sınıftaki öğrenciler arasında iki noktayı araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. İlk olarak, eşitlikçi cinsiyet algısı ile STEM ile ilgili kariyer tercihi arasındaki ilişkide kariyer seçiminde gelenekçi cinsiyet rollerinin aracı rolünü incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak, keşfedici bir amaçla, cinsiyet grupları ve okul türleri arasında değişkenler açısından farklılıklara odaklandık. Araştırmaya 15-20 yaş arası ($Ort.=17$, $SS=.789$) 164 öğrenci (76 kız, %46,3; 88 erkek, %53,7) katılmıştır. Katılımcılar demografik bilgi formu, toplumsal cinsiyet algısı ölçeği ve meslek seçiminde toplumsal cinsiyetin rolü ölçeğini doldürmüşlerdir. Hipotezimize paralel olarak, basit aracılık modeli analizi, kariyer seçiminde gelenekçi cinsiyet rollerinin aracı rolünü göstermiştir ($\beta = .144$, %95 GA [.001, .286], $SH = .073$, $z = 1.971$, $p = .048$). Keşfedici analizler ise Anadolu lisesi ve fen lisesi öğrencilerinin diğer okul türlerine göre eşitlikçi cinsiyet rollerini daha fazla, kariyer seçiminde ise gelenekçi cinsiyet rollerini daha az tercih ettiklerini ortaya koymuştur. Ayrıca fen lisesindeki öğrenciler ile kız öğrenciler, sırasıyla diğer okul tiplerindeki öğrenciler ve erkek öğrencilerden daha fazla bilim, teknoloji, mühendislik ve matematik (STEM) ile ilgili meslekleri tercih etmektedirler. Bulgular sosyal psikoloji bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eşitlikçi cinsiyet rolleri, Kariyer seçiminde cinsiyet rolleri, Cinsiyet rolleri, STEM ilişkili kariyer tercihi, Kariyer seçiminde gelenekçi cinsiyet rolleri

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1. Introduction

The concepts of sex and gender are among the subjects that many disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and medicine frequently work on both in the past and today (Ünal et al., 2017). In the process that starts with learning the gender of the fetus, the lives of individuals are shaped through these concepts (Karabekmez et al., 2018). The concept of sex emphasizes the innate physical, biological and hereditary aspects of individuals and explains being a woman and a man with biological-based categories (Dökmen, 2004). The concept of gender, which derives from this classification, explains the appearance of gender in social life with more concrete judgments and associates being a woman or a man with social and sociocultural processes (Gökcan, 2018). Gender also indicates the obligations of being a man and a woman established in the socialization process and the social roles, responsibilities, and behaviors attributed to individuals by society (Altınova, Duyan, 2013). In other words, gender is not related to the biological and hereditary differences that we are born with; it is related to the expectations of society towards individuals on the basis of gender (Dökmen, 2004). Although these concepts are used interchangeably from time to time, the concept of sex gives a physical reference to the differences between men and women, causing the differences to gain a universal meaning, while the concept of gender rejects the universal meaning of differences due to its connection with the sociocultural structure (Gökcan, Büyükgöze-Kavas, 2018).

From early developmental stages, people gain clues about society and culture by actively observing in order to make sense of the world in the socialization process (Esen et al., 2018). People who socialize according to the society and culture where there are many factors such as family, environment, peers, and mass media develop perceptions, roles, and stereotypes about gender (Altınova, Duyan, 2013). In the historical process, societies have assumed the role of a perceptual filter in terms of norms and beliefs and people's perspectives on others, assigning different meanings to genders and causing the perception of gender to be shaped (Parlaktuna, 2010). Since the gender perception of societies is based on ideological foundations, people's perceptions, behaviors, and roles are also shaped within the framework of this ideology (Temiz et al., 2020). Societies also place outgroup members in different statuses through these ideologies. Sex and gender are the most important criteria in determining this status. Expectations of people's status are defined as social roles. Gender roles, on the other hand, are defined as the norms that people must comply with because of their gender within the framework of social and cultural expectations (Esen et al., 2018).

As stated above, gender roles not only provide the explanation of being a woman and a man but also

express the expectations of society and culture from individuals (Öngen, Aytaç, 2013). Gender roles, which are one of the basic elements of gender, are among the factors that determine the behaviors, duties, and obligations expected from women and men. Gender roles attributed to individuals by societies cause conflicts between the genders (Gökcan, 2018). People start to shape their behaviors in this context by learning their gender roles around the age of three or four. In terms of gender roles, it is possible to examine the roles of men and women under two topics as traditional and egalitarian roles. Traditional roles point to stereotypes in which women are more in the background and men have more active and superior behaviors than women (Dicke et al., 2019). Egalitarian roles, on the other hand, argue that men and women should share responsibilities equally in many issues such as professional and social life (Esen et al., 2017).

In the early stages of life, individuals who are socialized with their families begin to have perceptions of gender roles. Individuals who start to adopt basic knowledge about gender roles before they reach school age are exposed to a new social life by socializing with their peers when they reach school age. This education process and educational institutions are among the most important factors affecting the gender perception and roles of the individual after the family. The knowledge and experience of individuals who have started the education process are increasing (Gökcan, 2018; Temiz et al., 2020). Perceptions and roles towards gender are adopted until adolescence. Adolescence, which is called a transitional age between childhood and adulthood, includes a rapid growth and change process in individuals. With the effect of biological, physiological, and social changes seen in this rapid growth process, adolescents internalize their gender perceptions and complex concepts related to this and begin to define themselves with their "feminine" or "masculine" aspects in order to adapt to the behaviors and attitudes expected from them in line with these concepts (Esen et al., 2018). This situation causes individuals to limit themselves in behavioral, emotional, and physical areas on the basis of their gender. In addition, these limitations are also seen in educational and professional fields (Gökcan, 2018).

Choosing a profession is one of the most important decisions that individuals make in their life. The choice of profession is not only important because of what the individuals will be engaged in, but also choosing a profession is also an essential action as it is effective on economic, social, and many vital issues (Gökcan, 2018; Esen et al., 2018; Hamamcı et al., 2013). Unfortunately, as a result of perceptions, roles, and attitudes created by gender, characteristic occupations are attributed to women and men in almost all societies (Leaper, Brown, 2014); hence, this causes a career choice gap between women and men, and also between female and male students (Gati, Saka, 2001; Singer, 1974).

The perceptions and roles of societies and their career choices on the basis of gender shaped by them limit people in terms of which professions line men and women can take part in and which professions they should prefer (Parlaktuna, 2010). In the historical process, it was stated that men should be more active in fields such as science, technology, and industry, while women should be responsible for housework and the care of family members (Dicke et al., 2019). Although the industrial changes experienced during the industrial revolution brought many radical transformations and developments in working life on a global scale, causing women to be included in business life, the belief that women should be in the background compared to men continued; thus, it has been more difficult for women to gain status, power and economic freedom on the career ladders (Altinova, Duyan, 2013; Çetin-Gündüz, 2017). Although awareness of gender has increased as a result of current developments and changes, it can be stated that gender roles still continue in career choices (Hand et al., 2017; Leaper, Brown, 2014). Especially with the development of information technologies, the importance of science, technology, engineering and mathematics has increased. However, it is thought that gender roles still have an effect on choosing these professions (Zhang, Barnett, 2014).

In recent years, some professions that have been predominantly chosen by males and socially attributed to males until now have been conceptualized as STEM group jobs which include science, technology, engineering, and mathematics-related professions (Anderson, Li, 2020; Ketenci et al., 2020; Robnett, Leaper, 2012). People shape the career choice process by being influenced by their life experiences. Therefore, it is of great importance for individuals to be guided in the right way in this process, to raise awareness of gender, and direct their profession within the framework of their own interests and abilities (Çetin-Gündüz, 2017; Gökcan, 2018). It is assumed that people who assimilate the concepts of gender in family and educational institutions will make their choice of profession, which is one of the choices they should make during the transition from adolescence to young adulthood, under the influence of these concepts. For instance, it is expected that there will be less difference between male and female students in choosing STEM professions in communities with gender egalitarianism. On the other hand, traditionalist perception of gender is associated with expecting men to prefer STEM professions (Hanton, 2015; Leaper, 2015).

On the other hand, in the recent past, it has been stated that the perception of gender alone may not have an effect on career preference, but if this perception spreads to the context of the choice of profession, people would divide the professions as male-female jobs, that is, men will be expected to prefer STEM-related career more (Anderson, Li, 2020; Zhang, Barnett, 2014). As a matter of fact, Social Learning Theory states that adolescence is important in the process of including perceptions, roles, and

stereotypes towards gender. According to the theory developed by Albert Bandura (1969), the principles that are effective on social structure in learning can be used to explain gender perceptions and roles. It is stated that the reward and punishment mechanism at the end of the *observation and modeling* process, which is the basic principle of Social Learning Theory, causes the development of roles, perceptions, and stereotypes towards gender in individuals. It is stated that the sudden growth spurt seen with adolescence increases the pressure on individuals to adapt to expectations, behaviors, and attitudes towards gender roles and perceptions in the socialization process, and as a result, it is stated that individuals shape their identities in this direction by internalizing perceptions and roles. Adopting negative roles can cause negative consequences in many areas of life in the future. From an educational and professional perspective, this situation may cause people to have problems in subjects such as education and career preference, and to question their academic qualifications (Dökmen, 2004; Esen et al., 2018; Gökcan, 2018; Robnett, Leaper, 2012). The results of the studies in the field on this subject also confirm these arguments. For instance, in studies conducted with preschool and primary school students, it has been observed that children begin to adopt these roles and perceptions during the socialization process and they distinguish professions as male and female jobs (e.g., Çetin-Gündüz, Tarhan, 2017; Çimşir, Akdoğan, 2020; Temiz et al., 2020). Studies conducted with university students, on the other hand, showed that gender perceptions and roles brought from past experiences are effective in the profession they prefer (Gedik, Cakir, 2019; Hamamcı et al., 2013; Öngen, Aytaç, 2013; Ünal et al., 2017).

Moreover, in the existing studies for high school students who are in an important period in choosing a profession, it is seen that these studies are generally carried out with the aim of developing scales for the relevant age group; female participants are predominant and focus on similar school types (Esen et al., 2018; Gökcan, Büyükgöze-Kavas, 2018). However, the high school period is a crucial stage for students to choose their careers, and therefore it is believed that it is necessary to evaluate the thoughts of adolescents about gender (Esen et al., 2018; Muenks et al., 2019). In addition, the fielding for the choice of profession in Türkiye becomes clear in the last two years of high school. For this reason, the last two years of high school can be critical in terms of preferring a career. Considering these factors, it is thought that this study, which is carried out with students attending the third and fourth grade of high school, which is of great importance in preferring a career, that is, students preparing for the university exam, the participants are more homogeneous in terms of gender, and the students attending different school types would uniquely contribute to the literature.

In this context, the current study focused on two aims. First, it is to test whether there is a mediating role of the perception of gender roles in career choice on the association between general gender role and

STEM-related career preference among third (junior-level) and fourth (senior-level) grade high school students. Our second aim is to examine whether there is a difference between school types and genders in terms of general gender perception, adopting traditional gender roles in career choice, and choosing STEM-related professions, since there are very few empirical studies in the field. For our first purpose, our hypothesis is that adopting traditional gender roles would have a mediating role. Our second aim focuses on describing the relationship between variables in line with an exploratory purpose.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

A hundred and sixty-four volunteers (76 females, 46.3%; 88 males, 53.7%) between the ages of 15-20 ($M= 17$, $SD= 0.789$) attending the last two years of any public high school in the Erbaa district of Tokat participated in the study. Participants attend Anatolian high school¹ ($n= 53$, 32.3%), religious vocational high school ($n= 48$, 29.3%), vocational high school ($n= 35$, 21.3%) or science high school ($n= 28$, 17.1%). The maternal education level of the majority of the participants was primary school ($n= 87.53\%$) and the respondents mostly classified themselves as middle socioeconomic level ($n= 106$, 65%).

2.2 Measurements

2.2.1 Demographic Information Form

We collected information about the demographic variables of the participants through this form. In addition, questions about whether the participants would prefer any STEM-related profession were also included in this form. We classified participants' preferences using the STEM definition of the U.S. Department of Education. We coded the variable as "1" for those who wrote that they would prefer the relevant professions, and "0" for those who wrote that they would prefer other professions or were undecided about their career choice.

2.2.2 Gender Perception Scale

We used the gender perception scale developed by Altınova and Duyan (2013) to measure participants' general gender perception score. The scale consists of 5-point Likert type (1= I strongly disagree, 5= I

¹ It is one of the most common types of high schools providing free education in Türkiye. The purpose of its establishment is to bring high-achieving students to the university. The main difference from other high school types is that this type of high school gives importance to foreign language education and prepares its students for university life more.

strongly agree) 25-items (e.g., Marriage does not prevent a woman from working). Cronbach's α was .872 in the original study and was .881 in the current study. High scores on the scale indicate greater egalitarian gender role preference.

2.2.3 Gender Roles in Career Choice Scale

We used gender roles in career choice scale developed by Gökçen and Büyükgöze-Kavas (2018) to measure participants' perception of the gender roles in their career choice score. The scale consists of 5-point Likert type (1= I strongly disagree, 5= I strongly agree) 17-items (e.g., Management is more suitable for men) with two dimensions that highlight traditionalist or egalitarian gender roles. Cronbach's α coefficients were .88 and .77, respectively, in the original study, the scale Cronbach's α was .872 in the current study. We reversed egalitarian gender role items and finally, high scores on the scale indicate greater traditionalist gender role perceptions in career choice.

2.3 Procedure

First, IRB permission was obtained so that there were no ethical issues in the conduct of the study. Then, local permission was requested for the study by applying to the Tokat Provincial Directorate of National Education. After the permissions were obtained, oral permission was obtained from the school principals by going to the schools, and the purpose of the study was explained to the students in the first 10 minutes of a lesson determined by the principals. Then, a text containing the purpose of the study and a parent-consent form were presented to the students to deliver to their parents. The following week, the students whose parents gave written permission to participate in the study were identified by going to the same class, and the student-consent form, demographic information form, and questionnaire booklet consisting of the scales were distributed to the students. During the study, none of the students reported that they encountered a problem. The measurement process was completed in an average of 10 minutes. No incentives were offered to the participants.

3. Results

3.1 Analytical Approach

The simple mediation model (see, Hayes, 2022, pp. 79-119) with egalitarian gender perception as the predictor (X), STEM-related career preference as the outcome (Y), and traditionalist gender role

perceptions as the mediating variable (M) was analyzed with Jamovi (R Core Team, 2021) version 2.3 (The Jamovi Project, 2022) using *medmod* package was adapted from *R-lavaan* (Rosseel, 2012) package to examine the hypotheses. The standard estimation method was used for standard errors.

3.2 Simple Mediation Analysis

Egalitarian gender perception negatively predicted traditionalist gender role perceptions in career choice (a path, $\beta = -.827$, 95% CI [-.927, -.726], $SE = .051$, $z = -16.12$, $p < .001$). Traditionalist gender role perceptions in career choice negatively predicted STEM-related career preference (b path, $\beta = -.174$, 95% CI [-.345, -.002], $SE = .087$, $z = -1.99$, $p = .047$). However, the direct predictive effect of egalitarian gender perception on STEM-related career preference was not statistically significant (c path, $\beta = -.037$, 95% CI [-.144, .218], $SE = .092$, $z = .40$, $p = .617$). We observed mediating role of the traditionalist gender role perceptions in career choice on the association between egalitarian gender perception and STEM-related career preference (path a x b, $\beta = .144$, 95% CI [.001, .286], $SE = .073$, $z = 1.971$, $p = .048$) and its mediation percent was .79.6. Moreover, the total predictive effect of egalitarian gender perception on STEM-related career preference was also statistically significant (path c, $\beta = .180$, 95% CI [.066, .294], $SE = .058$, $z = 3.10$, $p = .002$). Figure 1 presents the current coefficients of the model.

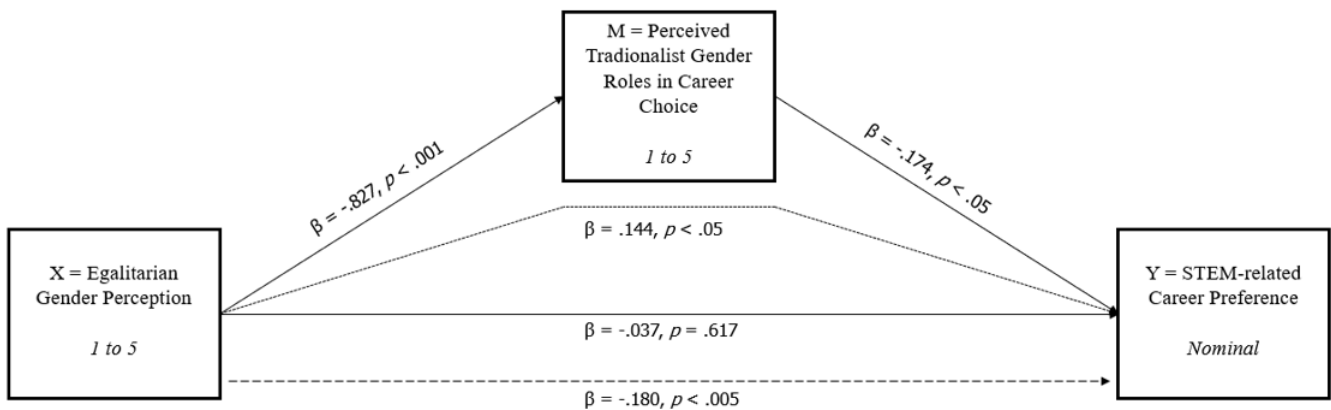


Figure 1. Tested simple mediation model and its coefficients.

3.3 Exploratory Analyzes

We aimed to investigate whether there is a difference between high school types and genders in terms of egalitarian gender perception, traditionalist gender role perceptions in career choice, and STEM-related career preference. First, we ran a one-way ANOVA, and found that students from Anatolian high school

preferred egalitarian gender more ($M = 4.28$, $SD = .562$) than those from religious vocational high school ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .629$; $t(160) = 4.13$, $p < .001$) and, than those from vocational high school ($M = 3.71$, $SD = .514$; $t(160) = 4.56$, $p < .001$). Also, students from science high school preferred egalitarian gender more ($M = 4.50$, $SD = .581$) than those from religious vocational high school ($t(160) = 5.06$, $p < .001$) and, than those from vocational high school ($t(160) = 5.41$, $p < .001$). However, no difference was observed between students from Anatolian high school and students from science high school. Also, no difference was found between students from religious vocational high school and students from vocational high school.

Second, another one-way ANOVA result showed similar finding pattern, that is, Anatolian high school preferred traditionalist gender role in career choice less ($M = 1.85$, $SD = .651$) than those from religious vocational high school ($M = 2.31$, $SD = .595$; $t(160) = -3.80$, $p = .001$) and, than those from vocational high school ($M = 2.56$, $SD = .618$; $t(160) = -5.34$, $p < .001$). Also, students from science high school preferred traditionalist gender role in career choice less ($M = 1.73$, $SD = .547$) than those from religious vocational high school ($t(160) = -3.98$, $p < .001$) and, than those from vocational high school ($t(160) = -5.34$, $p < .001$). Similar to the previous analysis, no difference was observed between students from Anatolian high school and students from science high school, and between students from religious vocational high school and students from vocational high school.

Third we focused on gender, and two Mann-Whitney U tests showed that female students preferred egalitarian gender roles more ($Median = 4.60$, $SE = .057$), and preferred traditionalist gender roles in career choice less ($Median = 1.53$, $SE = .055$) than male students ($Median = 3.68$, $SE = .064$, $U = 1232$, $p < .001$; $Median = 2.53$, $SE = .066$, $U = 1290$, $p < .001$, respectively).

Finally, two χ^2 analyses showed that students from science high school preferred STEM-related professions more ($f=20$), however; students from religious vocational high school and students from vocational high school preferred them less ($f = 14$, $f = 9$, respectively; $\chi^2(3) = 18.6$, $p < .001$). Moreover, female students preferred STEM-related professions more ($f = 41$), however; male students preferred STEM-related professions less ($f = 29$; $\chi^2(1) = 7.35$, $p = .007$).

4. Discussion

The current study aimed to investigate the moderating role of the perception of gender roles in career choice on the association between general gender perception and STEM-related career preference among

junior and senior-level high school students. Simple mediation analysis showed the moderating role of the perception of gender roles, as we hypothesized, and we did not observe direct association between egalitarian gender perception and STEM-related career preference. This finding may indicate those general gender roles alone may not be effective in students' choice of profession, and those gender roles should be adopted in the context of career choice in order to differentiate career choice. For instance, Muenks et al. (2019) showed that, apart from general gender roles, the belief and support of their families are important for students to choose STEM-related careers. Zhang and Barnett (2014) also concluded that students' relationships with their parents and peers are effective in choosing STEM-related careers. From this point of view, it can be said that the mediating role of gender roles in a career choice is parallel with the literature.

As expected, a negative relationship was observed between adopting egalitarian gender roles and adopting traditionalist roles in career choices. This finding may be interpreted as the students expressing that as the rate of adoption of one of the gender roles in career choice increases, the effect of the other gender role on their career choice decreases. There are studies in the literature that support this finding. For instance, Gökcan (2018) concluded that as female students adopt egalitarian gender roles in their career choice, the rate of seeing the effect of traditionalist gender roles decreases.

Students who adopt traditionalist roles in career choice tend to prefer STEM-related careers less. This finding may show that as individuals limit themselves in the career choices they shape on the basis of traditionalist gender roles. This finding is supported by previous research results trying to choose STEM professions, for instance, Dicke et al. (2019), in their longitudinal studies, concluded that students who adopt traditionalist gender roles prefer STEM-related careers less in their future. This also may indicate the inhibitory role of traditionalist roles in terms of preferences for STEM-related careers.

