On Identity Treatises as a Subject of Sociology of Knowledge with Historic and Social Origins of Identity Problem

Kimlik Probleminin Tarihsel ve Sosyal Kökenleri ile Bilgi Sosyolojisi Nesnesi Olarak Kimlik Çalışmalarına Dair

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Abstract

For the emergence of a community or a nation, it has always been necessary to bring local identities and different ethnic groups around one common cultural center. However, the process of integrating individuals into a dominant ethnicity or cultural centercertainly causes several social, cultural and political problems. During theprogress of communication systems from the newspapers to the television and the social media, the issue has gained momentum with the expression of reactions to the ethnical cultures which were formed centrally. It is interestingthat social studies highlights identity studies which focuses on diverse issues ranging from the question of how administrative authoritiescan manage counterweights other than the center to the question of what is the legitimacy of giving privileges to the members of minority groups. This situation arises as a natural result of social, cultural and political centralization, and from the increasing concern in social sciences about gathering data as it needs to give an immediate answer to the question of how to restructure the social positions and the roles of minority groups which realize that they are different from the center. This study focuses on the historical and social origins of the growing popularity of identity studies in social sciences. In this regard, the development and the growing popularity of identity studies and the types of data it provides community and their problems are examined in this study.

Keywords: Modernity, Centralization, Community, Identity, Diaspora, Modern World System.

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Özet

Modern toplumu (ya da ulusu) inşa etmek için, yerel kimlikleri ve farklı etnik grupları tek bir kültür merkezi etrafında toplamak kaçınılmaz bir gereklilikti. Ancak çevrede yer alanları, dominant bir etnik ya da kültürel merkeze entegre etmeye çalışmanın çeşitli sosyal, kültürel ve politik problemlere neden olması kaçınılmazdır. İletişim sistemlerinin gazetelerden televizyon ve sosyal medyaya uzanan gelişim sürecinde, merkezi tarzda inşa edilen etnik kültürlere tepkilerin sıklıkla dile getirilmeye başlamasıyla problem giderek büyümüştür. İdari mekanizmanın merkez dışındaki karşı-ağırlıkları nasıl bir biçimde yönetebileceğinden, bireylere ait oldukları azınlık gruplarından dolayı ekstra haklar vermenin hukuki meşruluğunun neler olduğuna kadar geniş bir zemine yayılan kimlik çalışmalarına, sosyal bilimler alanında giderek daha fazla önem verilmesi dikkat çekicidir. Bu durum, sosyal, kültürel ve politik merkezileşmenin doğal bir sonucu olarak, merkezden farklı olduğunun farkına varan azınlık grupların toplumdaki konum ve rollerinin nasıl yeniden yapılandırılacağına acilen cevap vermek zorunda olan sosyal bilimlerin kimlik problemine dair veri elde etme kaygısının artmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, sosyal bilimler sahasında kimlik çalışmalarının yaygınlaşmasının tarihsel ve sosyal kökenlerinin ne olduğu sorusundan hareket edilmektedir. Bu sayede, kimliğe dair bilgi sahasının gelişmesi ve popülerleşmesinin bizlere toplum ve problemleri hakkında ne tip veriler sağladığı incelenmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Modernlik, Merkezileşme, Komünite, Kimlik, Diaspora, Modern Dünya Sistemi.

Introduction

Modernity has progressedby integrating all differences into each other from the 14th century onwards, as nominalists paved the way to humanism by criticizing logic-centered Catholicism. This integration shows some financial, social and cultural characteristics. As the pace, dynamics and quality of manufacture increased, it became a necessity for different regions and cultures to cooperate. German, British and French cultures each of which are perceived as a unified culture have been formed through integrating the differences in different regions that they dominated. Although these regions accommodated a variety of individuals who spokein different dialects which led them to have difficulty in communicating each other, they entered a process in which their local characteristics faded away with the economic, social and cultural centralization which resulted from modernization. Nowadays, individuals who live in Europe express themselves with their national identities rather than their local identities, which stems from the fact thatgovernments lean on centralizationin order to build up a more dynamic administrative mechanism.

Governmentsincrease their power as they nationalize the regions and communities they rule. The governments which have enhanced their efficiency with the help of arranging their environment have also created mechanisms which are able to mobilize these communities when required. The most important of these mechanisms is culture itself. It is not a coincidence that cultural institutions have developed synchronously with modernization. Traditional states are not interested in the culture and education of the community they rule over. On the contrary, modern states seek to raise citizens who have similar educational backgrounds with the concern to achieve the coordination of all individuals and groups in the community. Thus, each agent is equipped with the qualifications by which they can have new functions in different fields of the community. By deracinating agents from their local environments, and making them "relocatable" into different environments, intermediary firms, identities and groups between state and individual are eliminated. When communities are shaped based on a single culture which enables the community to be mobilized, it

gives a way for an unobserved abstract "us" to emerge in traditional communities.