Students studying in Anatolian and science high schools prefer egalitarian gender roles more, and traditionalist gender roles in career choices less compared to their peers studying in other high schools. The results in the literature and the findings obtained from the study show parallelism. Esen et al. (2018), for example, found a statistically significant difference in students' gender roles in both egalitarian and traditionalist dimensions according to school type. The egalitarian gender role adoption scores of students studying at science high schools and Anatolian high schools are higher than their peers studying at religious and vocational high schools. In addition, students studying at science high schools tend to prefer STEM-related professions more than their peers studying at religious and vocational high schools in the current study. This finding may be related to the fact that science high school students have higher

academic skills compared to their peers. These high schools accept students with higher primary education scores in Türkiye. These students may prefer egalitarian roles more and STEM-related careers as they take flexible and comprehensive assessments of gender, both as a result of both their already higher academic skills and the science education pursued by the science high school.

Female students prefer egalitarian gender roles more and traditional roles in career choices less. Various studies in the literature have also obtained similar results. For instance, Öngen and Aytaç (2018) found that female students prefer egalitarian gender roles more than male students. Gökcan (2018), on the other hand, showed that male high school students prefer traditionalist gender roles in choosing a profession more compared to female high school students.

In addition, these students tend to prefer STEM professions more than male students in the current study. This finding is in stark contrast to studies that collected data from WEIRD samples. For instance, Hand et al. (2017) (see also, Dicke et al., 2019) concluded that male students tend to prefer STEM professions more than female students because of the belief that male students think they are better in STEM occupations and those female students may face negative situations if they choose STEM occupations. Türkiye is interacting with other cultures since both the effects of traditionalist structure are seen, and it is developing toward egalitarianism in terms of gender context. This situation causes people to be conscious of many issues, such as egalitarian gender roles as a result of education and other cultural interactions, as well as being brought up with the teachings of the dominant culture. In addition, with Türkiye's economic fragility in recent years, female students may prefer economic independence more. Today, STEM-related careers in Türkiye may provide higher financial gains compared to others. Because of all these, female students may prefer STEM-related careers more than their male peers. We also believe that this finding illustrates the importance of accessing non-WEIRD samples.

On the other hand, our research has three main limitations. First, we achieved a relatively low number of participants, although the power analyzes showed that we had sufficient statistical power. This may have caused us to produce false negative results. Future studies may circumvent this limitation by reaching greater numbers of volunteers. Second, we arrived at a relatively isolated geographic region and a homogeneous group. This may undermine the ecological validity of our findings. Future studies may circumvent this limitation by targeting heterogeneous groups with greater social mobility. Finally, we are aware of the drawbacks of conducting the mediation analysis in relational design due to the assumption of causality (see, Roher et al., 2022). Future studies may examine the relationship between variables related to quasi-experimental designs.

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In conclusion, we believe that our findings indicate that interventions should be developed not on whether to adopt egalitarian or traditionalist gender roles, but on the handling of gender roles in career choice. In addition, our findings indicate that there is a greater need for gender role interventions in vocational and religious schools. Therefore, future studies may focus on these groups. We think that the high STEM preference of female students is promising. Finally, we hope that more global findings can be achieved through studies that access non-WEIRD sampling, such as the current study.

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The Stigmatization of The Divorced Individuals

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Abstract: When the studies on divorce are examined, it is understood that the act of divorce causes stigmatization of individuals. Studies show that divorced individuals are stigmatized with different stigmatizing concepts in different cultures. What makes this study different from other studies is that it reveals with which concepts and how divorced individuals in Turkey are stigmatized.

The research problem is about the lived experiences of individuals and requires in-depth knowledge about these lived experiences. For this reason, the qualitative research method was preferred as the research method. Phenomenology was used as the research design in this study carried out with the qualitative research method. Phenomenology focuses on the experiences which are related phenomenon of individuals who have experienced phenomena that we have noticed but do not have a deep understanding of, and provides gaining in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon under research.

Thematic qualitative data analysis was applied to the data collected in a city located in the northwest of Turkey, and stigmatizing concepts were revealed by reaching the themes from the codes.

In this study, it was concluded that divorced men are stigmatized with 3 concepts and divorced women are stigmatized with 3 concepts that are different from the concepts that stigmatize men. It has been seen that these stigmatizing concepts are semantically opposite to the concepts that constitute male and female identities. In addition, it was concluded that this stigmatization process occurs with the thought that women and men fail to fulfill their gender roles.

Keywords: Culture, Divorce, Family, Marriage, Society, Stigma

Boşanan Bireylerin Damgalanması

Öz: Boşanmayla ilgili yapılan çalışmalar incelendiğinde, boşanma eyleminin bireylerin damgalanmasına sebep olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Yapılan çalışmalar farklı kültürlerde, boşanan bireylerin farklı damgalayıcı kavramlarla damgalandığını göstermektedir. Bu çalışmayı diğer çalışmalardan farklı kılan Türkiye’de boşanan bireylerin hangi kavramlarla ve nasıl damgalandığını ortaya koymasidir.

Araştırma problemi bireylerin yaşanmış tecrübeleriyle ilgili olup, bu yaşanmış tecrübeler hakkında derinlemesine bilgi edinmeyi gerektirmektedir. Bu sebeple araştırma yöntemi olarak nitel araştırma yöntemi tercih edilmiştir. Nitel araştırma yöntemiyle gerçekleştirilen çalışmada araştırma deseni olarak fenomenoloji kullanılmıştır. Fenomenoloji, fark ettiğimiz fakat derinlemesine bir anlayışa sahip olmadığımız olguları tecrübe eden bireylerin, söz konusu olguyla ilgili tecrübelerine odaklanmakta ve araştırılan olguyla ilgili derinlemesine bilgi sahibi olmayı sağlamaktadır.

Türkiye’nin kuzeybatısında yer alan bir şehirde toplanan verilere tematik nitel veri analizi uygulanmış ve kodlardan temalara ulaşılarak damgalayıcı kavramlar ortaya çıkarılmıştır.

Çalışmada, boşanan erkeklerin 3 kavramla damgalandığı ve boşanan kadınların, erkekleri damgalayan kavramlardan farklı olan 3 kavramla damgalandığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu damgalayıcı kavramların erkek ve kadın kimliklerini oluşturan kavramların anlamca karşıtı oldukları görülmüştür. Ayrıca bu damgalama sürecinin, kadınların ve erkeklerin cinsiyet rollerini yerine getirmekte başarısız oldukları düşüncesiyle gerçekleştiği sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aile, Boşanma, Damga, Evlilik, Kültür, Toplum

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1. Introduction

Divorced individuals in Turkey are faced with the negative effects of divorce today as in the past. One of the most important of these negative effects is the stigmatization of divorced individuals, which is also observed in different societies. Studies conducted in the USA (Gerstel, 1987; Konstam et al., 2016), Korea (Kim, Kim, 2002) and Iran (Zare et al., 2017) can be given as examples of stigmatization of divorced individuals. Also in Turkish society, the cultural environment stigmatizes divorced individuals. Understanding of Turkish society's marriage has been shaped by the cultural structure throughout history and divorce has been condemned by Turks (Kurtoğlu, 2019, p. 99).

Condemnation of divorced individuals by the society is related with culture. Social institutions such as family and marriage, gender identities such as men and women and their meanings are culturally constructed. Societies divide individuals into groups according to these identities and roles. Goffman expresses this situation as society categorizes people and determines appropriate qualifications for these categories (Goffman, 1963, p. 2). These culturally produced identities are concepts produced by a world that existed before the individual was born, and which was interpreted and organized by other people besides the individual. These organized concepts present themselves as information to the life of the individual, and the individual uses this ready-made information that was created before her during her/his experiences throughout her/his life.

Schutz defines this ready-made information as "Stock of Knowledge". (Schutz, 1973, p. 74). The information, which is defined as the stock of knowledge, is transferred to the individual by her/his family from the moment she/he is born. The transfer process continues with the schools that the individual attends, the jobs she/he works in, and the environment in which she/he maintains social relations. The stock of knowledge is used by the individual throughout her/his life as a guiding schema. (Schutz, 1973, p. 75). The meanings of concepts such as marriage and gender are also transferred to individuals through the stock of knowledge. Actions that are not approved by the society cause individuals to be condemned. When the actions performed by the individual do not comply with the concepts and rules defined by the knowledge stock, the individual is tainted about her actions or her/his identity and is excluded from the society.

Goffman calls this condition as stigma (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). Stigma is also defined as physical or social characteristics that are socially disapproved and cause humiliation, social distancing and discrimination (Giddens , Sutton, 2018, p. 319). Considering together with the concepts expressed so far, it is

thought that the act of divorce not approved by the Turks throughout history caused the stigmatization of divorced individuals in Turkish society.

In the literature on divorce in Turkish society, quantitative studies on divorce rates (Akoğlu, Küçükkaragöz, 2018; Aybey, 2015; Eyce, 2002; Kara , Doğan, 2018), quantitative studies on the reasons for divorce (Akıcı, 2012; Oruç , Kurt, 2009) or there are qualitative studies (Kucur , Kelebek, 2021) that show the difficulties women face after divorce. However, with which concepts and how are divorced individuals stigmatized in Turkish society? There is a lack of studies on this subject. In studies revealing that individuals are stigmatized due to divorce (Kung et al., 2004; Parker, 2016; Tanveer , Wasia, 2021) have shown that stigmatizing concepts vary from culture to culture. The meaning of the concepts of marriage, divorce and family is related to the culture in which the individual was born and raised. Therefore, it is thought that the divorced individual is stigmatized with different concepts in different cultures. In this study, it is aimed to understand how and for what reasons divorced men and divorced women are stigmatized in Turkish society.

This research was carried out with the qualitative research method since it aimed to understand what stigmatizing concepts containing negative meanings about individuals divorced by the society are and how stigmatization occurs. The study requires understanding how individuals make sense of their lived experiences and gaining in-depth knowledge about the subject. For this reason, phenomenology was chosen as the qualitative research design. It is anticipated that the results of the research will contribute to the social studies to be carried out to solve the problems related to the stigmatization, marginalization and exposure to the social exclusion of individuals.

2. Method

2.1 Research Model

The study was carried out with the qualitative research method (Creswell, 2012, p. 16; John W. Creswell, 2016, p. 13) since it aims to understand what the stigmatizing concepts produced by the Turkish society culturally and how stigmatization occurs. Since the research is related to the divorce experience of individuals, phenomenology design was used as a qualitative research design, which provides in-depth exploration of individuals' lived experiences (Langdridge, 2007; Mapp, 2008; Wertz et al., 2011, p. 124). Since it was aimed to reach the themes from the codes in the data analysis, thematic coding was done (Bayyurt , Seggie, 2018, p. 70; John W Creswell, 2016, p. 77; Guest et al., 2012).

2.2 Data Sources

The population of the research consists of individuals who have experienced the phenomenon of divorce. Participants were selected among divorced individuals with the typical case (Creswell, 2012, p. 207; Miles , Huberman, 1994, p. 28) sampling method, which is one of the purposive sampling (Schreier, 2018, p. 88; Walliman, 2006, p. 79) methods. For the study, necessary permissions were obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee of a university located in the northwest of Turkey. Data were collected in a province located in northwest Turkey between October 2020 and November 2020. Within the scope of the research, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 8 participants, 4 divorced women and 4 divorced men.

2.3 Data Collection Tools

The subject of the research was explained by going to the Social and Cultural Affairs Directorates of the municipalities serving in the region and verbal support was requested in reaching divorced individuals who want to participate in the research. The authorities of the institution informed that they would direct them to the researchers by meeting with the divorced people who have knowledge about the research subject. In the following days, volunteer participants contacted the researchers. The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the consent of the participants. The interviews were conducted with each participant at a different time and with one person alone. The interviews were planned to be limited up to 1 hour. Each interview lasted an average of 40 minutes. In order to collect data suitable for the research, the participants were asked to explain the concepts of men and women and their thoughts on divorce. A total of 12 questions in Table 1 were asked to the participants in order to learn their demographic information and their thoughts on the phenomenon of divorce.

Demographic Questions	Questions About Divorce
1. How old are you?	1. What are your thoughts on divorce in general?
2. What is your education status?	2. Can you explain me how a man should be?
3. What is your job?	3. Can you explain me how a woman should be?
4. How old were you when you were married?	4. What are the thoughts of those around you about divorced women?
5. How long did your marriage continue	5. What are the thoughts of those around you about divorced men?
	6. Can you tell us about your feelings, thoughts and anxieties during the divorce process?
	7. Can you tell us about your feelings, thoughts and anxieties after the divorce?

Table 1. Questions Asked to Participants

2.4 Analysis of Data

While the audio recordings were copied to the computer, names such as Participant 1 and Participant 2 were given to the audio files. These files were imported into the QSR NVivo 12 Release 1.3 program. Audio recordings were deciphered and converted into text. Data analysis started with the first cycle coding. The expressions of the participants were coded with appropriate codes as in Table 2, mostly using in-vivo coding.

Coding by the Researcher	Example of Participant Statements
Marriages in early age	“The consequences of early marriages end in divorce, because after a certain age, one’s view of life changes, and it becomes difficult for both men and women to live in the same environment, and it ends in separation.”
Extramarital relationship	“I think this is the first thing men do, I mean, they look for different relationships, since we, as a society, are not satisfied with this, so this is normal, I think it is normal for men, I mean, but first of all, I see this as a majority, I do not see anything else.”
A black mark	“In our society, a divorced woman is a potential bitch, no matter how chaste. There are women I know,(participant is thinking here), there are people we can vouch for their honor, but people’s point of view, let alone a widow, it’s like a black mark”

Table 2. Primary Cycle Conceptual Coding Example

The codes obtained after the first cycle coding were re-examined with the secondary cycle coding process in order to understand how the divorced individuals are defined by the society and whether the divorced individuals are faced with an attitude that can be defined as stigma.

3. Results

The demographic information of the participants participating in the research is presented in Table 3.

Participant Number	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation	First Marriage Age	Marriage Duration
1	Female	44	High School	Housewife	25	5
2	Female	42	University	Sports Trainer	20	5
3	Male	43	High School	Estate Agent	20	6
4	Female	42	University	Officer	20	6
5	Male	47	Primary School	Employee	35	7
6	Female	41	University	Teacher	23	13
7	Male	47	Primary School	Hairdresser	23	22
8	Male	42	University	Unemployed	25	6

Table 3. Demographic Information of Participants

Table 3 shows that the ages of the participants participating in the study varied between the ages of 40-47. The education levels of the participants vary from primary school to university. Most of the

participants had their first marriage at the age of 20-25, except for one participant. Except for 2 participants, the other participants were divorced within the first 7 years of their marriage.

As a result of the analysis of what the participants told about divorce, the themes and codes related to the divorce phenomenon placed in Table 4 were reached.

Theme	Codes	Participant's comment
Divorce case	Divorce hurts	<i>"Divorces hurt"</i>
	Divorce is normal	<i>"To me, divorce is not very big things like horse and camel"</i>
	Disappointment	<i>"A big disappointment"</i>
	Divorce is not salvation	<i>"If you have got married, you should not get divorced, it is necessary not to see divorce as salvation, or you should stay single from the beginning. It has to be taken to the end, especially if there are children"</i>
	Seeking happiness	<i>"Divorce is the pursuit of happiness, that is, two individuals who are not happy in marriage think that they will be happier when they get divorced"</i>
	Freedom	<i>"Long live freedom"</i>

Table 4. Codes Reached From What Participants Said About Divorce

When Table 4 is examined, it is concluded that the experiences of each participant about the phenomenon of divorce are different and that they attribute very different meanings to the phenomenon of divorce. The themes and codes were reached and presented in Table 5 obtained from the opinions of the participants, who attributed different meanings to the phenomenon of divorce, about divorced individuals.

Themes	Codes	Example Participant Statements
Divorced male identity	Is immoral	<i>"Generally, in society, wow, sir.. (Participant says his own name here) cheated on his wife then got divorced like that, in this business, society is humanity's thing, but they don't know why i left"</i>
	Is incompetent	<i>"The first thing they think about divorced men is; will he be able to take care of himself (laughs here), I think that's their first thought, what will he do? will he be able to wash her underwear? how will the bed be, is it filthy? will the food cook at home?"</i>
	Is unreliable	<i>"There is distrust against divorced men, there is a prejudice in society, no one can trust them"</i>
Divorced female identity	Woman is guilty in divorce	<i>"Generally, they find the fault in women, I know only that, ninety percent of them are in her"</i>
	Is dishonest	<i>"If you're divorced, people immediately think that you broke up because you couldn't patiently stand the economic or petty arguments you had with your spouse."</i>
	Is impatient	<i>"It's the first thing that's generally done with us; bitch so first made"</i>

Table 5. Codes and Themes Based on Participants' Expressions

When Table 5 is examined, it is seen that divorced men are stigmatized with 3 stigmatizing concepts, and divorced women are stigmatized with 3 different concepts that are completely different from the concepts that stigmatize men. In order to reveal whether there is a relationship between stigmatizing concepts and the concepts that construct individuals' gender identities, as a result of the analysis of the participants' statements, the themes and codes in Table 6 regarding the concepts of gender were reached.

Themes	Codes	Sample Participant Comment
Male identity	Well-behaved	"How can i tell you, there should be a person who can take care of his family, his children, he should have morals"
	Taking care of his family	"A man should take care of his family, what other duty does he have on earth, I mean, a married man has no other duty, I mean"
	Honest	"A man must be honest"
	Self sufficient	"must be capable, be self-sufficient"
	Responsible	"First of all, it should be responsible"
Female Identity	Housewife	"She has to be a housewife in her house, how can i say it, she should say welcome, when you come home in the evening, she should say how are you, what did you do today? what did you do? she has to ask about them, she has to take care of them"
	Strong	"She needs to be self-confident enough not to be crushed"
	Honorable	"Here's what our elders said, no one should touch a woman"
	Patient	"She must be patient"

Table 6. Opinions of Participants on Ideal Male Identity and Ideal Female Identity and the Codes Reached

When Table 6 is examined, it is seen that the society constructs the ideal male identity with 5 different concepts that have positive meanings. In addition, it is concluded that the society constructs the ideal female identity with 4 different concepts that are different from male identities, and contain positive meanings from Table 6.

4. Discussion

Considering the participant statements and studies on this area, getting married in your 20s is the age of marriage that was widely adopted in Turkish society until the 2000s (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2015; Tezcan , Coşkun, 2004). In Turkey, stigma of "stayed at home" which means they failed to get married is stigmatized to unmarried young people in their 20s, especially women, are stigmatized with the stigma (Burcu et al., 2015; Özarlan, 2020). Considering the participants' age at first marriage, duration of marriage, and their thoughts on divorce, it can be concluded that young people rushed and made wrong marriage decisions in order not to be exposed to this stigma. For example, participant 1 stated that marriage at an early age results in divorce as follows.

"The consequences of early marriages end in divorce, because after a certain age, one's view of life changes, and it becomes difficult for both men and women to live in the same environment, and it ends in separation."

No study could be found in the literature to support this finding that early marriage may be a reason for divorce. Therefore, this finding requires further study. On the other hand, considering the codes in Table 4 and the statements of the participants, it is thought that each divorce act produces different experiences. Other studies on this area also show that each divorce produces different experiences (Kaya, 2016; Kung

et al., 2004; Thomas , Ryan, 2008).

Although each divorce experience is different, in Turkish society, the cultural structure related with the divorced male identity and the divorced female identity adds common stigmatizing concepts to the stock of knowledge as if all divorce acts are the same. For example, Participant 2 states that in Turkish society, a divorced man is viewed with a general prejudice that he is divorced because he cannot take responsibility. “. . . *It is thought that the divorced man is either very fond of his freedom or divorced because he cannot take responsibility.*” Participant 5 also states that a divorced man in Turkish society is accused of the prejudice that he has definitely cheated on his wife.

“Generally, in society, wow, sir... (Participant says his own name here) cheated on his wife then got divorced like that, in this business, society is humanity’s thing, but they don’t know why i left”

The stigmatization of divorced individuals with common stigmatizing concepts belonging to the culture they live in is also seen in studies conducted in different cultures (Gerstel, 1987; Konstam et al., 2016; Newton-Levinson et al., 2014). When these studies are examined, it is understood that divorced individuals are stigmatized with different stigmas that vary from culture to culture. For example, while Konstam et al.’s study in the northeast of the United States mentions that divorced women are stigmatized as “*selfish, headless, crazy*” (Konstam et al., 2016, p. 179), in the study conducted by Newton-Levinson et al. in Ethiopia, widowed and divorced women are “*women who want to seduce married men*” it was stated that it was stigmatized as (Newton-Levinson et al., 2014). These two studies support our idea that divorced individuals in different cultures are stigmatized with different concepts and different reasons.

Cultural differences also make the meaning of family institution and marriage culturally different from society to society too. Legends, tales and other cultural elements based on oral culture and handed down from generation to generation in Turkish society have created an obedient tradition and this has permeated the cultural structure. Throughout history, values such as obedience to the state, obedience to men, obedience to elders have been praised by traditions. The heroic man who obeys the state, the woman who is the wife of this man and obeys him, has been adopted by the society (Doğan, 2009, p. 9), family institution and marriage have been shaped by this cultural structure. For example; In the periods when the nomadic lifestyle prevailed in Turkish society, boys and girls who were going to get married would choose the person they would marry themselves, observance of the marriage rules determined by the cultural structure¹ (Kurtoğlu, 2019, pp. 41 - 47). After the settled life, the marriage of children started to take place within the framework of the decisions taken by the elders of the house. Before converting to

¹ Marriage rules: Adolescence, absence of blood kinship, consent of parents, equality of status.

Islam, while marriages took place in the form of exogamy, although rare, a man could marry more than one woman. In marriages, a price was paid to the girl's family, which was called the *kalın*² (Cin, 1988, p. 276). In Turkish societies, kinship ties are given great importance, and the families of the married man and woman were also considered relatives. When the married man died, the levirate tradition was applied to protect the established kinship and the widowed woman. Again, the sororate tradition was applied, considering that kinship relations would continue and that the children who were left without a mother would be more better taken care of by their aunts instead of another woman (Kurtoğlu, 2019, p. 86).

Meaning of the family institution and marriage for societies also change the way societies view the phenomenon of divorce. Since marriage was sanctified in Turkish society, divorce, which meant the breakdown of marriage, was an unacceptable act. Despite all this, if a man wanted a divorce, he did not have to put forward a condition. According to an opinion in the literature, a woman did not have the right to divorce. According to the other view in the literature, a woman could be divorced only if the husband committed adultery, the husband used violence against his wife, and one of the conditions of the husband's sexual incompetence was met the conditions (Kurtoğlu, 2019, p. 99). Apart from these two views, there is another view in the Islamic literature stating that if the woman demands it during marriage and the man accepts this demand, the woman has the right to divorce³ (Gürkan, 2011, pp. 277-281; Yüksek, 2014, pp. 343-344). As can be seen in the studies, the act of divorce was not accepted in Turkish societies, and the cultural structure considered divorce a shame and even did not approve it (Kurtoğlu, 2019, p. 99). Therefore, divorced individuals are condemned and stigmatized by society. The denotation that the divorced woman is stigmatized as unsuccessful because she is divorced (İlhan, 2020, p. 512), which İlhan cites by quoting Arıkan in his study, is an opinion that supports the fact that the divorce phenomenon causes stigma in Turkish society.

The stigmatization of the divorced individual has led to social pressure and even harassment, especially of divorced women. It is also understood from Karakaya's study on divorced women in Turkey that women face social pressure and are harassed after divorce (Karakaya, 2018, p. 266). The statements of the participants also show that Turkish society stigmatized divorced individuals by marginalizing them. For example, Participant 3 expresses what the society thinks about a divorced woman with the following words. *"In our society, if a woman is divorced, she is a potential whore, no matter how chaste. There are women I know, there are people we can vouch for their honor, but people's point of view is: oh stop it, isn't it a widow, it's like a black mark"*

² The right to milk given to the mother, participation in the costs of raising the daughter. (Cin, 1988, p. 276)

³ Tefvîzu't-Talâk: The husband's authorization of his wife to terminate the marriage at the time of marriage or while the marriage is in progress.

From these statements of participant 3, one of the stigmas that a woman will face if she gets divorced in Turkish society is seen. Because of divorce, Turkish society stigmatizing not only women but also men. From the statements of participant 4, it is understood what kind of stigma a divorced man is exposed to.

“There is distrust against divorced men, there is a prejudice in society, no one can trust them”

These statements of participant 4 show that one of the concepts that stigmatizes a divorced man in Turkish society is an unreliable person. The codings that show the thoughts of the Turkish society about divorced individuals, reached by the analysis of the statements of the participants, are given in Table 5. When Table 5 is examined, it was observed that the divorced man’s concepts of “Is immoral”, “Is incompetent” and “Is unreliable” and divorced women are stigmatized with the concepts of “Woman is Guilty in Divorce”, “Is dishonest” and “Is impatient”.

These stigmatizing concepts make us think why Turkish society stigmatizes divorced individuals with these concepts. It was thought that this question could be answered by determining the ideal female and ideal male types in Turkish society, and the expressions of the participants about their male and female identities were examined. Table 6 shows the statements of the participants about their male and female identities and the codes reached. The study of Topuz and Erkanlı (Topuz , Erkanlı, 2016) also supports the codes we put forward in Table 6 regarding male and female identities. When Table 5 and Table 6 are examined together, it is seen that the concepts that construct male and female identities are semantically opposite to the concepts that stigmatize divorced women and divorced men. This result explains why Turkish society stigmatizes divorced individuals with these concepts. The society thinks that the divorced individuals not have the concepts in Table 4 that construct the male and female identities, and stigmatizes them with the concepts in Table 5, which are opposite in meaning.

5. Conclusion

In the study, first of all, by analyzing the stories of men and women who have experienced divorce, expressions that stigmatize divorced women and divorced men in Turkish society have been reached and these stigmatizing concepts have been determined. After it was determined with which concepts the Turkish society stigmatized divorced individuals, two questions arose. These questions are why Turkish society stigmatizes divorced individuals with these concepts and how stigmatization occurs. It was thought that these questions could be answered by revealing the ideal male and ideal female identities, and the ideal male and ideal female identities were determined from the statements of the participants.

The result of the study showed that the cultural structure constructs male and female identities depending on the concept of family and marriage. These constructed identities are transmitted to individuals through generations through the stock of knowledge. The phenomenon of divorce has not been welcomed by Turkish societies throughout history. Even today, divorce continues to be seen as a violation of marriage, which is considered sacred, and as a taboo in Turkish society. For this reason, society thinks that the divorced man and the divorced woman act contrary to the identities of men and women. When the individual is divorced, it is thought that the individual can not achieve their social gender roles, and every individual who divorces with a holistic approach is stigmatized by the society with the prejudice of failing to be a man or a woman. According to the findings obtained in the study, this stigmatization occurs with concepts that are semantically opposite to the concepts that define the ideal man and ideal woman for the society. While a divorced man is stigmatized with concepts such as "immoral, unreliable, incompetent", which are the opposite of constructive concepts such as "well-behaved, honest, self-sufficient, taking care of his family", a divorced woman is stigmatized with the concepts and prejudices such as "dishonest, woman is guilty in divorce, impatient", which are the opposite of constructive concepts such as "honorable, housewife, strong, patient".

It can be said that the stigma related to divorce has decreased (Yıldırım, 2004, p. 63), but this study, which was conducted to understand how and with which concepts divorced women and divorced men are stigmatized by society in Turkey, shows that stigma has not disappeared. The stigma pushes individuals out of society and isolates them, and affects the social relations of individuals. Therefore, it is thought that this study will contribute to other studies will be carried on divorce, stigma, othering and identity, and social work studies on the phenomenon of divorce. In addition, considering that the stigma due to divorce is caused by the knowledge stock, it is thought that it would be appropriate to repeat a similar study on children by experts in the field of educational sciences. Because, in case the results obtained in this study are reached with the studies to be done, training studies on the subject can be planned. With the educational activities to be planned it is thought that prejudices of the society that "divorced individuals are unsuccessful in being a man or a woman", "every divorce is the same" and the stigma arising from the act of divorce can be reduced in time.

In addition, a finding in the study makes think of that young people make the decision to marry in a hurry and get married at an early age in order not to be stigmatized by the society as "stayed at home" (unable to get married). It indicates that these early marriages may also lead to divorce. A qualitative study to be carried out with individuals who have experienced the phenomenon of divorce will clarify this finding and perhaps help develop relevant solutions.

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‘Seçilmiş Travma’ Olarak İstanbul’u Kaybetmenin Yunan Ulus Kimliğini Şekillendirmedeki Rolü: Twitter Üzerinden Netnografik Bir Analiz

Salich Tzampaz ¹

Öz: Travmalar birey yaşamı açısından olduğu kadar sosyal yaşamın da kaçınılmaz bir olgusudur. Bu anlamda, travma kökenli semptomlar bir sosyal grubun üyeleri tarafından ortak bir şekilde tecrübe edilebilir. Bu yüzdendir ki, bir ulusun üyeleri kimliklerini ilgilendiren sorunlara aynı anda tepki gösterirler. Bu çalışmada, ‘seçilmiş travma’ olarak İstanbul’un kaybının Yunan ulusunu şekillendirmedeki rolüne ilişkin İstanbul’u kaybetmenin yıldönümü olan 29 Mayıs 2022’te atılan Tweet’ler MAXQDA 2020 yazılımı aracılığıyla çekilerek netnografik bir analiz yapılmıştır. ‘Seçilmiş travma’ temel olarak bir ‘büyük grup’ tarafından büyük bir kaybın sonucunda sebep olmuş aşağılanmışlık duygusuna atıfta bulunur. Psikolojik bir terim olarak travma, ulusları hafıza çalışmalarıyla sosyal düzeyde ele alarak onları icat edilmiş topluluklar olarak görmeyi sağlar. Bu çalışmada da amacımız ‘seçilmiş travma’nın Yunan ulusal kimliğini nasıl şekillendirdiğini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bunun sonucunda netnografik tasarımdan yararlanarak nitel bir çalışma yürütülmüştür. Netnografi internet ve etnografiyi birleştiren bir araştırma tasarımıdır. Sonuç olarak, Yunan ulus kimliğinin Türklerin sebep olduğu ve aşağılanmış hissetmeye sebebiyet veren bir ‘seçilmiş travma’nın neden olduğu daimî yas sürecinde olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu gerçeklikler sonucunda, Tweetlerde Türklerle bir mücadele içerisinde Yunan Helenizminin Türkokrasi karşısındaki üstünlüğünü kanıtlamaya çalışarak aşağılık duygusundan kurtulmaya çalışan tutum olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hafıza, İstanbul, Netnografi, Seçilmiş travma, Twitter, Ulus, Yunanistan

The Role of Losing Istanbul as a ‘Chosen Trauma’ in Shaping Greek Nation Identity: A Netnographic Analysis on Twitter

Abstract: Traumas are inevitable facts in individual life as well as in social life. In this sense, symptoms caused by traumas can be experienced commonly by the members of a social group. That is why members of a nation react simultaneously to problems relating their identity. In this study, a netnographic analysis was held on the role of losing Istanbul as a ‘chosen trauma’ in shaping Greek national identity by retrieving Tweets via MAXQDA 2020 written on the anniversary of the Losing of Istanbul, on May 29, 2022. ‘Chosen trauma’ mainly refers to a humiliation caused by a ‘large group’ in a result of a big loss such as the losing of Istanbul. Trauma as a psychological term is considered in a social level especially with collective memory studies which allow nations to be considered as invented communities. In this study, a qualitative research was conducted benefiting from netnographic design. Netnography is a qualitative research design which combines both internet and ethnography. In this study, our aim is to reveal how the ‘chosen trauma’ shapes the Greek national identity. As a result, it was founded that Greek national memory suffers from permanent grief due to the ‘chosen trauma’ caused by Turks and feel humiliated. Taking into consideration all these facts, there are attitudes taking effort to overcome the humiliated state of mind by showing itself in the Tweets as a contest with Turks, usually trying to prove the superiority of the Greek Hellenism against Tourcocracy.

Keywords: Chosen trauma, Greece, Istanbul, Memory, Nation, Netnography, Twitter

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1. Giriş

Travma, insan yaşamında bireyler için olduğu kadar kolektiviteler için de kaçınılmaz bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkar. Kelime anlamı ‘yara’ olan travma fiziksel olduğu kadar psikolojik boyut da taşır. Bu haliyle her fiziksel yaranın az çok psikolojik yönü bulunduğunu söylemek mümkündür ancak burada bizi ilgilendiren durum travma sonrası sürecin sağlıklı bir şekilde yaşanmadığında bireyde meydana getirdiği daimî yas gibi olumsuzluklardır. Bu noktada psikoloji ne kadar bireyi çalışıyor olsa da yüzbinler hatta milyonlar tarafından ortak paylaşılan ‘büyük grup psikolojisi’nden (Volkan V. D., 2009) bahsetmek de mümkündür. Ulus kimliği buna bir örnektir. Büyük grup kimliği bağlamında travmanın ne gibi olumsuz yönü olabilir sorusuna cevap verebilmek için günümüzde birtakım ulus-devletleri *a priori* karşılaştırabiliriz. Örneğin İsviçre’de, Belçika’da akan suları durduracak bir düşmandan kolaylıkla söz edemezken İran, Yunanistan, Sırbistan gibi devletlerin doğrudan bir düşman ‘sayesinde’ kurulduğunu ve bu devletlerin düşman olmadan ulus-devlet idealinden yoksun kaldıklarını görürüz. Bu durumu açıklayacak faktörlerden birisi de travmalar kapsamında sağlıksız bir yas süreci geçirilmiş olmasıdır. Büyük grup kimliği bağlamında yaşanan zaferlere ‘seçilmiş zafer’, travmalara ise ‘seçilmiş travma adı verilmiştir (2009, s. 10). Konumuz bağlamında İstanbul’un Türklerin eline geçmesi Türkler açısından ‘seçilmiş zafer’ iken Yunanlar açısından ise ‘seçilmiş travmadır’. Travmatik bir kimlik istismar edilmeye çok müsaittir ve tıpkı sözgelimi küçük yaşlarda babası öldürülmüş bir çocuk babasını öldüren kişiye karşı -o kişi gerçek fail olmasa dahi- kışkırtıldığında bütün ömrünü o düşmana zarar verme idealine adayaca gibi, elinden İstanbul gibi bir memleketi alınmış bir ulus da bundan farklı hareket etmeyecektir. Travmatik hafıza doğru veya yanlış her türlü istismara¹ açıktır.

Birçok teorisyen tarafından yapay, oluşturulmuş bir fenomen olarak değerlendirilen modern ulus-devletlerde travmanın istismarı çokça görülen bir durumdur. Ancak her ulus-devlet travma güdüsüyle inşa edilmez. Bazılarında daha başka faktörler ön plana çıkabilir. Bu çalışmada amacımız dünya tarihinin en büyük tarihi hadiselerinden biri olan İstanbul’un Türklerin eline geçmesi hadisesini Yunan ulus kimliğini şekillendirmesi bakımından analiz etmektir. Bu konuda 29 Mayıs’ta, 24 saat içerisinde atılan Tweet’ler MAXQDA 2020 yazılımı aracılığıyla çekilip, nitel bir analize tabi tutulmuştur.

¹‘Travma’nın istismarı’ kavramsallaştırması yazılı bir kaynaktan bulunmasa da emekli öğretim üyesi Mahmut Karaman’ın derslerinde ve sohbetlerinde kullandığı bir kavram olup, bu makalede ödünç alınmıştır.

2. Hafıza, Travma ve Ulus İnşası

Ulus-devletler dünya tarihinde yeni bir fenomen olarak sahneye çıkmışlardır. Modern bir fenomen olarak ulus-devleti, modern olan herhangi bir şey gibi düşündüğümüzde Bauman’ın (2000) meşhur *Modernite ve Holokost* isimli çalışmasında da görüleceği gibi akıl, rasyonalite gibi kavramlar bizi ilk olarak karşılayacak olan kavramlardır. Nitekim, moderniteye ait bu mefhumlar devamında modern araçlarla bir soykırımın meydana gelmesine de önayak olmuştur. Çalışmamızda soykırımdan bahsetmeyecek olsak da aklın, modern anlamıyla evrensel bir hakikate, mutlaklığa atıfta bulunduğunu akılda tutmak gerekir. Çalışmamız açısından önemli olan, ulus-devlete zemin hazırlayan tarihyazımının, dönemin muteber mefhumu akılla oluşturulmuş olmasıdır, ki bunun sonucunda tarihyazımında yazan ne varsa nesnel bir şekilde doğru olduğu kabul edilmiştir. Oysaki süreç içerisinde modernitenin eleştirilmesiyle birlikte evrensel akıldan ziyade bir öznenin aklından bahsetmek öncelenmiştir. Dolayısıyla herhangi bir ulus-devleti oluşturan tarihyazımı evrensel hakikati sunmak şöyle dursun, onu yazan öznenin hakikat gördüğünden ibarettir. Biraz daha ileri gidecek olursak Renan’ın (1882) meşhur bildirisinde söylediği gibi tarih vasıtasıyla yalan söylemek ulus olmanın temel yapı taşıdır. Dolayısıyla tarihin gerçek hafızadan kavramsal olarak ayrılması icap eder. Her ikisi de geçmişe dair bir şeyler söylese de tarih, öznenin nesneleştirdiği bir hakikat sistemi iken hafıza ise çoğul anlamda öznelerin kendi hakikatlerini kendi öznellikleri bağlamındaki kabullerini yansıtır (Traverso, 2018, s. 19).

Doğru bir analiz için bu ayrımı yapmak gerekse de bu ayrımı yapmanın ikisini birbirinden yalıtma anlamına gelmediğini söylemek gerekir. Bilâkis, bu ayrımı yapma ihtiyacı birbiri arasındaki kaçınılmaz ilişkiye, daha spesifik bir ifadeyle tarihin hafızayı tahrif etme imkânından doğmaktadır. Şöyle ki, “Tarih teoridir, teori de ideolojiktir, ideoloji ise maddi çıkarılardan başka bir şey değildir” (Jenkins, 2003, s. 24). Dolayısıyla herhangi bir tarihyazımının masum olduğunu rahatlıkla söyleyemeyiz. Peşinen suçlu olduğunu söylemek gibi bir çaba olmasa dahi, tarihyazımının ideolojiden bağımsız düşünülmemeyeceğini göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Dolayısıyla modern anlamda tarihyazımının ulusçulukla bir arada düşünülmesi gerektiği sonucu ortaya çıkar. Yani ulusçuluk döneminde ulus-devletler doğal olmaktan çok belli bir ideolojinin ürünü olarak kendilerini gösterirler. Bütün bunlar bizi, ulus-devletin geçmişe dayanan ulusların ürünü değil de ulusçulukların ürünü olarak ortaya çıktığını düşünen Renan (1882), Anderson (2017), Hobsbawm (2006), Gellner (2018) gibi teorisyenlere yaklaştırmak fakat göz ardı edilmemelidir ki, birtakım yaşanmışlıklar olmasaydı Yunanistan özelinde bugün bir ulus-devletten, en azından bugünkü formundan bahsetmek mümkün olmayacaktı, bu da Smith ve Anderson’ın ulusları kadim çağlara dayanan etnisitelerin modern dönemde *mit motorları* (mythomoteurs) vasıtasıyla tekrar canlandırarak kurulduğunu söyleyen

(Smith, 1988, s. 68; Smith, 2015, s. 170) görüşe yaklaştırır ve her iki görüşün de birbirini beslemesi gerektiğini söyler ama buna rağmen de Yunanistan özelinde travma konusunda durmak gerekmektedir çünkü ne mit motorları ne de ulusçuluklar Yunanistan’ın bugünkü formunu travma fenomeni olmadan ortaya çıkaramazdı.

Öyle ki, hiç yaşanmamış bir gerçeklik, yaşanmış gibi bir etki bırakabilir. Hafıza çalışmaları tam da bu noktada önem kazanır. Zira hafıza her ne kadar tarih gibi geçmişe atıfta bulunsa da daha veciz bir ifadeyle hafızanın, tarihin bugüne yansımaları olduğu düşünülebilir. Kolektif anlamda hafızadan bahsedeceğimiz zaman aklımıza ilk olarak Halbwachs gelir. Kendisi metodolojik anlamda kolektivist bir tavır benimserken hafızanın grup bağlamında değerlendirilmesi gerektiğini ifade eder. Bu gruplar aile başta olmak üzere kilise, sivil toplum örgütleri ve örneklerini çoğaltabileceğimiz daha nice kolektivitelerdir. Halbwachs’ın (1925) temel söylediği, herhangi bir tarihi olayın ailede aktararak kurumsallaştığıdır. Nitekim çalışmasını Bergson’un rüya analizini eleştirerek başlattığı düşünüldüğünde, bu eleştirinin sebebini rüyanın belli bir organizasyondan yoksun olmasına dayandırdığı görülmektedir (1929, s. 167-168). Ancak Halbwachs’ın aldığı eleştirilerden biri de (Connerton, 2006) hafızanın nasıl oluyor da nesilden nesle aktarıldığını açıklamamış olmasıdır. Bu eleştiri üzerinden Paul Connerton bedensel pratikleri gündeme getirerek yeni bir açıklama sunar. Bergson’un alışkanlık hafızasını hatırlamayı gerektiren bu yaklaşıma göre insanlar sürekli belli pratikleri yaparak hafızayı nesilden nesle aktarır. Modern dönemde bu durum anma törenleri, resmi geçit törenleri gibi merasimler vasıtasıyla meydana gelir (2006, s. 13). Ulus-devletlerde yenilgilere ilişkin resmi anlamda anma törenleri her ne kadar pek vaki olmasa da oluşturulan tarihyazımının uzantısı olarak yenilgiler doğrultusunda yaşanan kayıplara dair de fiili anlamda anma pratikleri görülür. Konumuz bağlamında konuşacak olursak, 29 Mayıs bu noktada büyük önem teşkil eder. Hele ki yeni medya platformlarından Twitter’ın bir nevi kamusal özelliği taşıdığını göz önünde bulundurursak, hafızanın bir bedensel pratik anlamında her sene atılan Tweetler yoluyla da devam ettirildiğini söylemek mümkün hale gelir.

Bütün bunların neticesinde hafızanın inşadan ayrı düşünülemediği gerçeği çıkar karşımıza. İnşadan ayrı düşünülemez çünkü hafıza hatırlama-unutma diyalektiğinden müteşekkildir (Esposito, 2005, s. 181-182); hatırlama olmadan unutma, unutma olmadan hatırlamadan bahsedilemez (Assmann, 2005, s. 97). Hangi yöntemle olursa olsun aktarılan hafıza her aktarımda, daha önce bulunduğu yerde bir şeyler bırakır, yeni gittiği yerden de bir şeyler alır. Böyle bir durumda bazen hiç yaşanmamış bir olay dahi bir aile içerisinde yaşanmış gibi anlatıldığında, o ailenin en küçük bireyinin ileride travma semptomu göstermesi muhtemel olacaktır. Bauman’ın dediği gibi Vietnam travması, o travmayı yaşayan son kişinin ölümüyle ortadan kalkmayacak (Olick, 1999, s. 345). Bu durum belli bir politika doğrultusunda tarihyazımı

tarafından güdülendiğinde ise travmanın istismarı ortaya çıkacaktır. İnsan her ne kadar nisyan ile malül olsa da yara sürekli kaşındığı için nisyan bir türlü gerçekleşmez ama hatırlama da sağlıklı bir şekilde işlemez.