However, the process does not proceed smoothly as summarized above. People are, by their nature, in perpetual reflexive interactions with their environment. In other words, people build theirpersonalities with the feedback they receive from their environment. Furthermore, they form their identities by using the data they gain through observations while regulatingtheir attitudes and behaviors according to the social norms. To be able to realize that, a person needsto have a direct contact with the environment s/he belongs to. Through communicating with other individuals in the community, people both gain the knowledge with the community mutually, and contributes to the redevelopment of mutual knowledge.

In the age of traditional state systems,mechanisms existed which enabled individuals to have a direct contact with the community. Modern states form communities in a quite different way. In traditional states, communities are structured in a relatively withdrawn way, whichcan represent all their members against the state, and in a way separate from other communities. On the other hand, modern states remove intermediaries between the individual and the state to a great extent. Modern states have a direct contact with individuals. In addition, the concept the 'nation' which develops concurrently with modernism is more abstract compared to the concept of the 'community'. New mechanisms should be founded for individuals to make them feel themselves dependent on the national identity, which is formed by modernitythrough cultural revolutions. The reason the communication systems have developed rapidly is grounded on the need for new mechanisms which can enable indirect contact between the individual and the national identity,which has grownso large that people cannot have a direct contact with it.

Identity is the answer to the question: "Who am I?". This question is related to how people locate themselves in the community in which they exist and pursue their development. Individuals have anxieties about feeling themselves secure and planning their future without political intervention. To realize these, they desire to have a consciousness about their place in the community. This consciousness

can be built upon a broad base ranging from legal rights to religious and ethnical identity. However, some problems emerge when these concerns are evaluated togetherwith the social results of the French Revolution which treat everyone in the community as "equal" citizens, and effectsthe all modern politics. As individuals face an abstract national identity which they cannot totally understand, they are also alone before the state which grows up substantially. From the viewpoint of states, it is a preferable situation to rule a community which consists of single individuals isolated from their social relations. It is impossible for non-governmental organizations to take the role of collectivisms of the traditional communities. In increasingly isolated communities in which the rising population has made communication impossible, it is not a surprise for individuals who cannot get feedback about the functionality of themselves to attempt to create new types of hybridisms between the traditional and the modern by trying to revive old traditional organic identities again.

After stating that everyone agrees political participation of democracy and government offices should be open to all citizens, Mostov (1994:9)emphasizes the necessity to provide political freedom and equal citizenship in public resolution process for all citizens. Similarly, he remarks that understanding democracy from this perspective will ensure a vital framework for tolerance, constructive dialogue and mutual respect. This summary which forms a frame for the theory of democracy is not enough to solve embedded politic and cultural problems in the modern life conditions in which dislocation and relocation mechanisms work perpetually. In the process following the Second World War, the large-scale immigration from the south to the north has had very deep effects on shaping the political and cultural problems in the world.

Rogaly and Taylor (2009:6) state that the reason behind focusing on the concept of 'moving histories' is the importance of immigration on shaping the lives of people. Immigration shakes communities and individuals at their cores in today's conditions in which immigration pressures increase rapidly with its problems. The demographical and ethnical structures of communities in Europe and North America are having a fast transitional process compared to the past. This fast

track process causes communities to restructure themselves against transformation. The individuals who have mutual knowledge regarding their location and function in communities have difficulties in finding answers to the questions "who and what I am?" While immigrants are trying to have a sense of belonging for the dominant state with a tie of citizenship, they realize that they are minorities when they are exposed to discriminatory expressions and behaviors at micro and macro levels. On the other hand, locals feel the need to draw a line between themselves and others while they try to protect their identities and belongings. This situation might stem from the fact that identities and belonging taken over have a non-inclusive structure for "others", and they raise concerns while changes in social structure debilitates stability. It is inevitable that the chances to make clear-cut discriminations between "I" and "others" in highly interrelated conditionsare decreasing. On the other hand, discrimination against "others" is not justifiable under conditions in which participation is open to everyone in coordinated decision-making processes. At the micro level, it is expected that a host of anomalies will emerge in the attitudes and behaviors of ethnical, cultural and religious groups which the majority of the community does not accept as part of a given identity. It is clear that thesekinds of issues cannot be solved through the political mechanisms which are designed for composite communities. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why identity problems have expanded world-wide is that the situation is handled with the political expression and mechanisms of the 19th century. Therefore, it should be reminded that new eras and locations need new mechanisms. The numbers of studies about identity problems haveincreased especially after the Second World War. It is therefore possible to gain a lot of data regarding identity problems. Modernity has the tendency to spread around the globe, and this makes everything displaceable and relocatable. Therefore, the dynamics of change speeds up, and everything is forced to act coordinately. The individuals and groups who are displaced and relocated in different locations experience both anomalies and existential crises. In this regard, identity studies should be evaluated within a new field ofknowledge, and the kind of data these studies present us about modern community should be analyzed. Having data regarding sociological origins of an increase in the interest and knowledge about a certain problem leads