Bu çalışmada travmadan bahsederken özellikle ‘seçilmiş travma’ kalıbı kullanıldı. Bu da travmanın belli bir yaklaşımla ele alındığını gösterir. Bu noktada bedensel pratikte olduğu gibi hafıza açısından öneminden bahsedip geçebirdik ama Yunanistan özelinde bir çalışma yaptığımız zaman ‘seçilmiş travma’ daha da önem kazanmaktadır. Kavramın mucidi Vamık Volkan (2009) her şeyden önce ‘büyük grup psikolojisi’nden söz eder. Büyük grup ulus, etnisite, din gibi kolektivitelere referanstır ve büyük grup psikolojisi de bireysel psikolojinin büyük grubun üyeleri tarafından müşterek bir biçimde paylaşılmasıdır. Konumuz kapsamında bireysel psikolojiden kasıt genellikle yas olgusu olmaktadır. Ancak burada öyle bir durum var ki, örneğin bir aile üyesinin kaybında o ailedeki her fert farklı yas süreçlerinden geçebilecekken büyük grup psikolojisinde yas ortak bir biçimde yaşanmaktadır ve yas sürecinin olması gerektiği gibi inkâr, öfke, pazarlık, bunalım ve kabullenme aşamalarının (Kübler-Ross ve Kessler, 2014, s. 7) hepsinden geçmeyip birine takılı kalması gibi durumlarda, normalde bir kişide görüldüğü takdirde bir olumsuz olarak görülebilecek tavırları bir ulus müşterek olarak sergiler. Bu bağlamda hem Vamık Volkan ve Itzkowitz’in (2002) çalışmalarında hem de aşağıdaki analizde İstanbul’u kaybetmenin yasının sağlıklı bir şekilde yaşanmadığı görülmektedir.

3. Metodoloji

Bu araştırma metin üzerinde çalışmayı gerektirdiği için nitel yöntem tercih edilmiştir. Sosyal bilimlerde özellikle pozitivist paradigmanın tartışılmaya başlamasıyla birlikte insanın aslında metin üreten bir varlık olduğu için dolayısıyla sabit, mutlak hakikatlerden ziyade bir önceki bölümde belirtildiği üzere öznelerin hakikatleri kendileri inşa ettikleri için nitel yöntem tercih edilmiştir. Nitekim Karaarslan doktora tezinde sosyal bilimlerdeki yapı-fail dikotomisinin hafıza çalışmalarında nasıl olması gerektiği meselesini tartışırken “hafıza bir taraftan yapının insana dayattığı –ya da insanın kabul ettiği- diğer taraftan insanın ürettiği verilerle birlikte inşa edilir. Toplumsal hafıza gündelik hayatın içinde belirli eylem pratikleri ile mevcut toplumsal hafızaya eklemeler ve çıkartmalar yapmak üzere sürekli yeniden üretilmektedir” demektedir (2014, s. 42). Bu da bir gündelik etkileşim alanı haline gelen Twitter üzerinden bir hafıza çalışması yapılmasında inşa durumunu gündeme getirir ve bizi nitel bir yaklaşım benimsemeye iter. Öte yandan, nitel yöntem kapsamında bir araştırma tasarlanırken araştırmanın genellikle anlatı araştırması, fenomenoloji, vaka çalışması, etnografi ya da gömülü teori şeklinde tasarlanması alışlagelmiştir. İnsan

hayatının internetle iç içe olduğu son birkaç on yılda ise şüphesiz yeni tasarımlara ihtiyaç duyulmuş, nitekim Robert V. Kozinetz (2002) *internet* kelimesini *ethnography* kelimesiyle harmanlayarak *netnografi* tasarımını geliştirmiştir. Etnografi, eksik olsa da en basit tanımla bir kültürün nitel yöntemle çalışılması anlamına gelirken “netnografi ya da internet etnografisi, etnografik çalışmayı bilgisayar iletişimi aracılığıyla ortaya çıkan kültürlerin veya toplulukların çalışmasına uyarlayan yeni bir nitel yöntemdir” (Kozinetz, 2002, s. 2). Bu yöntem etnografi kadar zahmetli olmayıp daha kısa sürede veri elde etme imkânı sunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte Kozinetz’in makale boyunca dediği gibi etnografi gibi fazlasıyla esnek sınırlara sahiptir.

Bu çalışmada da Yunanlar için İstanbul’un kaybının yıl dönümü olan 29 Mayıs 2022 tarihinde atılan Tweet’ler MAXQDA 2020 yazılımı aracılığıyla çekilmiştir. Tweet’ler çekilirken “*Κωνσταντινούπολη*” (Konstantinoupoli)², “*Πόλη*” (Poli)³, “*Άλωση*” (Alosi)⁴, “*29 Μαου*” (Maiou), 1453 anahtar kelimeleri kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın alanı her ne kadar internet olsa da, son yıllarda yaptığım çalışmalar sırasında tuttuğum gözlem notları da çalışmaya katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu anahtar kelimeler vasıtasıyla toplamda 1081 Tweet çekilmiştir. Bu Tweetlerin üzerinde “İstanbul’un kaybı ulusal kimliği ‘seçilmiş travma’ bağlamında nasıl şekillendirmiştir” temel araştırma sorusu esas alınarak 1287’si manuel 528’i ise otomatik kodlama şeklinde toplam 1795 kodlama yapılmıştır. Kodlama sonucunda da tümevarımsal bir yaklaşımla yapılan içerik analizinde kategoriler, kategorileştirmelerden sonra da temalar oluşturulmuştur. Ayrıca travma ve ulus ilişkisini ortaya çıkaracak şekilde Türk ve Yunan kategorileri üzerinden karşıtlık kodlama vasıtasıyla söylem analizi yapılmıştır. Söylem analizini kolaylaştırması bakımından karşıtlık kodlamayla birlikte metinlerin direkt kopyalaması anlamına gelen InVivo kodlamadan da yararlanılmıştır (Saldaña, 2019, s. 110, 124, 140). Son olarak geçerlik ve güvenilirlik kapsamında teori, gözlem ve bulguyu (Patton, 2002, s. 559) eş zamanlı kullanarak üçgenleme/üçleme (triangulation) tekniğinden yararlanılmış olmakla birlikte internet araştırmalarda önemli bir sorun olarak görülen bilgilendirilmiş onay, internet ortamının özel mi yoksa kamusal bir alan mı olduğu, veri güvenliği gibi problemlerin (Hewson, Yule, Laurent ve Vogel, 2003, s. 52) önüne geçmek için katılımcıların kullanıcı isimleri hem gizlenmiş hem de attıkları Tweetler’in orijinal Yunanca hali paylaşılmayıp yalnızca Türkçe hali makalede aktarılmıştır.

4. Bulgular

4.1 Yunan İmgesinde İstanbul

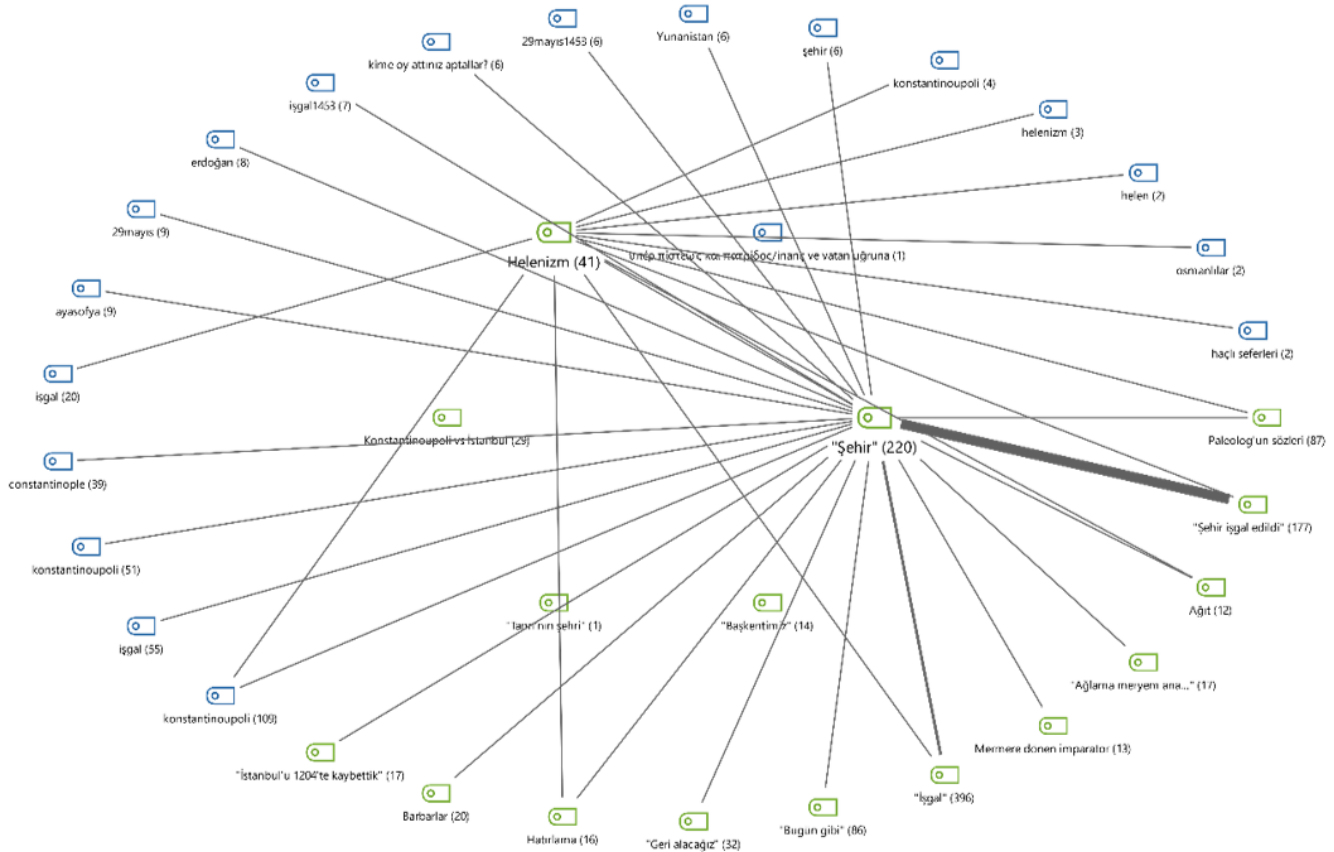
Önceden gözlemler ve Twitter üzerinden yapılan analiz sonucunda bulgulara geçmeden önce İstanbul’un Yunan kolektif hafızasında nasıl yer edindiğini sunmak faydalı olacaktır. Tweetlerin taranmasında kul-

²Yunanların İstanbul yerine tercih ettikleri, Konstantin’in Şehri anlamına gelen İstanbul’un bir diğer ismi.

³ Yunan ulusal hafızasında şehir anlamına gelen ancak ilk harfi büyük harfle yazıldığında İstanbul’un kastedildiği kelime.

⁴Yunanların fetih veya ele geçirme yerine kullanmayı tercih ettikleri ‘zapt etmek’ anlamına gelen kelime.

lanılan anahtar kelimelere de bakıldığında her şeyden önce İstanbul'un Yunan kolektif hafızasında *Konstantinoupoli* (Konstantin'in şehri) şeklinde yer edindiğini söylemek gerekir. Bununla birlikte İstanbul bir Yunan için belki de kendi doğup büyüdüğü şehirden, kasabasından, köyünden daha önemlidir çünkü biri ilk harfi büyük harfle başlayıp özel isim haline getirerek *Poli* (Şehir) dediğinde herkes İstanbul'un kastedildiğini anlar. Köylü bir insan örneğini düşündüğümüzde, kendisi "Şehre gidiyorum" dediğinde dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde anlaşılacağına aksine yaşadığı il sınırları dahilinde köyden şehre inmeyi değil İstanbul'a gitmeyi kastediyordur. Son olarak Türkçe literatürde İstanbul'un Türklerin eline geçmesi 'İstanbul'un Fethi' kalıbıyla anlatılır. Yunanca literatürde ise "Áλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης" (Alosi tis Konstantinoupolis/Polis) yani 'İstanbul'un/Şehrin zapt edilmesi' kalıbıyla anlatılır. Bunun anlamı, Türkçede mevzu bahis tarihsel olaya olumlu bir anlam yüklendiği, Yunancada ise olumsuz bir anlam yüklendiğidir. Bununla birlikte sürekli akılda tutulması gereken noktalardan biri de İstanbul'un yoğun bir şekilde dinî bir sembole sahip olduğudur. Bu doğrultuda Tweetler'de İstanbul'un genellikle "Tanrı'nın şehri" biçiminde ifade edildiğini görürüz.



Şekil 1. Yunan İmgesinde İstanbul temasının kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

4.1.1 “Başkentimiz”

Yunan imgesinde İstanbul’un temsiline ilişkin ilk göze çarpan kategori İstanbul’un hala başkent olarak benimsenmesidir. Buna örnek olarak bir @Sa***al yıl dönümünde Türk tarafının söylediklerini “kusmak” olarak tanımlamakla birlikte cevap olarak büyük harflerle İstanbul’u eş başkent olarak gördüğünü ifade etmiştir: “*Türk hükümetinin 1453 vb. şeylere karşı kustuklarına cevap veriyoruz: YUNANİSTAN’IN EŞ BAŞKENTİ İSTANBUL’DUR*”. Bu katılımcı doğrudan başkent değil de eş başkent ifadesiyle yas sürecinin beş aşamasının üçüncüsü olan pazarlık (Kübler-Ross ve Kessler, 2014, s. 7) aşamasında olduğu anlaşılan bir ifade kullanmıştır. Buna karşılık, @A0***14 ise henüz inkâr aşamasından çıkmadığı görülen bir tutumla “*Gerçek Helenler için başkent İstanbul’dur ve öyle kalacaktır.*” diyerek İstanbul’u başkent olarak benimsemeyi Helen olmanın şartlarından biri olarak görmektedir.

İstanbul’u hala başkent olarak görme eğilimi sağlıklı bir yas sürecinin işareti olarak gözümüze çarpar. Bir kullanıcı İstanbul’u eş başkent görmekle birlikte bir başka kullanıcı ise doğrudan başkent olarak gördüğünü belirtmiştir. Açıkçası ilk kullanıcı yas sürecinin pazarlık aşamasında olduğunu belirtircesine doğrudan başkent olarak görmemektedir, bir diğer katılımcı ise hala inkâr aşamasında olduğu izlenimi vermektedir.

4.1.2 Konstantinoupoli vs İstanbul

Daha önce İstanbul’un Yunan kolektif hafızasında Konstantinoupoli şeklinde yer bulduğu görülmüştü. Bu ismin nasıl önem teşkil ettiğine ilişkin Yunanistan başbakanı Mitsotakis’in Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayip Erdoğan’la görüşmesi sırasında çekilmiş fotoğrafını paylaştığı Instagram hikâyesinde konum olarak ‘Istanbul, Turkey’ ismini kullanmasına karşı oluşan tepkiyi örnek olarak verebiliriz. Bunun üzerine ülke genelinde tepki toplayan Başbakan’a Twitter’da gösterilen tepkilerden birini de @Th***P7’nin yazdıkları oluşturmaktadır. Kullanıcı bu konu üzerinde “*Sultan [Erdoğan] Konstantinoupoli yazdığı takdirde maaşını kesecek değil mi?*” şeklinde tepki göstermiştir. Bu tepki, bakıldığında Tourkokratia söyleminin izlerini taşımaktadır. Tourkokratia veya Türkokrasi Türk hâkimiyeti altındaki Yunanları anlatmak için kullanılan bir terimdir. Ancak burada basit bir Türk yönetimi değil 400 senelik Osmanlı egemenliğinde Yunanların maruz kaldığı ceberut bir Türk yönetimi tasavvur edilmektedir. Yunan ulus-devletinin Tourkokratia’ya karşı bir tepki olarak Türkler tarafından geri bırakıldıkları ve ihtilâlin de bu söylemin neticesinde meydana gelmesiyle kurulduğu bilinmektedir. Bu tutumun bir devamı olarak da Konstantinoupoli kelimesinin kullanılmamasına tepki gösterilirken ‘Tourkokratia’yı anımsatırcasına ‘Sultan’ kelimesi ve yönetmeyi ifade edencesine de ‘maaş’ kelimesi kullanılmıştır. Nitekim İhtilâl döneminde Osmanlı’nın emirlerini uygulamak zorunda bırakılan İstanbul Patriği’ne de aynı muamele uygulanmıştır (Özsüer, 2018, s. 238-240). Ancak Tourkokratia Volkan ve Itzkowitz’in de belirttiği üzere Yunanistan’ın

kuruluşunun ardından 170 sene geçmiş, bu sene ise 201. kuruluş yılını kutlamış olan Yunanistan’ın bugün geri kaldığı için hala Tourkokratia’yı suçlu göstermesi mantıksızdır (2002, s. 242).

Bir diğer örnekte @st***id tarafından İstanbul’un her şeye rağmen Yunan ismi taşıdığı vurgulanmıştır: *“İstanbul, Şehir, şehirlerin Şehrinin daima Yunanca ismi vardı ve olacak, değişik versiyonu olan İstanbul da “İs tin Polin [Şehrin İçinde]” anlamına gelmektedir”*. Burada ilk göze çarpan kullanıcının İstanbul’un kimin elinde olursa olsun Türklerin kullandığı isminin bile Yunanca anlamı olduğunu söylemesi, aslında İstanbul’un hala Yunan kimliğini koruduğuna olan inancının sürdürdüğü anlaşılmalıdır.

Yunanistan’da Konstantinoupoli isminin korunmasına ilişkin güçlü bir tutum vardır ve aksinin görülmesi durumunda da sert bir tepkiyle karşılaşılmaktadır. Bu konuda kullanıcılardan bir tanesi bir hata sonucu olmasına rağmen konum olarak İstanbul kelimesini kullanan başbakanı adeta Türk memuru olarak görmektedir, diğeri de İstanbul kelimesi kullanılsa dahi bu ismin de kökeninin Yunanca olduğunu ifade etmiştir.

4.1.3 Helenizm

İstanbul’un imgesel olarak bir de Helenizm açısından değeri vardır. Helenizm, Büyük İskender’in ele geçirdiği topraklarda yayılan Helen kültürüne verilen isimdir. Bugün daha çok Helenlerin tarih sahnesi boyunca yayılmış oldukları tüm toprakları ve bununla birlikte Helen diasporasına atıfta bulunmak için kullanılan bir kavramdır. Bu bağlamda İstanbul’un başkent olduğuna ilişkin bir ifadeye daha rastlamaktayız. İstanbul başkent olarak değerlendirildiği için bu ifade yukarıda ilgili başlıkta da ele alınabilirdi ancak özellikle Helenizmle bir bağlantı kurulduğu için Helenizm bağlamında, Helenizme dair zikredilen diğer ifadelerle birlikte ele almak uygun görülmüştür. Bu ifadeyi yukarıda da ele alabilirdim ancak Helenizmle bir bağlantı kurulduğu için Helenizm bağlamında, Helenizme dair zikredilen diğer ifadelerle birlikte ele almayı daha uygun gördüm. Bu kapsamda @ta***81 *“Helenizmin doğal başkentidir İstanbul, Atina değil. Çok umurumda olduğundan değil ama vatanseverlerin Helenizmi ne olarak gördüğünü açıklığa kavuşturalım”*. Bu ifadede aslında İstanbul’un özellikle başkent olarak görülmesinin Helenizm ülküsünden kaynaklandığı görülmektedir.

@Ch***ss da ulusal bilinçte bu ülkünün devam ettiğini, *“29 Mayıs 1453’te Şehir düştü. . . Helenizm ise yaşamaya devam ediyor. . . Surların içinde ve dışında. . . Hepimizin mecburiyetidir dönemin eserlerini hatırlamak ve muhafaza etmek”* sözleriyle duyurmaktadır. Ona göre Şehir düşmüş olsa dahi Helenizm hala yaşamaya devam etmektedir. Bunu söylerken yine bir pazarlık seviyesinde yas psikolojisini hem İstanbul’un düştüğünü kabul ederek hem de Helenizmin yaşadığını söyleyerek göstermektedir. Bu noktada eserleri muhafaza etme gereğinden söz ederken kullanıcı her ne kadar Helenizmin yaşadığını söylese de aslında yaşamaya devam etmesi gerektiğini, bunun da sahip çıkmayla mümkün olacağını belirtmektedir. Eserleri muhafaza etme tutumu aslında evinde yaşayan biri öldüğünde ona ait kıyafetleri korumaya çalışan

bir insanla benzer bir tutumdur. Her ikisi yas sürecinin bir parçasıdır.

İstanbul’un ulusal imgede Helenizmin bir unsuru olarak yaşadığı görülmektedir. Bu konuda başkentle bağlamında ifadeler devam ederken kullanıcılardan biri İstanbul’u Helenizmin başkenti olarak görmektedir. Bir başka kullanıcı ise Helenizmi yaşatma inadıyla İstanbul düşse de Helenizmin yaşadığını bu yüzden Helenizm mirası tüm eserlerin korunması gerektiğini ifade etmiştir.

4.1.4 “İnanç ve vatan uğruna...”