to an acquaintance with the structure of new knowledge fields and development of new effective mechanisms to solve this problem.

Historical and Social Background of the Identity Problem

Goldstein and Rayner (1994:367) point out that the political conflicts in modern communities are centralized around the theme of identity along with interests. It is highly common that interests become political problems. However, it has become more intricate after the second half of the 20th century. In fact, it is a natural result of the types and dynamics of modern world systems and modern communities. Modernity dynamizes the production to a large extent that is not observed in different times and locations before, and this hastens transformation processes. Furthermore, dynamic and fast production processes can be realized in a broad geography. As Jones (1981) clarifies flawlessly, the IndustrialRevolution has occurred in parallel with the increase in the quality and quantity of transportation systems. If so, establishing new connections and coordination between different locations has had vital significance in the development of modernity. It is not a coincidence thatin England, where one of the most important centers of modern social structure is built upon economy and industry, firstly waterways and then railways developed rapidly. Thus, modern states which are connected and coordinated well with different dependent locations realize their mechanical set-ups along with the development of network systems.

Modernity has never been a social and political transformation which is realized only in a single country. Modernity has moved by providing the development of new coordination and connections with different times and locations through world-wide networks. Furthermore, it has sustained collaboration not only in just one community but also in different countries. On this matter, Wallerstein (1976: 346) usesthe word "world" in the concept of "world-systems" to emphasize wider areas and longer intervals than "mini-systems". According to him, world-systems actualize a wider arena and collaboration in a broad sense through cultural groups whether these cultural groups are coordinated or not. Although this characteristic of modern world dynamizes and accelerates the operation of production, it reduces the possibilities to rebuild community itself in a cultural and political sense against new

conditions. Modern world systems integrate different geographies and communities into themselves through incorporating them into its own network, and this shows that we cannot limit our analysis on modern communities only with social classes. It is not possible to reach qualified resolutions about modern communities without considering different interest groups. Modernity should be analyzed in the light of the information about different integrated cultural, religious and ethnic groups and the level of coordinated actions among these groups.

Today, when we talk about German philosophy, French cuisine, or Spanish music, an averagely educated person can understand what is meant. Modern world systems build both cultural and ethnical structures as single mechanisms at nation-level, and enable them to collaborate with each other. Thus, while a nation builds united cultural identities in its sovereign land, the perceptions of others become clearer about this united culture. Therefore, it can be said that we have a mutual knowledge about German philosophy, French cuisine, and Spanish music.

In addition to great changes and devastations, 18th and 19th centuries witnessed great positive developments. The most magnificent of these constructions are undoubtedly the states. Following the 18th and the 19th centuries, the concept of community refers to the "nation" which is built upon its identities, cultures and beliefs. The national identities and states which become more apparent especially in the 19th century act more coordinately with each other. Diplomacy used to have more effective power in providing coordination among states than ever before in this period. However, it should be reminded that many wars such as the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Battle of Sedan (1870) broke out in this period. It is remarkable that these wars helped international balance of power to develop. Since any European state could not reach this level of power, the concept of the "balance of power" has become sustainable (Taylor, 1954: xix).

In such a conjuncture, the number of political sovereignty bases decreased, and the model of new nation state became prominent. The modern state which develops mechanisms to ensure the participation of communities devises new methods to hold the community intact. While individualsare being dislocated, they are forced to have unimaginable

fictional identities. The primary concern of modern nation states is to canalize the community into a common objective. Thus, they desire to solve the problem of order which has survived from Hobbes (1588-1679) until today. Economic and cultural development is the primary objective into which modern states canalize communities. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the primary objective of Otto van Bismarck's (1815-98) national and international policy is national development.