İstanbul’un kaybının çağdaş Yunan ulus-devletiyle belirgin bir alakası @Pe***os’un sözlerinde görülmektedir. Yunan ulus-devleti kurulurken o dönem Yunanlar, Fransız İhtilali’ne öykündüklerinden Aydınlanmacı adını verdikleri Elitlerden biri olan Aleksandros İpsilantis, 24 Şubat’ta yayınladığı bildiriye verilen mücadeleyi “İnanç ve Vatan uğruna Savaş” (*Μάχου υπέρ Πίστεως και Πατρίδος* [Mahu iper pisteos ke patridos]) şeklinde tanımlamıştı (Υψηλάντης, 2022). @Pe***os’un İstanbul için kullandığı ifadelerde de paralel bir tutum görülmektedir. “29 Mayıs 1453. İmparator IX. Konstantin Paleolog önderliğindeki Şehrin müdafileri, sonuna kadar fedakârlık ve cesaretle savaşmış ve inanç ve vatan uğruna canlarını vermişlerdir”. Bu ifadelerin aslında birçoğuna göre icat sayılabilecek modern tarihin geçmişle arasında süreklilik kurulması çabası içerdiği anlaşılmaktadır.

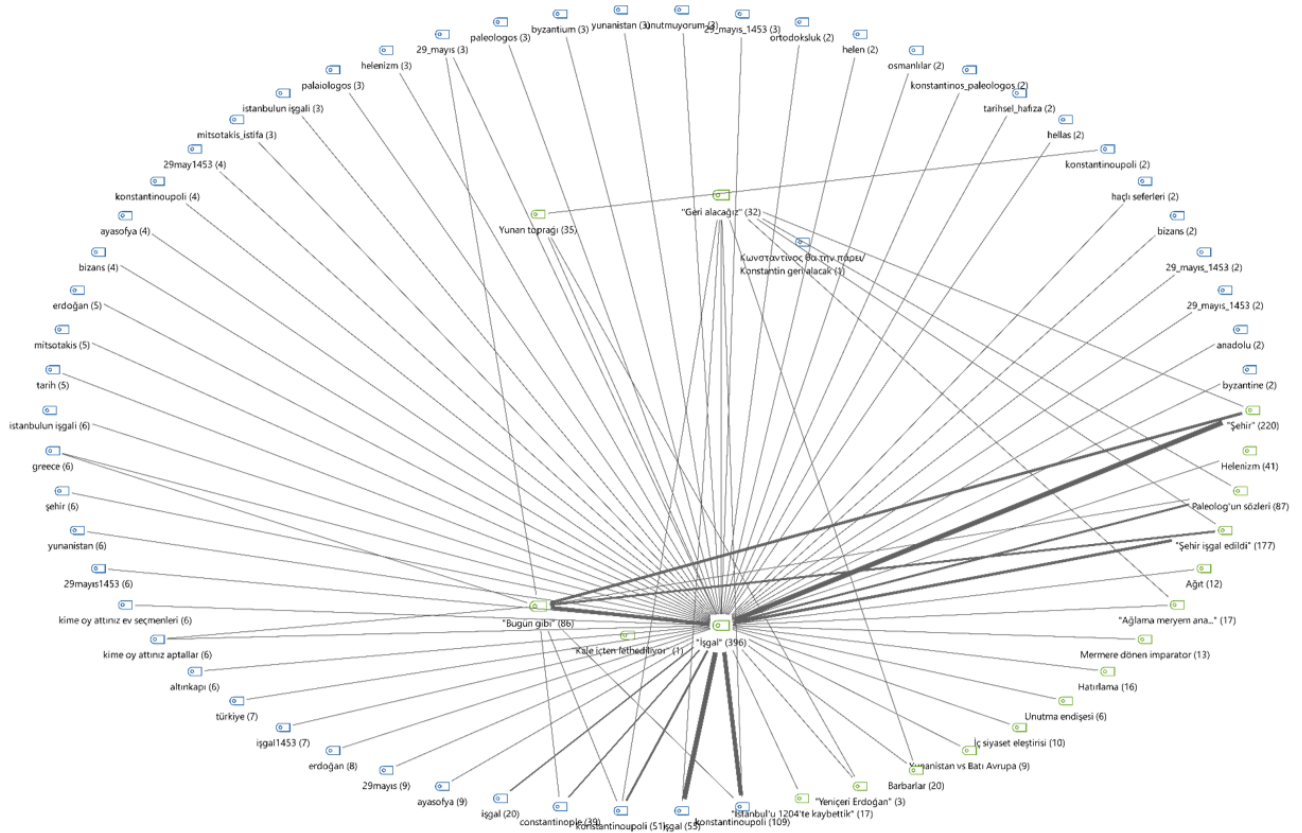
Bu kategori altında kullanıcının ifadelerinde İhtilal’in motivasyonu olarak görülen ve o zaman ilk defa dile getirilmiş “inanç ve vatan uğruna” kalıbı ilk defa dile getirildiği günün gerisine kadar götürülmüş ve modern tarihle bir süreklilik bağlantısı kurulmaya çalışılmıştır.

4.2 Hatırlama Biçimleri

Hatırlama Biçimleri teması altında hafızasının sürekliliğini sağlayan kategorilere yer verilmiştir. İlk bakışta mitler, “zapt edilmeye dair” ve “İstanbul bizim” gibi kategorilerin aynı tema altında toplanmasına anlam verilemeyebilir ama bu kategorilerin hatırlamaya sürekli kılan unsurlar olduğu keşfedildiğinden bir tema altında toplanmışlardır.

4.2.1 Mitler

Mit kelimesinin etimolojik kökenine hiç inmeden Jan Assmann’ın (2018, s. 84) kullandığı anlamda kökene ilişkin öykü anlamına gelmektedir. Bu anlamda mitin öykü olduğunu göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda bunun sabit gerçekliklerden mürekkep bir form değil her zaman yeniden inşa edildiğini ve belli amaçlar için -bilinçli olmasa da- örneğin ulus inşası için dönüşebildiği söylenebilir. Fakat en



Şekil 2. Hatırlama Biçimleri temasının kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

önemlisi, mitlerin sürekli aktarılan öyküler olduklarından hafızayı sürekli hale getirmeleridir.

4.3 Paleolog’un Sözleri

4.3.1 Paleolog’un Sözleri

Yıldönümü münasebetiyle atılan Tweet’lerde yoğun olarak dönemin imparatoru Paleolog’un sözleri paylaşılmıştır. Bu konuda kullanıcılar sözü paylaştıktan sonra kayda değer bir yorumda bulunmadıkları için Tweetler belli bir kullanıcıya atfedilmeyecektir ve bundan sonra referanssız olarak kullanılan ifadeler de aynı mahiyeti teşkil edecektir. İlk olarak, sıklıkla paylaşılan söz “Η Πολις Εαλω [İ Polis Ealo]” yani Paleolog’un en sonunda şehrin düştüğünü kabul ettiği “Şehir Zapt Edildi” sözüdür. Devamında ise Paleolog’un Fatih Sultan Mehmet’e söylediğine inanıldığı belirtilen *Κοινῆ γὰρ γνώμη πάντες ἀττοπροαιρέτως ἀποθανοῦμεν καὶ οὐ φεισόμεθα τῶς ζωῆς ἡμῶν* [Kini gar gnomi pantes aftoproeretos apothanumen ke u fesometha tis zois imon] ve “aklıselim odur ki, biz canımızı kendi irademizle veriyoruz hayatımızı kaybetmiyoruz” anlamına gelen söz paylaşılmıştır. Bu sözle birlikte yaşanan o büyük kayba rağmen Paleolog’un kahramanca sözlerinin bir nebze teselli oluşturduğu görülmektedir.

Paleolog’un sözleri son imparator olarak onu kahramanca direnen ve sözlerinin yaşanan kayba yönelik bir teselli oluşturduğu görülmektedir. Bu şekilde de Paleolog’un söylediğine inanılan sözlerinin fazla tesirli oluşu onları yıldönümü boyunca en çok zikredilen sözler arasına sokmuştur.

4.3.2 Ağıt

Paleolog’un sözlerinden sonra İstanbul’u kaybetmeye ilişkin birçok ağıtla karşılaşırız. Bunlardan bir tanesi “*Ağlama Meryem Ana, sus ağlama, zaman geçecek, devran dönecek İstanbul yine sizin olacak*” şeklinde Ayasofya ağıtı olarak bilinen ağıtın bir kısmıdır. Ağıtın tamamı ise

Tanrı haber gönderiyor, dünya haber gönderiyor, semalar haber gönderiyor,
Büyük manastır Ayasofya da haber gönderiyor,
Dört yüz küçük, altmış iki büyük canlı manastır,
Her çanın bir papazı, her papazın bir zangocu.
Sol tarafta imparator, sağ tarafta Patrik ilahi okuyor
İlahilerin kudretinden sütunlar titriyor.
İmparatorun liderliğinde kutsal ayine hazırlanırlar
Ve gökyüzünden Başmelek’in sesi gelir ve der ki:
“Durdurun ayini, kutsal ikonaları yere indirin
Papazlar, kutsal eşyaları alın, mumları söndürün
Çünkü Şehrin Türkleşmesi Tanrının isteği.
Fakat Batı’ya haber salın, üç gemiyle gelsinler,
Biri haçı, diğeri de incili alsın,
Üçüncüsü de, en iyisi, Kutsal Masa’yı
Köpekler elimizden almasın, onu kirletmesin”.
Meryem Ana sarsıldı, ikonları ağlamaya başladı.
“Ağlama Meryem Ana, Sus ağlama.
Zaman geçecek, devran dönecek
İstanbul yine sizin olacak”. (Κορδάτος 1983, s. 50-51)⁵

şeklindedir.

Trakya ağıtı olarak bilinen ağıtta ise “*Şehrimizi rehin aldılar*” denmektedir. Ağıtın devamı şu şekildedir:

“Neden ötmüyorsun kuşum daha önce öttüğün gibi
Nasıl ötebilirim:

⁵ Ağıtın çevirisi Esra Özşuer’in (2018, s. 270) çevirisiyle karşılaştırılarak yapılmıştır.

Kanatlarımı kırdılar, sözümü elimden aldılar
Şehrimizi ve Ayasofya’mızı rehin aldılar
Meryem ana ağlıyor acı içerisinde” (10 Eylül 2022 tarihinde erişilmiştir)

Bu ağıtlarda Meryem Ana figürü yoğun olarak görülürken ilkinde Meryem Ana’nın çok üzüldüğü ama İstanbul’un geri alınacağı için üzülmemesi gerektiği söylenmiştir. Bir diğer ağıtta ise İstanbul’un geri alınacağına ilişkin bir şey söylenmese de Meryem Ana’nın acı içerisinde ağladığı ifade edilmektedir.

4.3.3 Mermere Dönen İmparator

Mit niteliği taşıyan bir diğer anlatı da Mermere Dönen İmparator mitidir. Bu mite göre İstanbul’un kaybıyla birlikte İmparator bir melek tarafından İstanbul’un kapılarından biri olan Altın Kapıya götürülüp İmparator mermere dönüştürülmüş, İstanbul geri alındığında ise tekrar diriltilerek Türkler Kızılelma’ya sürülecektir. Esra Özsüer bu mitin günümüz Yunanlıları açısından inanılır bir durum olmaktan çıktığını (2018, s. 186) iddia etmektedir. Bununla birlikte, çalışmada taranan Tweetler’de kullanılan ifadeler nitel araştırmanın doğasına uygun olacak şekilde genelleme amacı taşımasa da bu inancın izlerine hala rastlandığı görülmektedir. Buna ilişkin @di***m1 “*Mermerleşmiş İmparator “uyanık koma”da*” Tweet’iyle mermerleştiğine inanılan imparatorun şu an mermer halinde olduğu için komada olduğu ancak günün birinde tekrar canlanacağı için de “uyanık koma”da olduğu ifade edilmiştir. Bir başka Tweet’te ise @va***am tarafından İmparator’u meleklerin koruduğu söylenmiştir: “*Başka hiçbir halk MERMERLEŞMİŞ İMPARATORUNU baş melekler aracılığıyla muhafaza etmez*”.

Kulağa oldukça ilginç gelen bu mitte göze çarpan ilk unsur zamanında düşmesine kesinlikle ihtimal verilmeyen Şehir düştüğünde yaşanan travmanın ancak şehrin tekrar kazanılacağına inanılmasıyla yumuşatıldığıdır.

4.3.4 İstanbul’un “Zapt Edilmesi”ne Dair

4.3.5 “Bugün gibi”

İşgale dair atılan Tweet’lerin büyük bir çoğunluğunca “Bugün gibi” ifadesi bulunmaktadır. Mermere Dönen İmparator Miti’nde veya “Güneş dondu” gibi ifadelerde görüleceği gibi zamanın durmasına ilişkin ifadelerle rastlıyoruz. Burada daimi yas olarak adlandırılan yas çeşidinin rolü olduğu görülmektedir. Ağır bir kayıp sonucu yas tutmayı başaramamış birisi kaybettiği kişiyi kaybettiğini bilse dahi bilinç altında onu yaşatma eğilimi taşıdığı için konuşurken onu kaybettiğini kabul ettiğini gösteren ifadeler kullanmaz (Volkan ve Itzkowitz, 2002, s. 53). Örneğin kaybedilen kişi hala yaşıyormuş gibi şimdiki zamanda konuşur veya bu başlık altındaki örnekte olduğu gibi zamanın durduğunu ifade eden cümleler kurar.

4.3.6 “Kale İçten Fethedilir”

“İşgal”in kendisine ilişkin yapılan yorumlara baktığımızda sık sık “iç düşman” söylemiyle karşılaşmaktayız. Buna örnek olarak @Ap***ot “*Şehrin zapt edilmesi: Her zamanki gibi kale içten zapt edilir*” sözlerini kullanmıştır. İç düşman söyleminin benimsenmesinin, ‘seçilmiş travma’ nın içeriği anladığında aslında gayet doğal olduğu anlaşılacaktır. Nitekim Volkan ve Itzkowitz (2002, s. 20) seçilmiş travmaya daha detaylı bir açıklama getirirken şu sözleri kullanır:

“Seçilmiş travma” terimini, bir grubun üyelerinde başka bir grubun üyeleri tarafından aşağılanmışlık ve mağdur edilmişlik şeklinde yoğun duygular uyandıran bir olay anlamında kullanıyoruz. Elbette bir grup mağdur edilmeyi ve buna bağlı olarak benlik değerini yitirmeyi “seçmez”, ne var ki olayı psikolojize ve mitolojize etmeyi -sürekli bu konuda kafa yormayı- “seçer”.

Son kısımda da göreceğimiz gibi “iç düşman” söyleminin üretildiği ifadelerde aslında bir öteki olan Türkler’in İstanbul’u ele geçirilmesine dayanmadığı bu yüzden de İstanbul’un zapt edilmesi kendi hatamızı şeklinde bir tutum sergilenmektedir.

4.3.7 “Yunanistan’ın göbeğinde kutlama yapıyorlar”

Yukarıdaki devamı niteliğinde ilginç bir tepki de İskeçe’de Türklerin İstanbul’un fethini kutladıkları şeklindeki, kullanıcının kendi ülkesinde Yunanların mağdur olduğunu ifade ettiği iddiadır. Daha da ilginç ise Yunan anaakımı Batı Trakya’da yaşayan Türklerin etnik kimliğini inkâr ederken @Co***rn’un attığı bu Tweet’te Batı Trakya’daki Azınlık, Türklerle özdeşleştirilmiştir. Daha kimliğini özgürce ifade edemeyen Türklerin ise bile bile yüksek sesle ezan okudukları ifade edilmiştir. “*Bugün İskeçe’de camiler hoparlörlerini sabah saat 11’den beri son ses açmış ve eşekler gibi anırıyorlar. Sanırsın Türkiye’de yaşıyoruz. Şehrimizi ve Ayasofyamızı çalmışlar, üstüne de Yunanistan’ın göbeğinde kutlama yapıyorlar*”.

Aşağıda görüleceği gibi Yunanlarda Türkleri sürekli barbar ya da medeniyetsiz tanıtmaya eğilimi vardır. Tabii bunun sebebi İstanbul’un ellerinden alınması. Onlara böyle bir kötülüğü yapan birileri de olsa olsa kötü birileri olacaktır. Böyle bir güdüyle beslenen ulusal bilinçte günlük rutin ezan ve salalar dahi kasıt olarak görülmüştür.

4.3.8 “İstanbul Bizim”

İstanbul’un kaybına ilişkin gösterilen en net tepki belki de İstanbul’un Helen toprağı olduğu şeklindeki tepkidir. Örneğin @on***os Konstantinoupoli’yi “*Dünyanın merkezi olan Helen Şehri*” şeklinde tanımlamaktadır.

Bir başka örnekte ise Türklerin Ayasofya’yı sahiplenmelerine karşı @Da***ol, “*Biriniz artık Türklere Ayasofya’nın 537’de Mimar İsidoros, Milisios ve Anthemios Tralianos tarafından inşa edildiğini ve Hıristiyan Katedrali olduğunu anlatsın*” demektedir. Ayasofya’nın bir sembol olarak Yunanlar açısından olduğu kadar Türkler açısından da önemi büyüktür. Ayasofya’nın yeniden camiye dönüştürülmesini politik psikoloji açısından ele alan Arıboğan her iki millet için de mabedin kutsallık anlamında büyük öneme haiz olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Öyle ki mabedin müzeye dönüştürülmesi faaliyetini de “eskidiğini peşinen kabul etme” biçiminde tanımlayarak kutsallığın “nötralize” edildiğini belirtmiştir (2020, s. 37). Bu anlamda mabedin tekrar camiye dönüştürülmesinin de fethin yarattığı travma semptomlarını uyandırarak “ikinci fetih” biçiminde bir işlev göreceğini belirtir (2020, s. 41). Türklerin bu yöndeki sahiplenici tutumuna karşı ise Tweetler aracılığıyla gösterilen tepkinin sevgilisini kaybeden bir aşığın tepkisine benzediği görülmektedir. Böyle bir durumda aşığın durumu kabullenmediği gibi Yunan kamuoyunda kabullenmemeye birlikte benzer yas sürecinin ilk aşaması olan inkâr aşaması kapsamında bir tutum görülmektedir.

Bunun dışına İstanbul’u geri almaya yönelik Tweet’ler de bir hayli yoğun. @m_***es esprili bir üslupla “*İstanbul’u almak bu yaz kilo vermektен daha muhtemel görünüyor*” demektedir. @el***1a ise daha ciddi bir üslupla “*Zamanı geldiğinde görevini yap, Başkentimiz seni bekliyor*” şeklinde adeta bir çağrıda bulunuyor. Bu ifadeler normal karşılanabilecek ifadelerken @co***gr ise “*ÖNÜMÜZDEKİ SENE ŞEHİRDEYİZ*” gibi bir ifadeyle Türkiye ile yaşanan sorunlara karşı tepki göstermektedir. @ne***es romantik bir üslupla İstanbul’un geri alınacağından emin olduğu anlaşılabilir bir tavırla “*Geri aldığımızda hayatta olmazsam..dirilirim.*” demektedir. @ng***ou’nun attığı Tweet’te ise Tanrı’ya edilen bir duaya şahit oluyoruz: “*Tanrım gözlerimi kapatmadan Şehrimizi hür görmeyi nasip et!*” şeklinde bir dilekte bulunmaktadır. Bunların dışında @20***al realist olduğu için İstanbul’un geri alınmasını imkânsız görenlere karşı şu Tweet’i atmıştır:

“Yunanistan’ı bir daha asla geri alamayacağız.”

Realistler 1820

“Makedonya’yı bir daha asla geri alamayacağız.”

Realistler 1910

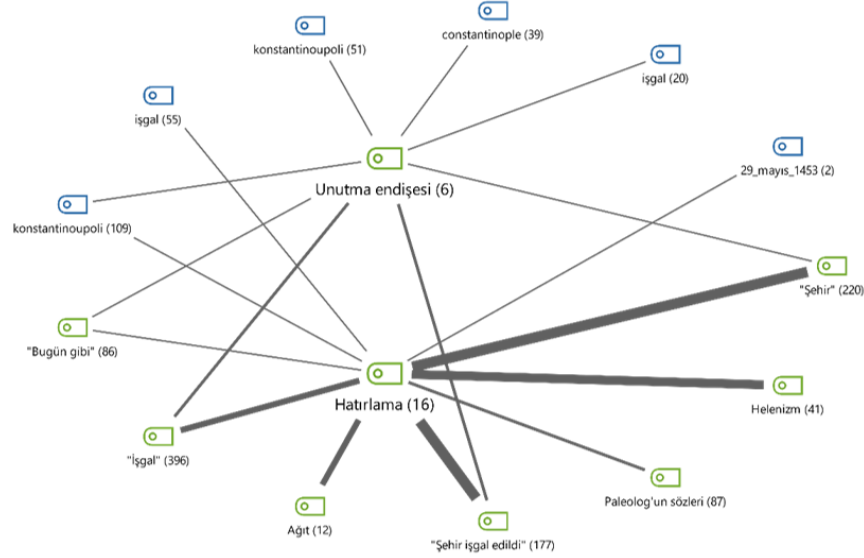
“İstanbul’u bir daha asla geri alamayacağız”

*Realistler 2022” (@20***al)*

Öbür yandan @ep***ta, Mermer’e Dönen İmparator mitinde İmparator’un tekrar dirileceği inanisından da faydalanarak “*Konstantin inşa etti, Konstantin kaybetti, Konstantin geri alacak*” demektedir. İstanbul’un geri alınacak olmasına duyulan inanca ilişkin kullanılan ifadelerde açık bir biçimde yas sürecinin 2. aşaması olan öfke aşaması göze çarpmaktadır. İnkâr aşaması atlatıldıktan sonra bu sefer öfkeyle süreci geri döndürme çabası başlamıştır.

Bu kategori altında kullanıcılar Yunanistan’ı sahiplenme ve süreci tersine çevirme tutumu sergilemektedir. Bunu romantik bir ilişki üzerinden örnekleyecek olursak sevgilisini kaybeden birisi nasıl ki tekrar sevgilisinin ona döneceğini umuyorsa burada da benzer bir tutum dikkat çekmektedir.

4.4 Hatırlama ve Unutturmama Üzerine



Şekil 3. Hatırlama ve Unutturmama Üzerine başlıklı temanın kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

İnsan için unutmak gayet doğal bir durumdur. En büyük acılar, en büyük ihanetlerin bile unutulabilmesi mümkündür. Bu, bir anlamda organizmanın kendini onarma işlevinden de kaynaklanır. Tabii, unutmaya bir yerden sonra göz yumulduğunda bu sefer patolojik sonuçlara yol açabilir. Örneğin, ben bir düşmanın bana çektiği acıyı unutabilirim ama aynı kişiyi tekrar bağırma basmak çoğu insan tarafından normal karşılanmayacaktır, nitekim bu da sağlıksız bir yasin ürünüdür; insan kaldıramadığı acının üzerini bir an önce örtmek ister. Toplum psikolojisinde de aynı durum geçerlidir ama ulus-devletlerde patolojik seviyedeki unutmaya engel olunacak diye yaranın yeniden kanatıldığı görülmektedir. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi de *Zakhor!* (Hatırla!) isimli eserinde modern Yahudi tarihyazımının, aslında gerçek hafızadan uzak olduğunu söyler (1982, s. 101). Her sene soykırımı hatırlama amacıyla düzenlenen Shoah anma törenlerinde bu açıkça görülür. Shoah bir taraftan *hatırlamayı amaçlarken*, öbür taraftan *hafızayı yeniden inşa eder*⁶.

Bu anlamda İstanbul’un kaybına ilişkin yazılan hatırlama ve unutmaya direnme çabası içeren Tweetlerin de benzer özellikler taşıdığı görülmektedir, bunun kaynağında da ‘seçilmiş travma’ya maruz kalan grubun aşağılanmışlık duygusundan kurtulma arzusu (Volkan ve Itzkowitz, 2002, s. 22) olduğu söylenebilir. @Ad***di’nin Tweet’inde ilk önce Paleolog’a ait olan “*Güneş dondu! Yeryüzü inledi! Şehir*

⁶ İtalikler bana aittir.

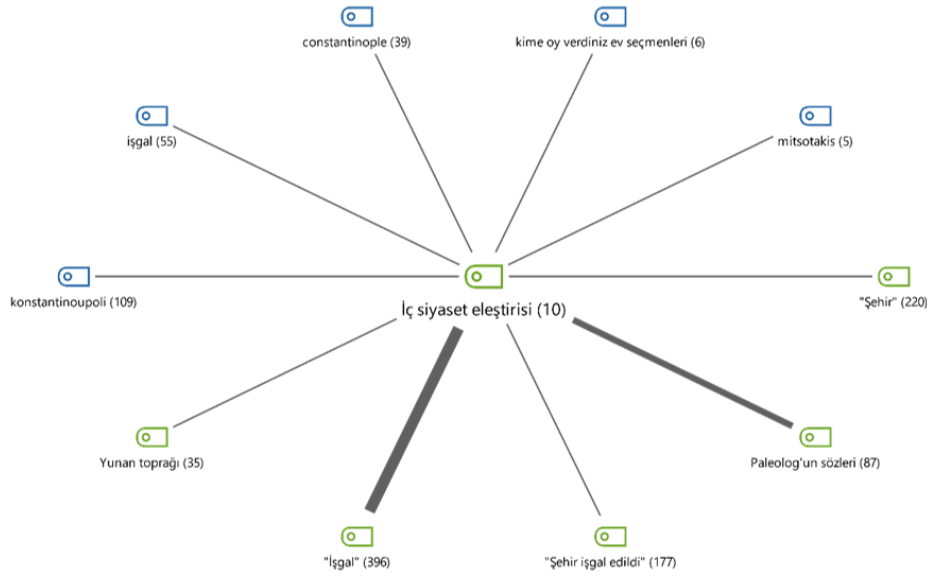
zapt edildi edildi!” sözünü söyleyip devamında “29 Mayıs 1453 Helenizmin asla unutmayacağı bir gün! Konstantin Paleolog’un hatırası sonsuza dek yaşayacak!” demiştir. Burada kullanılan özellikle “güneşin donması” ifadesi ile “Helenizmin asla unutmayacağı” şeklindeki ifade hiç şüphesiz derin bir yarayı temsil etmektedir. Öte yandan Türkiye ile yaşanan sıkıntılara karşı yine İstanbul’dan yola çıkarak @Ne***RE “Bugün ızdırıp ve “UNUTMUYORUM” değil yalnızca Helen egemenliğinin her ihlali sonucunda karşı tarafın istediğine karşı bir hazır bulunuş olmalı. Görülmesi gereken henüz ödenmemiş kan davaları var!” Tweet’iyle hatırlama meselesini bir adım öteye taşıyarak bir pratik çağrısında bulunmaktadır. Günlük yaşamda olduğu kadar atılan Tweet’lerde de bir teyakkuz durumu hâkim. Bir öncekine benzer biçimde @Th***23 “Bugün sevinç veya keder günü değil, Yunan uykusundan uyanmadıkça başına gelecek olanı hatırlatma günüdür” demektedir. Buna göre Türklere karşı hala adeta bir ilk gün düşmanlığı beslenmektedir. Bir başka kullanıcı @Yi***os’un Tweet’inde bu durum Ulusal bir mesele olarak görülmekle birlikte benzer örneklerini yukarıda gördüğümüz üzere modern ulus tarihi ile geçmiş arasında bir süreklilik bağı kurulma çabası mevcuttur. “Yıllar geçse de 29 Mayıs 1453’teki o pis günün ardından, unutmayacağız. Ulusal haklarımız için savaşmayı da bırakmayacağız!” demiştir.

Hatırlama ile ilgili söylenen sözlerin ötesinde bir unutma endişesi de gözlemlenmektedir. Buna ilişkin @vy***70 “Ezeli düşmanımızı unutmamalıyız!” demektedir. Türklerin “ezeli düşman olarak tanımlanmış olmasının bir cevap verme güdüsünden kaynaklandığı anlaşılıyor ki devamında unutmamak zikredilmiştir. Bunun dışında @fr***36 George Santayana imzasıyla “Tarihi unutan halklar onu tekrar yaşamaya mahkûmdur” şeklinde bir ikazla yaşananların unutulmaması konusunda bir uyarıda bulunmaktadır.

Hatırlama ve Unutma endişesine ilişkin atılan Tweetlerde ilk olarak kaybın yaşandığı gün güneşin donması ve yeryüzünün inlemesi şeklinde tanımlanmış ve bugünün unutulmayacağı söylenmiştir. Bir başka kullanıcı ise yaşananları görülmemiş bir hesap olarak tanımlamaktadır. Bununla birlikte unutulduğu takdirde başına benzer şeyler geleceği de söylenmekle birlikte aynı zamanda o günün asla unutulmayacağı vurgulanmıştır. Unutma endişesi bağlamında ise ezeli düşmanın asla unutulmaması gerektiği ile unutan kişinin aynı olayları tekrar yaşayacağı ikaz edilmiştir.

4.5 İç Siyaset Eleştirisi

Görüldüğü üzere İstanbul travması Yunan hafızasında kendini yoğun şekilde göstermektedir. Bunlardan biri de iç siyasettir. “Seçilmiş travma’ya uğrayan grup yası gerektiği gibi tutamadığında düşmanla olan bağ her zaman korunur ve her zaman da bir arınma ihtiyacı hissedilir” (Volkan ve Itzkowitz, 2002, s. 23). Bu başlık altında da sağlıklı yas tutamama durumunda görülen bir semptom olarak travmatik hafıza en ufak bir tehlike durumunda İstanbul’un temsilini tekrar canlandırarak bir tepki verme ihtiyacı ortaya çıkarmaktadır. @bo***as başbakan Mitsotakis’in sarf ettiği bir cümleyi anlamsız gördüğü için daha önce Yunan hafızasında kahraman olarak yerleştiğini gördüğümüz Paleolog üzerinde aynı cümleyi düşünüyor:



Şekil 4. İç Siyaset Eleştirisi temasının kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

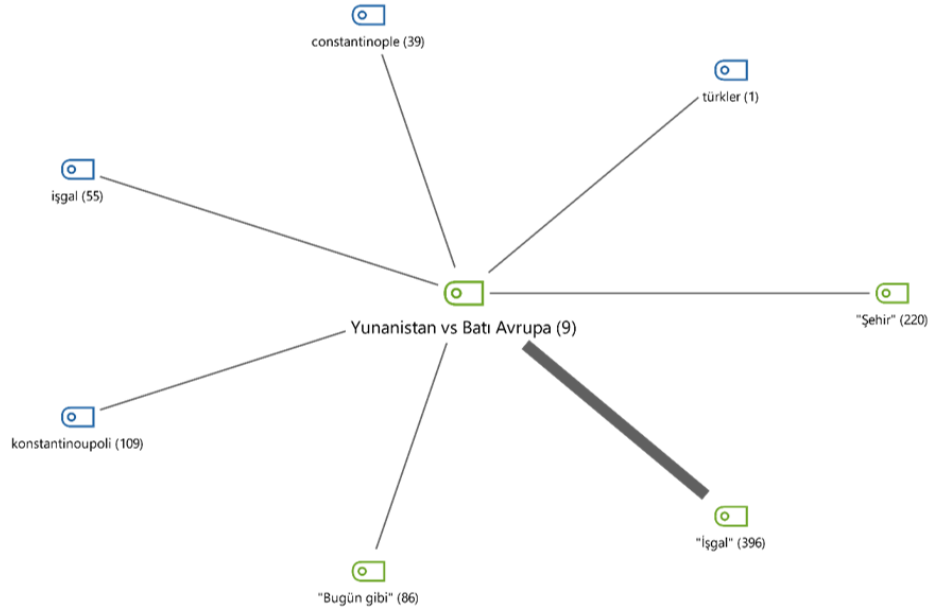
“İşgal dönemini düşünün, Paleolog bir plajda sürtüyor ve diyor ki: “Yanlıklar oldu ama pes etmiyoruz, krizi fırsata dönüştürmeliyiz”. He tabii, hayal etmeye de gerek yok üç senedir yaşıyoruz bunu”. Bir başka kullanıcı olan @Cr***ak ise benzin fiyatları bağlamında bir eleştiride bulunuyor. “Pazartesi Twitter’a giriyorsun ve birinin zapt edilmeden 600 sene sonra Konstantinoupoli’yi geri alma planları kurduğunu görüyorsun oysa daha benzinini ödememiş”. Bütün bunlarla birlikte son kısımda da göreceğimiz üzere İstanbul’un kaybı Türklerin başarısından çok Yunanların hatası olarak görülme eğilimi taşıyor. Yine @ma***id “Konstantinoupoli olsaydı şu an Mitsotakis yüzünden düşerdi” diyerek hükümetin hatalarını geçmişteki hatalarla özdeşleştirme niyeti taşıyor.

İstanbul’u kaybetmek Yunanların hafızasında bir şekilde her yerde kendini belli ediyor. İç siyasette bile gündelik bir meseleyi eleştirirken İstanbul’a referansta bulunuluyor ve yapılan her hatada konu İstanbul’u kaybetmeye getiriliyor. Bu konudaki eleştirilerden başbakan Mitsotakis fazlasıyla nasibini almış durumda. Kullanıcılardan biri onun eleştirilen cümlesini İstanbul’un kaybedildiği döneme uyarlıyor, başka bir kullanıcı ülkede durumlar bu kadar kötüyken İstanbul’u geri alma planlarının saçma olduğunu söylüyor.

4.6 Yunanistan vs Batı Avrupa

Yunanistan’ın ‘İsyan’ı Batılı devletlerin teşviki ve desteğiyle başlattığı Türk tarih yazımında sürekli söylenen bir mesele. Yunan tarihyazımı buna dair bir şey söylemese de atılan Tweet’lerde Batı Avrupa Devletleri’ne güvenmenin hata olduğu anlaşılıyor.

@fi***ia “O zaman, talihsiz bir şekilde, şimdi de olduğu gibi Batı parlamentolarına teslim olduk.



Şekil 5. Yunanistan vs Batı Avrupa temasının kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

1453'te Mehmet'in donanmasını karadan geçirenler Şehrin Cenevizlileriydi". Kullanıcı bu ifadesinde aynı hatanın bugün de yapıldığına dikkat çekmektedir. @At***im ise Batı'ya duyulan güvenin Konstantinoupoli'yi geri getireceğine ilişkin olan inancın yanında İran'la kurulan ilişkilere dair şöyle bir Tweet atmıştır: "Tamam, "sarı ırk" bize Konstantinoupoli'yi hediye edecek de, İran'ın katırları neyi hediye edecek" şeklinde sitem etmektedir. Kullanıcı bu sözleriyle her halükârda dış desteği sakıncalı görmektedir.

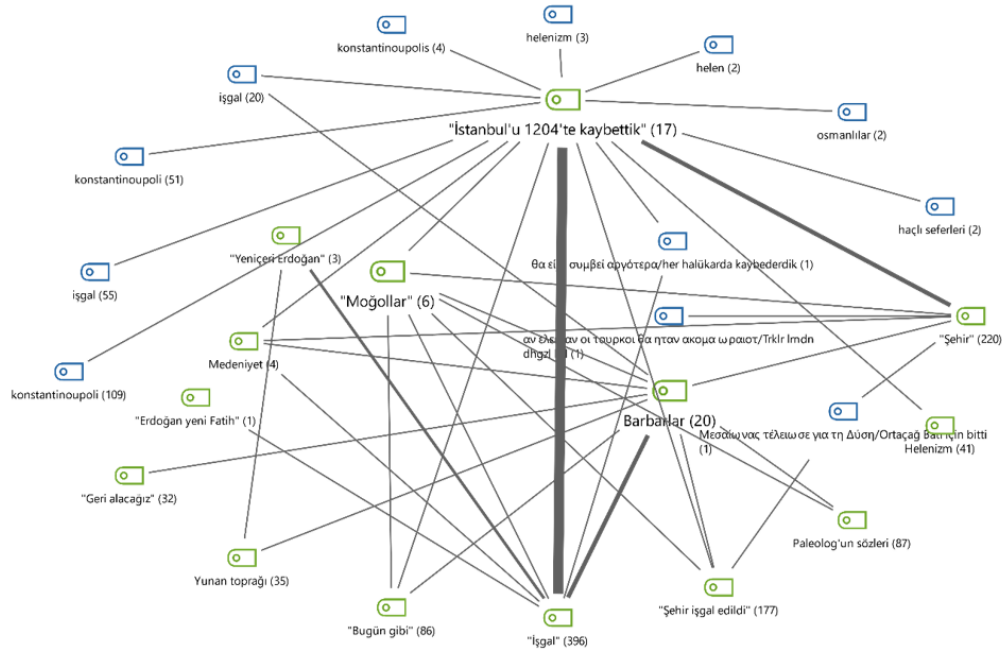
Batılı devletlerin desteği her zaman tartışma konusu olmuş olsa da Yunanların hafızasında bunun beyhude bir çaba olarak algılandığı görülmektedir. Bu konuda geçmişte Türklere yardım edenler zaten Batılılar olduğu belirtilmekle birlikte aynı zamanda genel anlamda hiçbir dış güce güvenilmemesi gerektiği belirtilmiştir.

4.7 Yunanistan vs Türkiye

Bu tema altında Yunanların Türkleri öteki olarak konumlandırarak, onlardaki olumsuz özelliklere karşı kendi olumlu özelliklerine gün yüzüne çıkarttıkları görülecektir. Makalenin başında özetle bireysel psikolojinin kolektif anlamda da yaşanabileceği söylenmişti. Avşar ve Kansu da bu anlamda Avrupalılık kimliğin "ben"den "biz"e dönüşme sürecini Lacancı psikanaliz bağlamında tartışarak Türklere karşı bir tepki biçiminde ortaya çıktığını ifade etmektedir (2020, s. 305-313).

4.7.1 "Barbar/Medeniyetsiz Türkler/Moğollar"

İstanbul'u "zapt" edenin Türkler olduğu düşünüldüğünde Türklere ilgili bir şey söylenmemesi



Şekil 6. Yunanistan vs Türkiye temasının kod ilişkilerini gösteren harita

düşünülemez. İlk olarak Türklere karşı “barbar”, “medeniyetsiz gibi yakıştırmalar kullanılmıştır. Örneğin @Sp***o3 “Bugün uzun asırlık tarihimizdeki kara sayfanın yıldönümü. Bugün gibiydi 29 Mayıs 1453 Salı günü, Şehir bugünkü Türklerin ataları olan barbar ordular tarafından zapt edildi”. Dikkat çekici olan, toprakların ele geçirilmesi tüm dünyada var olan bir gerçeklik iken kendi toprakları kaybedildiğinde bu eylemin barbarlık olarak tanımlanmasıdır. Kaldı ki bu çalışmada da büyük öneme sahip olduğunu gördüğümüz Helenizm unsuru, Büyük İskender’in aldığı toprakların temsilidir. Bu çelişkinin açıklaması, yaşanan durumun bir ‘seçilmiş travma’ olmasına dayanmaktadır. Volkan ve Itzkowitz, John E. Mack’ten ödünç alarak ‘mağdur olanın egoizmi’ ilkesini gündeme getirir ve böyle durumlarda düşman olarak görülen karşı tarafla empati kurmada başarısızlık ortaya çıktığını belirtirler (2002, s. 24). Öyle ki, @mi***im “En azından Konstantinoupoli’nin ele geçirildiğini kabul ediyorlar! Ele geçirildiği günden bu yana 569. Yılı kutluyorlar. Milli bayramı özgürleşme değil de ele geçirmek olan yegâne ülke” Tweet’iyle İstanbul’un fetihinin milli bayram olarak kutlanmasını eleştiriyor. Dikkat edileceği gibi ifadenin çevirisinde “ele geçirme” kelimesini kullandım. Yunanca karşılığı olan kataktisi fetih kelimesine karşılık gelse de, bu kelime tam anlamıyla fethi karşılamıyor. Çünkü fetih, Müslüman toplumlarda olumlu bir anlam taşımaktadır ve fethedilecek olan tarafından da talep edilmektedir. Bu durum sıklıkla “gönül fütuhata” olarak da tanımlanmıştır. Kataktisi ise eylem olarak aynı anlamı taşısa da karşı tarafın bunu talep etmesini gerektirmez.

Medeniyet bahsine geldiğimizde ise @the***ng “sana tekrar söylüyorum, senin yerin Orta Asya’nın steplerinde bir yer, batı medeniyetiyle herhangi bir alakan yok. Aslında medeniyetle bir alakan yok” bir Tweet atmıştır. Bu Tweet’te İstanbul’u sahiplenici bir Tweet atan birine verilen cevapta yerinin İstanbul değil Orta Asya stepleri olduğu vurgulanmıştır.

Bir önceki yakıştırmalara benzer bir biçimde Türklere “Moğol” denmesi de sık görülen bir durumdur. Bunun iki sebebi bulunmaktadır. Bir tanesi Moğolların tarihte barbar olarak bilinmesi, bir diğer sebebi de Türklerin Moğol kanı taşıdıklarına inanılması. Nitekim, Yunanistan da bu doğrultuda makbul vatandaş olarak yalnızca Yunan soyluları kabul etmekte, Aktürk’ün tipolojisiyle en büyük emsali Almanya olan tek-etnili ulus-devletler arasında (2015, s. 7) yerini almış ve bununla da her zaman iftihar etmiştir. Türklerin ise böyle bir durumdan beri olduklarını söyleme motivasyonu onlara “Moğol” yakıştırması kullanılmaktadır. @2N***os “*Türk Moğol karması köpekler Konstatinoupoli’de İşgal’i kutlayarak Ayasofya’ya saygısızlık ediyor!*” ifadelerini kullanmıştır. Bütün bu yakıştırmaları aslında Helenizm ideolojisiyle birlikte düşünmek mümkündür. Volkan ve Itzkowitz, çağdaş Yunanistan’ın kendini Batı’ya kabul ettirmek için Helenizm ideolojisini bu kadar benimsediğini ama bununla birlikte bir de bilinçdışı metotla “kendi içlerindeki Türklüğü” reddetmeye başvurduklarını (2002, s. 222-223), bunu da kendileri medeni bir millet iken Türkleri gayrimedeni, barbar hatta iyice ortak kültürden uzaklaştırmak anlamında Moğol şeklinde tanımlayarak yapmış olduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Kısacası Yunanistan geri kalmışlığının tek sebebi olarak Türkokrasi’yi göstererek kendini kabul ettirme çabası içerisinde olmuştur (2002, s. 223).

İstanbul söz konusu olduğunda Türklere karşı kullanılan ifadelerde “barbar” ve “medeniysiz” gibi yakıştırmalar dikkat çekmektedir. Bu ifadelerin kullanılma biçimi İstanbul’un haklı bir şekilde kazanılmadığını söyleme çabası içerdiğini göstermektedir. Başka bir deyişle “bizim dengimiz Batı medeniyeti, barbarlarla savaşmaya gücümüz yetmez, bugün de barbarların İstanbul’a sahip olması tam bir talihsizlik” denmektedir. Bu yakıştırmalara ek olarak bir de hem barbar yakıştırmasını pekiştirmek hem de Türklerin kendileri gibi saf bir ırk olmadığını söylemek için “Moğol” yakıştırması da kullanılmaktadır.