Integration of state and community changes daily life of individuals thoroughly along with social life. People seek to have knowledge about social conditions and locations where they live. Furthermore, people arrange their environment in order to feel secure. They continuously arrange their environment in order to feel safe and secure through considering new factors around. The relationship of the individual with other members of the community is designed with the help of humanitarian coordinated action. However, only states can provide the coordination for the individuals who live in disconnected and different places. The most important characteristic of the modern state and the community emerges at this point. As state becomes a mechanism that provides humanitarian coordinated action among all individuals in the community it is sovereign upon, its dominance and power increase. Under these circumstances, many media tools emerge for individuals to communicate with others in the community (or with the state). Developing all types of communication with the mediation of states increases the number of factors considered in describing the position and role of individuals in the community. In traditional community structures, new cultural and political problems appear when the individuals who arrange their position through feedbacks by observing the roles and position of others develop a new identity by considering the demands, needs and concerns of states.

On the other hand, at first humanism with the effect of nominalism and then the belief that "individuals have the ability to understand themselves and form their own identities" with the effect of reformation become primary indicators of Europeanism, and this leads to the resultthat politics pays attention to individuals and subjectivity. Individuals are forced to show their subjectivity in the public domain. However, individuals who are against the well-structured cultural,

economic and bureaucratic aspects of the modern state become pacified even though they areprotected by law. Popularization emerges as a natural result of this situation. In the conditions of modernity, individuals who interact with others through having a position in the networks built by centralized governments need to have direct or indirect connections with the state in order to be able to functionalize themselves. Autonomy and isolation (in other words, negative freedom) in traditional communities give way to modern communities woven with networks and bureaucracy. In a community which consists of individuals who are affected by popularization and centralization, having identity problems is unavoidable. In the conditions of modernity, the factors which need to be considered during the identity formation process increase while individuals lose their chance to express themselves clearly.

Double Life-World, Identity and Anxiety

Having an understanding about what individuals think about themselves or other individuals has the advantage to be able to understand a community. In traditional conditions dominated by tradition, individuals have certain perceptions and knowledge about themselves, their social roles and social identities. All the factors which ensure the operation of the social structure for the individuals of a community are passed down to the next generations through perpetual experiences. Therefore, individuals practice inherited given values, norms, behavior patterns and roles. Furthermore, they contribute to make all values, norms, behavior patterns and roles a part of the "mutual knowledge" through interacting with other individuals directly.

Through modernization processes, all direct communication channels which provide interaction between an individual and the community change into the media to a large extent. This is a natural result as modern communities reach a tremendous size compared to previous community structures. Individuals shape their lives and identities with the assertiveness of the obligations which arise from political and economic centralization. Individuals who are affected directly or indirectly by the decisions of the central government should consider all actions by others who are not in the location to which they belong. Modern political and economic structures minimize the distance between individuals and states. Modern political system

makes the interests of the majority be determinative. Although there are laws which provide positive discrimination about participation into the politics, and protect the rights of ethnic and religious groups, it is certain that individuals' experiencesare shaped by long periods of integration and assimilation into the social structure and life. The reflections of this situation on the lives of individuals might lead to devastating results. These devastating results cause the lives of individuals to be broken up. The mechanical life worlds which consist of organic life worlds damage the knowledge, identity and judgment that individuals develop regarding themselves.

Due to these issues, identity problems become the major problem in several fields of social sciences from the second half of the 21st century. Different disciplines of social sciences ranging from ethics and politics to law and sociology focus on the identity problem, and the reason behind that is the modern political and economic development which starts with immigration movements and makes mobilization as an inseparable part of social life. The connection of individuals with location is one of the factors which enable individuals to identify themselves. Ben and Becky (2009: 36) emphasize that location plays a primary role on shaping individual's own identity. As movement and pace becomes a part of social life, social relationships which enable individuals to identify themselves become abstract.

Anxiety is one of the primary factors whichlead to the development of social life. The socialization processes of people, in essence, build the operations that reduce existential anxieties. In organic social structures, individuals proceed by common action with the acquaintances that come from the same traditions while they act concurrently. In traditional communities, the operations, values and norms which lead to the realization of an action coordinately inherited from the past. On the contrary, modernity substitutes for universal laws, and dissolves the local in the social structure that works mechanically. Therefore, the ability of individuals to realize concurrent actions, which is the most significant indicator of the sense of community, suffers. The community becomes an abstract concept for the individual whose all coordinated actions become dependent on the means of central government in a sense. On the one hand, the formerconflict between

the private space and public space disappears; on the other hand, it becomes inevitable that private space becomes contingent upon public will. The life of an individual who tries to protect its autonomy in its private space and novelty is divided. The problem which is emphasized by the concept of "double life-world" emerges at this point. As the distance between organic relations included by mechanical social structure and life-world in public increases, it gets more difficult for an individual to identify it and have consistent identities. The mechanisms that provide socialization become contradicting for the individual who alternates between two different life-worlds. Even though individuals are assimilated, values, attitudes, norms, behavior patterns and moral judgments in their private space result in identity problems that are difficult to solve. As the perception and mutual knowledge of an individual regarding the outer world make different senses in different life-worlds, the knowledge of the individual regarding its identity gets out of focus.