4.7.2 Erdoğan’a dair

Türklere karşı atılan Tweet’lerin bir kısmını ise Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’a atılan Tweet’ler oluşturuyor. @Ga***eo “*Tatsız bir ortamda 1453 İşgal’ini canlandırmaya çalışan T. Erdoğan kendisini, kendi deyişiyle “günümüz” Bizanslılarını tehdit ederek yeni Fatih Mehmet olarak sunmaya çalışıyor*” Tweet’iyle Erdoğan’ı yeni Fatih olarak görüyor. @Ni***s4 ise Erdoğan’ın daha önce “Fatih yalnızca İstanbul’u fethetmedi, Atina’yı, Mora’yı da fethetti” sözlerine karşılık “Yeniçeri Erdoğan kontrol dışı. . . !!!” Tweet’ini atmıştır. Moğollar yakıştırmasını hatırlayacak olursak, Yunanlar’da Türkleri saf Türk olmadıkları gerekçesiyle aşağılama eğiliminin hâkim olduğu belirtilmişti. Yeniçeri yakıştırmasında da ülkede daha birçok olayda görüleceği üzere Yeniçerilerin Türk asıllı olmamalarından ötürü aslında Erdoğan ne kadar Türklerin lehine bir şey yapmak isterse istesin kendisinin bir Türk olmadığı söylenmeye çalışılmaktadır.

Erdoğan’la ilgili atılan Tweet’lerde Fatih ve Yeniçeri yakıştırması ön plana çıkıyor. Bir yandan daha önce de görüldüğü üzere birçok meselede İstanbul travması canlı tutulurken burada da Erdoğan Fatih’le özdeşleştiriliyor. Öte yandan Erdoğan’ın gerçek Türk olmadığını söylemek için Yeniçeri yakıştırması da

kullanılmıştır.

4.7.3 “İstanbul’u 1204’te Kaybettik”

Son olarak atılan Tweetler’de Türklerin 1453’te İstanbul’u adeta hazır bulduklarına ilişkin bazı görüşlere rastlanmıştır. Örneğin, @KN***os “Şehir Türkler tarafından değil 1204’te adeta sonunun getirildiği “hristiyanlar” tarafından düşürüldü” sözünü sarf etmiştir. Buna bir ilave niteliğinde ise @Br***rk “Batı Medeniyeti’nin 4. Haçlı Seferleri’yle Yunanistan’a girip, Konstantinoupoli’den binlerce ton altın çaldıkları tarihten sonra pastanın üstüne çileği 1453 yılında Yunan topraklarına hâkim olan Selçuklu Türkleri koydu” ifadelerini kullanmıştır. Bu ifadelerde yoğun olarak İstanbul’u kazanmak Türklerin becerisi değil bizim beceriksizliğimiz tutumu sezilmektedir.

İstanbul’un 1204’te kaybedildiğine ilişkin atılan Tweet’lerde Türklerin İstanbul’u çok da zorlanmadan aldıklarına ilişkin ifadelere rastlanmaktadır. Ama bunun da ötesinde bunun asıl müsebbibinin Batı Medeniyeti olduğu ve tabir yerindeyse izin vermeseydik alınmazdı tarzında bir tutum görülmektedir.

5. Sonuç

Bir ‘seçilmiş travma’ olarak İstanbul’u kaybetmenin Yunan ulusal kimliğini nasıl şekillendirdiğinin, İstanbul’un Yunanlar açısından kaybının yıldönümü olan 29 Mayıs 2022 tarihinde yıldönümü vesilesiyle Twitter’da atılan Tweet’ler üzerine netnografik analizin yapıldığı bu çalışmada 6 temel tema çıkarılmıştır. İlk olarak Yunan imgesinde İstanbul başlığı altında Yunanların İstanbul’a Konstantinoupoli demekle ısrar ettiği, ona “Şehir” şeklinde bir isim atfettikleri ve kaybı da Türk literatüründeki “fetih” kelimesiyle değil de “zapt edilme” kelimesiyle tanımlamaya eğilimli oldukları görülmüştür. Aynı zamanda İstanbul hala başkent olarak görülmekle birlikte bu başkent tanımı hala yaşadığına inanılan Helenizm ülküsü bağlamında dile getirilmektedir. Son olarak her ne kadar 1821 yılındaki bir bildiri İpsilantis tarafından söylenmiş olsa da “inanç ve vatan uğruna savaş” eylemi Paleolog’a da atfedilmiştir.

Hatırlama biçimleri başlığı altında da mit kapsamında değerlendirilebilecek Paleolog’un İstanbul’un kaybı sırasında söylediği sözler, Ayasofya ağıtı ve Mermere Dönen İmparator mitleri dile getirilmiştir. İşgale dair ise öteki olarak görülen Türklerin yarattığı ‘seçilmiş travma’ kapsamında mağduriyeti gizlemek için kalenin içten fethedildiği, basit bir olaydan mağduriyet psikolojisi çıkardıkları ve daimî bir yas sürecinin ürünü olarak zamanın durduğuna yönelik Tweet’ler attıkları görülmüştür. Bununla birlikte İstanbul’un hala Yunanların şehri olduğu da yoğun bir biçimde vurgulanmıştır.

Hatırlama ve unutturmama üzerine atılan Tweetlere bakıldığında ise ‘seçilmiş travma’ya maruz kalan

grubun travmanın mağduriyetinden kurtulmak için hatırlama ve unutturmama çabası içerisinde olduğuna dair ifadeler sarfettiğini görmekteyiz. Bu noktada düşman olarak konumlandırılan kişilerin kim oldukları ve unutulduğu takdirde başlarına gelebilecek şeyler zikredilmiştir.

İstanbul travması her alanda olduğu gibi iç siyasette de kendini göstermektedir. Burada da yası sağlıklı bir biçimde tutmanın ürünü olarak düşmanla olan bağ her zaman korunmuştur ve bir arınma arzusunun sonucu olarak düşmanın temsili iç siyasette dahi kendini gösterdiğinde yoğun bir eleştiri sunulmaktadır.

Yunanistan’ın aynı zamanda Batı Avrupa’ya güvenmesi de her ne kadar tarihyazımında pek ele alınan bir konu olmasa da burada ciddi bir biçimde eleştirilmiştir. Hatta İstanbul’u kaybetmede bile Batı Avrupa’nın rolü olduğu söylenmekle birlikte bugün güvenildiği takdirde benzer sonuçlarla karşılaşabileceği söylenmiştir.

Son olarak Türkiye ile alakalı atılan Tweetler’de Türkler ilk olarak barbar, medeniyetsiz ve Moğol gibi yakıştırmalara layık görülmüşlerdir. Türklerin suçlandığı, toprakları ele geçirme gibi konularda ‘mağdur olanın egoizmi’ ilkesiyle (Volkan ve Itzkowitz, 2002, s. 24) karşılaşıyoruz, zira benzer vakalar Yunan tarihinde de mevcuttur. Bununla birlikte Yunanlar her zaman kendini Batı Avrupa’ya kabul ettirmek için Türk olmadıklarını kanıtlama yoluna gitmişler ve bu anlamda kendilerini medeni, Türkleri ise gayrimedeni ve hatta Moğol göstermişlerdir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan ise yeni Fatih ya da yeniçeri gibi sıfatlarla tanımlanmıştır. Son olarak, İstanbul’u kazanmayı Türklerin kendi başarısından Hıristiyanların hatası olduğunu söyleme ihtiyacı hissedilmiştir.

Buraya kadar ortaya çıkan sonuçları ‘seçilmiş travma’ kapsamında toparlayacak olursak Yunanların hafızalarında yer edinmiş olan Tourkokratia ve Helenizm dikotomisi üzerinden belirgin bir biçimde her zaman Türkleri aşağılama kendilerini ise yüceltme eğiliminde oldukları görülmektedir. Tüm bunların saikinin ise ‘seçilmiş travma’ ve travmanın sonucunda sağlıklı bir yas geçirmeye imkân vermeyecek kadar ağır bir kaybın yaşanmış olması olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Zira yas, kaybedilen nesnenin temsilinin gidişine izin verecek duruma gelene kadar zihninde hala korunmasıdır (Volkan ve Itzkowitz, 2002, s. 53). Bu süreç her zaman zor geçer ama normal şartlar altında inkâr, öfke, pazarlık, bunalım ve kabullenme aşamaları görülür (Kübler-Ross ve Kessler, 2014, s. 7). Ne var ki çok ağır vakalarda inkâr aşaması bile rahat rahat aşılamamaktadır. Bu çalışmamızda da en iyi pazarlık aşamasına ulaşılabildiği görülmüştür. Öyle ki, sağlıklı yasin bir neticesi olarak çoğunlukla zamanın durduğuna yönelik ifadeler kullanılmış, İstanbul’un kaybı “bugün gibi” şeklinde ifade edilmiş hatta ortaya çıkan Mermere Dönen İmparator mitinde dahi duran bir zaman olgusu kendini belli etmektedir. Bunun sebebi de yas sürecinin bitmesinin zor olduğu ağır travmatik durumlarda, konumuz itibarıyla ‘seçilmiş travma’ nın konuşulduğu yerde, normalde belli bir süre devam eden yasin daimî yasa dönüşmüş olmasıdır. ‘Seçilmiş travma’yı ağır kılan meselelerden biri de bir mağduriyet durumunun olması ve mağdurları aşağılanmış hissedecek bir hadisenin bir düşman tarafından yaşatılmış olmasıdır. Daimî yasin hüküm sürdüğü böyle bir durumda, sorunlar çözülmüş olsa dahi düşman imgesi ortadan kalkmaz ve her durumda mağduru arınma arzusuyla harekete geçirir. Bu

yüzden de, aşağılanmışlık duygusuna sebebiyet vermiş olan Türklere üstün olunduğu her fırsatta dile getirilmeye çalışılmakta, daha spesifik olarak da Türklükten kurtulmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bu süreçte ülkede siyasilerin veya başka birinin yaptığı en ufak bir hata İstanbul’u kaybetmeye sebep olan hatalar hatırlanarak tepki gösterilmektedir.

Bu çalışma, kısa bir cümleyle Yunan ulus kimliğinde ‘seçilmiş travma’ nın önemli bir belirleyici unsur olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Ancak bu, tek başına Yunan ulusal kimliğini oluşturan temel unsurun travma olduğu anlamına gelmez. ‘Seçilmiş travma’ olarak İstanbul’un kaybı üzerinden yapılan bu çalışmanın sınırları dardır. Daha kapsamlı bir iddiada bulunmak için benzer çalışmanın ulus açısından önemli görülen diğer günlerde de yapılması, bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan çalışmaların meta-analize tabi tutularak karşılaştırılması önerilmektedir. Böyle bir çalışma ileride diğer ülkeler bağlamında yapılmış çalışmalarla da kıyaslama imkânı yaratacaktır.

Makale Bilgi Formu

Yazar(lar)ın Notları: ????

Yazar(lar)ın Katkıları: Makale tek yazarlıdır.

Çıkar Çatışması Bildirimi: Yazar tarafından potansiyel çıkar çatışması bildirilmemiştir.

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İntihal Beyanı: Bu makale iThenticate tarafından taranmıştır. Herhangi bir intihal tespit edilmemiştir.

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Subjective Aging and Age Identity: A Review

Berkay Engin* ¹, Deniz Pamuk* ²

Abstract: Subjective age is a concept that represents the age experienced by the individual subjectively. Traditionally, it is asked, “how old do you feel?”. However, over time, various sub-dimensions have been defined and examined in various studies. Studies on the concept of subjective age and its sub-dimension, age identity were reviewed in this review. According to studies, an individual’s subjective age is a factor that determines well-being, health, motivation, social participation, and experiences in the aging process. Contrary to the chronological age, which is accepted as the onset of old age, the subjectivity of the aging process and the contexts in which the aging process takes place to determine whether the individual feels old and other factors on which this situation is effective. Moreover, while age identity is affected by the social structure and life situation, it also affects the later experiences of the individual. In this sense, it is revealed that there is a bidirectional relationship with the life situation but the subjective experiences of the aging individual should be taken into account when conducting age-related studies.

Keywords: Age identity, Chronological age, Perceived age, Subjective age, Subjective aging

Öznel Yaşlanma ve Yaş Kimliği: Bir Derleme

Öz: Öznel yaş, bireyin öznel olarak deneyimlediği yaşı temsil eden bir kavramdır. Geleneksel olarak “kaç yaşında hissediyorsun?” şeklinde sorulmaktadır. Ancak zaman içerisinde çeşitli alt boyutları tanımlanmış ve çeşitli çalışmalarla incelenmiştir. Bu derlemede, öznel yaş kavramı ve onun alt boyutu olan yaş kimliği kavramına yönelik çalışmalar incelenmiştir. Çalışmalara göre, bireyin öznel yaşı, iyilik hali, sağlığı, motivasyonu, sosyal katılımı ve yaşlanma sürecindeki deneyimlerini belirleyen bir unsurdur. Yaşlılığın başlangıcı olarak kabul edilen kronolojik yaşın aksine, yaşlanma sürecinin öznel yaşı, ve yaşlanma sürecinin gerçekleştiği bağlamlar bireyin kendini yaşlı hissedip hissetmediği ve bu durumun etkili olduğu diğer unsurları belirler niteliktedir. Ayrıca yaş kimliği, sosyal yapı ve yaşam durumundan etkilenirken, bireyin daha sonraki deneyimlerini de etkilemektedir. Bu anlamda yaşam durumu ile çift yönlü bir ilişki olduğu ancak yaşla ilgili çalışmalar yapılırken yaşlanan bireyin öznel deneyimlerinin dikkate alınması gerektiği ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Algılanmış yaş, Kronolojik yaş, Öznel yaş, Öznel yaşlanma, Yaş kimliği

1. Introduction

While aging is a lifelong process beginning from the womb, the definitions regarding the start of old age depends on the social structure and given meanings to it (Tufan, 2016, p.18). The concept of age may be used both formally and informally. While its formal structures are related to social structures and institutions; the informal structure of age is related to behaviors defined according to suitable age by norms (Møhlolt, 2019, p.3). Therefore, the limits regarding age and start of old age has an importance which reflects social policies, products and everyday and time for acts of individuals (Laz, 1998). However, in

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such situations, the most frequently referenced age is chronological age and considering the heterogenous nature of aging (Baltes, Baltes) it is obvious that not every individual of the same age will experience a certain life period in the same way.

In the life-long development processes, chronological age refers to a measurement that shows the point at which an individual finds oneself in life but it is argued that chronological age fails to fully reflect the aging process. For this reason, among the factors affecting development, the individual and subjective nature of aging has begun to be emphasized (Kotter-Grühn et al., 2016, p.86). Differences in the perception of experiences at the same chronological age group are expressed as "subjective perception of aging" or "subjective aging" (Diehl, Wahl, 2015).

Subjective aging, which is an umbrella term, contains various structures within itself. Kotter-Grühn (2016, p.86) summarized these structures as follows:

"Self perception of aging: How individuals experience their aging process

Old age stereotypical: Beliefs about typical characteristics of older individuals

Age identity: Defining oneself by an age group

Awareness of age related changes: Change experiences that increase awareness of aging

Subjective age: How old an individual perceives oneself to be"

According to Kastenbaum et.al. (1972), the subjective age is a complex personal structure which reflects the ages of an individual (ages of me); how old the individual feels (felt age); how old an individual looks (look age); how old an individual acts (do age) and how old an individual desires to be (ideal age) (Montepare, 2009, p.43). In this respect, age identity emerges as an expression of subjective age. This study is aimed towards reviewing the approaches to age identity and the studies expressing its lifetime effect, and to create a broad perspective on the concept in question.

2. Age Identity

The concept of age identity refers to an individual's inner experiences in old age and the aging process and is the result of different aspects of the aging process and processes of self-identification or separation from others. In scientific research, the age identity of an individual is generally measured by questions such as, "how old do you feel?", "which age group do you feel you belong to?", "how do you perceive and understand your own aging process?" (Carr, 2008, p.10). However, the answers to the aforementioned

questions may lead to different interpretations of how identity is interpreted, depending on the perspective used.

Various approaches have been proposed regarding the concept of age identity and its measurement. While in the traditional one-item measure, the person was asked how old they feel, George et al. (1980) presented the Semantic Differentiation Method based on the fact that age identity and role identities presented in connection with the self can also be adapted to age identity. According to this method, the participants mark the items they deem appropriate from the items consisting of two-pronged options under the categories of "middle age", "elderly" and "myself" (p. 284-285). In the next process, Barak (1987) developed a numeric, non-categorical tool that includes the felt, visible, created and interest age based on functional age elements, similar to age identity, and named it cognitive age.

3. Perspectives and Studies on Age Identity

Along with various perspectives on examining age identity, many studies have been carried out using these perspectives by attempting to understand what kind of situations age identity has an effect on in the aging process. Thus, various study findings shared in the age identity literature are evaluated and related issues are classified in this section.

3.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology is an attempt to accurately describe things from an individual's point of view (Carr, 2016, p.174). According to the phenomenological approach, identity is not the object of a pre-existing reality, but the individual's experience of that reality. For this, it requires a conscious self and also requires separation from the outside world. However, this separation is not a complete separation, the person is also affected by the external world situations while living the reality in question (Husserl, 1970; Ainlay, Redfoot, 1982, p.9). One of the examples on examining age identity with a phenomenological approach is related to the body. The body is the center of the activities performed and is also affected by the rules of the outside world. Bullington (2016, p.70) stated that the body perceived by the individual is subjective because it is not objective but "experienced", and for this reason, we can understand the experiences and subjectivity of the aging body with phenomenology. Bavidge (2016, p.207) speaks of the danger of dividing life into phases such as childhood, youth, middle age, and old age, and states that if we separate old age from other phases of aging, we will distort the view of the way of life. It is also possible to consider this perspective from interpretations of time and existentialism relationship. According to

Heiddegger (2008) we divide time into ‘past, today and future’. However this separation is not given in time’s essence, instead created through purposes within the tasks and activities (Camcı, 2015, 2018). In this sense, phenomenology can be used as a perspective to understand how individual experiences of age identity emerge by considering lifetime effects.

Aging experienced subjectively will also be reflected in the individual’s interpretation of the aging process. This depends not only on chronological age but also on age roles perceived as appropriate or desirable within the current chronological age or ten-year period. (Barak, 2009). Kastenbaum and Durkee (1964) stated that if there is no single and dominant way to define aging, then individuals have something to learn in a particular way of interpreting terms (singular special topics) (Barak, 2009). In this sense, the subjective perception of the age identity of an individual transitioning to retirement will also be shaped according to the opportunities and limitations offered by the social group (retired people) and the environment in which they live. However, in any position, in order for one to continue to develop throughout one’s life, one’s perception of oneself must be suitable for this. The perception of aging and old age has also become an important factor at this point. Many studies carried out in the following period have shown that individuals with a positive perspective on aging and their own old age are at a higher level in terms of health, function and well-being (Stephan et al., 2012).

Gullette (2003) mentioned about age autobiography within the life story studies. According to this, perceptions and awareness towards the age identity may change through time and lifelong experiences. In addition, Coupland et.al. (1991) examined the age identity through intergenerational discourses. The words that have been used by different generations gave clues about their age identities. Therefore, it has been stated that the discourses in daily life show the age identity. In this sense, “being old” can be considered as a situation that is interpreted and categorized within the daily experiences related to the age category at a certain point, rather than the flow in life. (Pamuk, Salur, 2022, p.191)

Age identity is also related to gender identity. Like gender, people also learn norms regarding age categories and how to act in an age-related situations (West, Zimmerman, 1987; Laz, 1998; Krekula, 2009; Pamuk, 2018). In some studies, it was learned that women perceive aging more negatively than men and express a higher age identity in case of their spouse’s illness (Barrett, 2005; Schafer, Shippee, 2010; Alfaro et.al. 2019). Mason and Chik (2020) demonstrated the relationship between age identity and gender in a qualitative study. Barret and Gumber (2018) associated changes with age identity through daily bodily problems, previous operations, medications, and assistive instruments, experiences and examined whether these elements play the role of “reminders of age identity”. In this sense, bodily experiences have

a significant impact upon age identity.

In another study examining the relationship between age identity and body image with African and American women, it was found that there were cultural differences with regards to the level of negativity surrounding age identity which was notably higher amongst American women (Sabik, Cole, 2017). In this context, it can be stated that body image and the perception of gender, which has a cultural basis, are also related to age identity. Similarly, in the study of Barret and Barbee (2017) with people who are in the minority group in terms of sexual orientation, it was observed that the desired age and the age at which they believe they entered middle age and old age were earlier than that of heterosexual individuals.

Negative self-judgments (stereotypes) can negatively affect older adults' self-perception and performance. Self-perception about aging refers to individuals' perceptions of their own age and aging and many methods have been tried to evaluate self-perception up until the present day. (Kotter-Grühn et al., 2012). In the study of Kasleuske and Gineikiene (2017) the tendency to continue the selfhood may be reflected in product choices. According to this, people who feel younger than their chronological age may choose more nostalgic products in order to serve this tendency.

3.2 Successful Aging, Health and Wellbeing

Baltes and Baltes (1990) mention that subjective experiences may also change the reference group, which includes the transitions that occur in life. According to the lifespan perspective, life-long transitions also mean the transition of an individual from one social group to another, and therefore bring along a new age identity according to the rules and characteristics of the new social group (Montepare, 2009, p.43). In addition, the age of transitions may also differ between the individuals within the same group (Sherman, 1994; Kaufman, Elder Jr., 2002, p.170). According to a study by Kaufman and Elder Jr. (2003, p.278) on grandparenthood and age identity, the participants who enjoyed being a grandparent reported feeling much younger than who disliked it. In addition, those who became grandparents earlier in life felt much older than those who became so in later years. Therefore, age identity related to transitions may differ among the members of a community or a group defined by chronological age.

While talking about successful aging, it is stated that one of the most important factors is the way of making sense of aging. Before talking about the principles regarding this, Baltes and Baltes (1993) stated that the view of successful aging emerged by being inspired by Cicero's work called *De Senectute*. Cicero stated that aging is not a period of decline and loss and that, under appropriate conditions, positive changes and productive functions can take place. In this context, a positive and progressive perspective

is considered as a prerequisite for successful aging. However, the point where Baltes and Baltes' (1993) theory differs from Cicero is that it does not ignore biological and physical losses. On the contrary, since they classify the aging process as normal, optimum (utopian), and pathological, it has been suggested that development is possible at an advanced age, by preserving the existing reserves, regardless of the situation.

There are studies referring to the incompatibility between ideal age and perceived age having an effect on subjective life expectancy, life satisfaction (Rupperecht, Lang, 2020); physical experiences (Radtke vd. 2016), and health status (Sherman, 1994). Kleinspehn-Ammerlahn Et.al. (2008), examined the relationship between the change on age identity and satisfaction from the aging process within a longitudinal study. According to this, as the difference between age identity and chronological age increases, individuals' satisfaction with the aging process also increases and the decrease in subjective age that occurs with advancing age (feeling younger than one is) may be a strategy for successful aging. Later, however, Weiss and Lang (2012) argued that this widening of the difference between subjective age and chronological age was not a strategy for successful aging but rather a strategy to distinguish themselves from the “older group associated with loss and disease” in order to avoid exposure to negative images of aging.

Westerhof and Barrett (2005) criticized that although the Selective Optimization with Compensation Model (SOC) (Baltes, Baltes, 1990) is a theory of German origin, it is similarly applied in the United States and international differences are not taken into account and in this context, perspectives on youth may differ. He argued that the interventions to be applied against the losses that occur in old age may also differ due to this reason. To test this, they compared the relationship between age identity, well-being, and life satisfaction with individuals living in Germany with those in the United States. In this case, the relationship between the concept of successful aging and age identity and cultural differences in this relationship were emphasized. There are other studies examining cultural differences in age identity (Barak Et al., 2001; Barak, 2009; Barak, 2011).

According to some studies, subjective age is a predictor on motivation of older people. Therefore, feeling younger than chronological age is related to higher motivation to work and to sustain work-related activities (Ye, Post, 2020) and task-oriented behaviors (Kim Et.al. 2017). However, despite subjective age being a determining factor, chronological age has no effect on work motivation (Akkermans Et.al. 2016). Interestingly, it was also noted that while actual age is a motivating factor for activities for retirement-related activities; subjective age is a motivator for connection with others and the age awareness is a motivation factor for health-related behaviors (Montepare, 2020) in old age. In literature, the other dimensions examined related to subjective age is control feeling (Bellingtier and Neuport, 2020).

The studies show that subjective age has an effect on a variety of subdimensions of health and wellbeing in old age. Since subjective age affects the experienced stress level, it is assumed that it may affect biological processes too (O'Donovan et. al. 2012; Lahav et.al. 2018). Therefore recently it has been mentioned that there is relationship between subjective age, stress level, and accelerated aging (Greenblatt-Kimron Et.al. 2021). According to other studies it is related to the fear of falling, frailty (Fundenberger Et.al. 2020) and psychiatric symptoms (Avidor Et.al. 2021).

There are also studies on age identity and subjective age during Covid-19 Pandemic. According to a study, individuals believe that the Covid-19 only affect the older people, stated they feel younger than their chronological age. Terraciano Et al. (2020) interpreted this as a strategy for coping from the stress caused by the process of the pandemic. Some studies state that younger subjective age is related to a decreased feeling of loneliness (Shria Et al., 2020; Schorr Et al., 2021) and older subjective age is related to feelings of social exclusion, discrimination and psychosocial disability (Jose Et al., 2021) especially since the beginning of Covid-19 Pandemic.

3.3 Terror Management Theory, Social Identity and Dual Age Identity

According to Terror Management Theory, individuals avoid things that evoke death and because aging has connotations with regards to end of life, getting closer to death, some individuals may also tend to avoid older people (Chronody, Teater, 2016). The identification of aging with death also appears in literature. The Portrait of Dorian Gray (2017) is one of the most important examples of this. In the novel, it is stated that the price of having eternal youth, beauty, and immortality is to lose wisdom and goodness internally. It is as if youth and wisdom are exchanged. Another condition in which aging is associated with death is very advanced age and the presence of dementia. There are studies stating that dementia is accepted as "social death" (Sweeting, Gilhooly, 1997; Cohen, Eisdorfer, 2001; transmitting: Higgs, Gilleard, 2016, p.11).

Another condition that leads to the avoidance of aging is social identity anxiety. According to the social identity theory, the negative view of aging makes the individual strive to be "outside the group" and, as a result, to be included in the group with behaviors such as social mobility, creativity and harmony. Thus, the person can participate in various activities without being excluded from the group, spend money on beauty and cosmetics, and continue to do the non-normative behaviors that young people do (Chronody, Teater, 2016). Especially when it comes to appearance, many older individuals do not see themselves in the same group as their peers and consider themselves in a better condition in terms of health.

Weiss and Lang (2009), Weiss (2014) state that age identity is two sided. Accordingly, a person may feel that they belong to the generation they belong to chronologically; however, he may consider himself outside the group in order to avoid negative perceptions and attitudes. This is seen in older individuals; however, young and middle-aged individuals will not separate themselves from the age group they belong to, as they are not as exposed to negative stereotypes as older individuals.

In a qualitative study conducted with young individuals in Denmark, participants stated that individuals who have left their homes feel older than their peers due to factors such as insufficient social support (Mølholt, 2019). In another study conducted with musicians, it was observed that musicians who passed from youth to adulthood stated that they were "old" and not "on time" to make music, taking into account the social group characteristics and expectations of the society (Ramirez, 2013) In China, the relationship between feeling old and types of social participation has been examined. Participation in political activities, older age, large parenting roles or being at work make one feel old at an earlier age (Liu Et al., 2019).

There are other studies that express self-separation from the age group (Sherman, 1994; Weiss Et al., 2013), showing that it affects media use (Harwood, 1999). In Denmark, the relationship between the images of the elderly in the media and the self-stereotypes of the elderly individuals were examined and the participants stated that while they rejected the cold and compatible characters, they adopted the warm but incompatible characters (Westerhof Et al. 2010).

4. Conclusion

Age identity is a concept relating to the subjective experiences of the aging individual regarding the aging process points to the relational dimension of these experiences. Studies conducted so far have shown that although chronological age has a function in terms of the rules that determine the social order, it is insufficient to explain the heterogeneous aging process and that each aging individual does not feel similar to the age category of the social group.

Moreover, while age identity is affected by the social structure and life situation, it also affects the later experiences of the individual. In this sense, it is revealed that there is a bidirectional relationship with the life situation, but the subjective experiences of the aging individual should be taken into account when conducting age-related studies. Particularly, it should be taken into account that not all people in the same cohort may have the same feelings regarding their aging experiences. Besides the conditions every individual ages within, the meaning given to the felt age of a person may also differ and therefore it also affects the future experiences in the life course.

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Charles De Gaulle's Vision for a United Europe through his Second World War Speeches

Antonios Vratimos¹

Abstract: Due to the Brexit agreement, the former French President Charles de Gaulle comes to the fore again. His veto of Britain's application to join the EEC (in 1963 and 1967) becomes timely today. In the past, he was treated as an obstacle to the European unification process, but today he is seen as an insightful politician with intuitive thinking. On this basis, an overall re-evaluation of his political trajectory may be necessary. This article focuses upon the speeches de Gaulle gave in the Second World War and proceeds to some remarks on how he truly envisaged an integrated Europe during that period of time.

Keywords: Charles de Gaulle, European Union, Foreign policy, Second World War

Charles De Gaulle'ün İkinci Dünya Savaşı Konuşmalarıyla Birleşik Avrupa Vizyonu

Öz: Brexit anlaşması ile eski Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Charles de Gaulle yeniden gündeme geliyor. İngiltere'nin (1963 ve 1967'de) AET'ye katılma başvurusunu veto etmesi bugün tekrar tartışılıyor. De Gaulle geçmişte Avrupa'nın birleşme sürecinin önünde bir engel olarak görülüyordu ancak bugün sezgisel düşünceye sahip anlayışlı bir politikacı olarak görülüyor. Bu temelde, siyasi yörüngesinin genel olarak yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerekir. Bu makale, De Gaulle'ün İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda yaptığı konuşmalara odaklanıyor ve o dönemde bütünleşmiş bir Avrupa'yı nasıl tasavvur ettiğine dair açıklamalarla devam ediyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Avrupa Birliği, Charles de Gaulle, Dış Politika, İkinci Dünya Savaşı

1. Introduction

No other post-war statesman has been studied as much as de Gaulle, the fighter in World Wars I–II and President of France from 1958 to 1969. What has recently drawn special attention is his policy towards a European unification which has opened a debate on the problem of whether his motives were mainly of a geopolitical or an economic nature. The debate between “traditionalists” and “revisionists”, as it has come to be called, is limited to the years of his presidentship: the first are of the firm view that Charles de Gaulle's policy towards EEC (European Economic Community) and NATO (North Atlantic Alliance) was rooted in a grand political-military design. Without questioning de Gaulle's geopolitical motives with

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regard to NATO and nuclear weapons, the second group argues that his EEC policy has to be explained in terms of commercial-agricultural interests.¹ The complexities of the debate are reflected in cases that scholars have altered their initial opinions, following today a more revisionist stance (e.g. Ludlow, 1997; *idem*, 2010, pp.63–82).

Modern research is more excited about de Gaulle's foreign policy in his capacity as President of the Fifth Republic. We must not omit, though, that he also held a central role as deputy minister during France's occupation by Germany. In June 1940 he created the *France Libre*, the alternative government to the official one in Vichy which had collaborated with the Nazis. His provisional authority in London had from the very beginning the support of the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, but not of the President Franklin Roosevelt who treated de Gaulle as a potential dictator (things, however, changed in 1944, after the invasion of Normandy). This is a period with its own distinctive characteristics, because de Gaulle started his attempts to keep the French people united through his communication with a wide audience, to restore national pride, and to underpin the basis for a Europe that would become a lever for French influence in the world. The present paper discusses the speeches that de Gaulle delivered in war time and examines the roots of his policy on the promotion of the nation-state against any supranational integration. Despite the fact that France was under German control, de Gaulle adopted as early as 1940s a stance on a strategically and financially independent Europe, without altering its basic compositional elements throughout his military or political career.

De Gaulle cannot be regarded as the pioneer of the French idea of European integration. On 28 January 1925, the French Prime Minister, Édouard Herriot, spoke to the Chamber of Deputies about his desire to defend the French national interests through the creation of what he called “the United States of Europe” (Herriot, 1930). Later (on September 5, 1929), in a speech addressed to the Assembly of the League of Nations, the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, made a new proposal for a “European Federal Union”. But the proposal was not fulfilled. Though the German Chancellor Gustav Stresemann approved it, the British and Italian delegates remained both silent and still (Weigall-Stirk, 1992, pp.11–15; Roobol, 2002, pp.32–46). In that period of time, de Gaulle was a Major with no clearly formed vision of a united Europe.

¹For some traditionalist views, see Trachtenberg, 2000, 101–116 and Martin, 2010, 291–308. Some important revisionist opinions are expressed by Moravcsik, 2000a, 3–43; *idem*, 2000b, 4–68.

2. Some remarks on de Gaulle's first speeches

Charles de Gaulle's first reference to European unification is recorded in his Albert Hall speech which was organized by French refugees on November 11, 1942 (De Gaulle, 1944, pp.283–286). That was the day of the Allied success at el Alamein, which marked the end of the great German expansion on all fronts. Three more speeches were held, all in Algiers, between July 14, 1943 (it was three days after the Allied amphibious invasion of Sicily) and April 21, 1944 (namely two weeks after the beginning of the Soviet advance into Romania). De Gaulle paid glowing tributes to the gallant achievements of Britain, America, and the Soviet Union. He undoubtedly had the ability and experience to perceive the strategic significance of these victories and the weak position of France when the Germans would negotiate their surrender. In those speeches, there are features worthy of attention and discussion: A) the focal point in them is de Gaulle's tributes of highest esteem to his country, her essential contribution to the promotion of European values as well as of the cultural heritage, and her key role on the Allied side; B) his idea of European unity was not the central topic in any of them; and C) all references to this idea are limited to only four out of the forty one speeches, or press conferences, that de Gaulle delivered between June 18, 1940 and August 25, 1944.²

A) De Gaulle was driven by the strong belief that his country's cultural legacy and rich heritage entitled her to a prominent leading position among nations (Harrison, 1981, pp.52–53). Can his statements about the French role in the war be seen as illusive? (Such is the view of Troitiño, 2008: 140). This is groundless. It is known that despite the armistice of June 1940, de Gaulle continued fighting against the Vichy regime of the Marshal Pétain and against the Germans in North Africa. There is no doubt that his war-time declarations, first and foremost, appealed to his countrymen. An efficient resistance campaign against the Germans would strengthen the French position in the post-war discussions. Indeed, the Free French second armored division took active part in the Normandy invasion, and the liberation of Paris (Robinson-Seignon, 2018, pp.28–37). That de Gaulle also appealed to the Allied Forces can be understood in the context of his speech which was given on March 18, 1944 in Algiers. The main points have been recorded by the American Intelligence Service; and among other things, de Gaulle said:

“Thanks to our attitude of patience and vigilance, the fundamentally friendly relations of the French people with their Allies remain excellent. In this 30 years' war France at Verdun saved the world. After June 1940 Churchill's Britain saved the world. Russian lined up on

²De Gaulle, 1951. The book contains de Gaulle's speeches and press conferences between 1940 and 1950.

the east is saving the world today. The United States will also have saved the world by the decisive support they have given through their men and material. There will be no salvation save through the combined power of these great States remaining united".³

But what is the rationale behind his reference to the battle of Verdun? Indeed, it was the longest (February, 21-December 18, 1916), but not necessarily the most decisive battle, as he presented it. Two reasons may explain this. First, de Gaulle had personally fought at Verdun. He was wounded, captured, and led into captivity. Second, the Frenchmen were engaged in that battle with no other participants on their side; and despite the tremendous losses they suffered, they scored a glorious victory. What purpose does the mention of Verdun serve? This answer may be found in the lines to follow: France and Britain had already saved the world. Now, that duty passed to Russia and America. One can see in the usage of tenses an indirect condemnation of the Soviets and Americans. Both of them entered that war (one, and one and a half years respectively) after France and other countries had been defeated. Thus, de Gaulle's declaration profoundly implies that France should be treated equally with the same respect as the other victors in that war.

B) The fact that his vision for a unified Europe was not the main theme in his speeches must not come to us as a surprise. The war was still raging, and the world was following the updates and recent developments on all fronts. As such, it was premature to begin thinking of peace and reconstruction of the countries that suffered most under Nazi occupation. More references are in de Gaulle's third speech at the Provisional Consultative Assembly on March 18, 1944. It is not coincidental that this speech was given almost ten days after the Americans launched the first daylight bombing raid on Berlin with great success (Caldwell-Muller, 2007, pp.172–174). The scales of victory had started tilting against the Nazis, although the war was prolonged for another year. In this respect, de Gaulle could foresee that the Allies would soon start preparing the ground for post-war dominance.

C) Similar argumentation may also apply to the limited mentions of European integration in his war-time speeches. Yet, there might be another angle to consider. At that early stage, Charles de Gaulle had every reason to disguise his country's strong economic dependence on Europe, which was vital for rebuilding her stature after the war. It merits notice that the Belgian statesman Paul-Henri Spaak (1969, p.170) describes de Gaulle as a skillful tactician who had the unique ability to hide his true intentions and reveal them all of a sudden.

³https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000388720.pdf, last accessed 2021/05/23. It should be noted that this speech is not included in the *La France sera la France*.

3. Forming the idea for European integration

To better understand when and why General de Gaulle started formulating the idea of European unification, we should go back to May-June 1940, when the German forces bypassed the Maginot line and invaded into France through the thick forests of the Ardennes in Belgium. On June 14, they entered Paris unopposed. That was a humiliating defeat for the Frenchmen whose attempt to construct in 1930s a very strong defence line against German invasion proved fruitless (Kaufmann-Kaufmann-Idzikowski, 2006, pp.163–175); but even more humiliating was the armistice that was concluded eight days later in the same railcar at the Compiègne forest where German representatives signed the ceasefire that ended the First World War in November 1918. De Gaulle, who was disturbed by the profound decline of French stature, had a double task. The first was to improve the nation's low self-esteem, as said above, and the second was to make his country return dynamically to the world map. In the opening section of his War Memoirs he writes that, "The positive side of my mind also assures me that France is not really herself unless she is in the front rank" (De Gaulle, 1955, p.9). Enlightened by this principle, de Gaulle designed his foreign policy towards Western Europe. His ideological and geopolitical convictions never changed despite the fact that his relations with Britain and the U.S. had been uneasy since 1940 (Knapp, 2021, pp.33–37, pp.53–56). It is true that these relations worsened after the Yalta Conference in 1945 where he was not invited by the other Allied leaders, though he had already signed with Stalin a Franco-Soviet Treaty in December 1944. Attributing his exclusion mostly to the U.S. President Roosevelt, Charles de Gaulle was very resentful, and he did not forgive them for the fact that they decided about Europe without the Europeans (Preston, 2020).

According to Georges-Henri Soutou (2007, p.22), de Gaulle tolerated the EEC integration due to tactical reasons which concern geopolitical interests. The very same view may also cover earlier years. De Gaulle's general reference to the need for European collaboration, at the Albert Hall in 1942, shows that he was yet developing his vision for a united Europe; but this was better determined later, when he advocated the formation of a big European economic grouping in association with the overseas French colonies.⁴ It seems therefore that behind his proposal for such a Europe was a large-scale aid he wished to receive in order to facilitate the post-war economic reconstruction of France for her national survival and military independence. He evidently knew very well where to begin, because in one of his speeches he declared that "nothing effective and solid can be done without the renewal of the state".⁵ He did not, however, deviate from his plans to bolster France's leadership in Europe, giving prominence to nation-states as

⁴De Gaulle, Ch.: speech of 18 March 1944. See also Chopra, 1974, 11–12.

⁵De Gaulle, Ch.: speech of 17 April 1948.

primary actors in any organization. De Gaulle's strong opposition to supranational institutions must not be interpreted to mean that he sought isolation, but he envisaged to build a Europe that would safeguard French sovereignty.

Although de Gaulle's geopolitical vision is not disputed by scholars, revisionists argue that his policy towards EEC was motivated a great deal by agricultural interests. Andrew Moravcsik (2012, p.59) goes even further, claiming that his political-military grand design was reduced to a secondary role. His argument relies on the remark that "Successful politicians. . . must trade off some goals against others". But it is rather difficult to believe that de Gaulle, who is described as an inflexible and confrontational politician – also renowned for his egotism and ruthlessness (see Johnson, 2008, p.231) – could be part of Moravcsik's general category. Additionally, the fact that he has been studied more than any other post-war figure, reveals that he should not be classified as just another successful politician. De Gaulle was of the definite view that history is mainly determined by geography (Johnson, 1991, p.597). This was the cornerstone of his foreign policy, since he never considered economic issues as valuable as geopolitical ones. It is worth noting that in one of his press conferences that was held in Paris, de Gaulle had spoken against the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), expressing his disinterest in the materialism of Brussels (Johnson, 2008, p.230). According to him, the protection and preservation of the moral and cultural values the state symbolizes are of much higher significance.

France's stability in 60s and 70s is regarded as one of the most striking phenomena in modern times. This stability is not irrelevant to the stability of de Gaulle's policies and decisions which derived from his vision of France as a role model for the world. His vision that profoundly shaped the spectrum of his foreign policy remained intact throughout his career. Was de Gaulle an obstacle to the European unity process? Indeed, his nationalistic approach to foreign affairs was a serious obstacle to the creation of supranational European organizations, since he strongly supported the idea of "L'Europe des patries" (Whitman, 1998, p.75). He never defied the creation of a European Europe, considering the enterprise as a counter-balance, especially to the U.S., under the reasonable fear that they would try to dominate the Continent with their military and economic power. A strategically independent Europe of states would secure its individual needs and political entity (Kolodziej, 1974, p.56). In order to stave off the American threat, de Gaulle proceeded to the establishment of the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA) as early as 1945,⁶ believing that nuclear weapons could defend France and guarantee continental security.

His veto of the UK's double application to join the then European Community must be assessed under

⁶On de Gaulle's nuclear programme, see discussion by Gordon, 1999, 216–235.

the same conditions. The British were close allies of the U.S.; hence de Gaulle believed that they would join Europe to become the "Trojan horse for the Americans". It is not quite convincing that his decision was based on economic rather than on military and political criteria. Likewise, it is difficult to conclude whether his always uncompromising stance towards the British and their American allies was in retaliation for their attitude towards France in World War II. It seems that, in de Gaulle's diplomacy, Britain paid a costly price for her allegiance to the Americans, fearing that her entry into the Common Market would destroy politically and economically the European edifice. That could relegate France to a subordinate role, though de Gaulle aspired to create a Europe which would become the satellite of his country.

To conclude: De Gaulle, who from his early age was fully aligned with the values of the nation and its history, devoted himself to restore France to greatness. Whereas his country lacked economic or military resources to become one of the major guides of other nations, he pursued an assertive policy of grandeur to put into action his idealistic thoughts. Since the establishment of the government-in-exile in London in June 1940, de Gaulle started cultivating his vision of a unified Europe which was based on a belief in the centrality of nation-states against any supranational institutions. The military and political developments in the years to come helped him crystalize his idea, especially after he became President of France in 1958. All evidence leads to the safe conclusion that the core of his foreign policy remained unchanged throughout his entire career. What is more, the European Union as it exists today is a far cry from what de Gaulle had envisaged. He surely was aware that a unified Europe would entail problems, mostly when the collision between the various national interests would be at stake. He feared, however, that problems would be more in the supranational Europe he wished to avoid. In this light, it seems that Garret Martin is fairly right to assume that between a bad Europe and no Europe, de Gaulle would most likely probably choose the second (Martin, 2010, p.296).

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