In this sense, it is a requisite to rethink about substantive characteristics that ensure the foundation of a community. Tomasello (2008) makes analyses about humanitarian social structure considering the question of what the origin of language is. According to him, "language" which socializes people emerges as a result of a humanitarian simultaneous action. People learn languages through simultaneous actions with others. To learn what word refers to what is not possible without simultaneous actions with others. People learn how to use a language by learning what the words used by people refer to what in others' minds. There are similarities between the socialization and the development of language. People socialize as much as they functionalize the use of language. The most distinguishing feature of people is that they act not intuitively but consciously and communally.

On the other hand, people are not members of only one community. There are many languages and communities in the world. Therefore, Pagel (2012) questions the reasons why people speak different languages in the same geography. For Pagel, there are similarities between the distribution and the use of resources, and the diversity of languages. Language enables people to become partners with each other and to distinguish themselves and their community from other communities.

That is, people have the tendency to distinguish their own community from others in order to sustain their existence. Thus, people attempt to dominate the sources they own. People try to be different from others in order to identify themselves. During this identification, they clarify some of their certain characteristics by indicating their differences with others.

Due to globalization, a noticeable decrease in the number of the languages used by peopleis observed. What is that? There are minorities which consist of individuals dominated by a nation state, and they try to exist within the new community structure. When they are not able to sustain their own organic relationships a decrease in the number of languages arises. The conditions whichcause reciprocal integration of modern political and economic structures dominant makes the forms of organic relationships unsustainable. To some extent, ideologies might help an individual to feel that s/he belongs to the community based on a common objective. Ideologies are projects which make life be shaped around a certain objective. In this sense, individuals might collaborate with others in the community in their actions which are based on the transformation of political and economic system. However, ideologies fall short in securing the feeling of confidence that is provided by organic relationships. In welfare conditions, functional social structures keep functioning steadily. On the contrary, it is inevitable that differences and conflicts come to the forefront in times of crises. Individual get stuck between their organic relationships and the public which tends to work mechanically. For this reason, building a double life-world becomes a necessity in the lives of individuals.

On Anxieties and Their Role in Identity Studies

To be able to manufacture processed products, which is the objective of industrialization, raw materials should be transported from different locations to a center. It is also necessary to bring workforce together. Therefore, people who live in rural areas gather in cities. As industry demands more and more energy day by day, mining facilities become the fields where human force is used the most. People become a piece of the larger community as they move from rural areas to the centers. However, it takes some time for people to have a common identity as they come from different traditions and experiences. People benefit

from different sources of knowledge while communicating with each other. Mutual knowledge is inherited from common world experiences. Furthermore, mutual knowledge which is restructured continuously with common experiences ensures people to perform coordinated actions. For people who come from different traditions and experiences, it is difficult to carry out coordinated actions. It is necessary to form several procedure systems which enable them to perform coordinated actions for people who have different codes of communication. Thus, modernity assigns production to procedures as it assigns ethics to laws (Bauman, 1993). Therefore, the birth of identity problem occurs with immigration and the problems regarding immigration.

Immigration forces people from different identities to work together and coordinately. Therefore, the topics of diversity and culture are frequently emphasized in identity studies (Majors, 2003; Beach, Thein, & Parks, 2007; Lewis, 2001; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, &Cain, 2001; Gutierrez, &Rogoff, 2003; Campano, 2007). Studies which handle the topics of diversity and culture by relating to identity problems aim to reveal the particular situations on how characters and identities coming from different cultural groups are formed, and the differences between them. The complex structures of character and identity development processes appear among religious, ethnical and cultural groups, and this causes a trouble. In addition to this, according to some studies,the identity problem seems to be related to education (Murphy, & Hall, 2008; Smyth, Angus, Down, &McInerney, 2008; Weber, 2005; Williams, 2006; Wortham, 2006). The belief that social identity has deep reciprocal relationships with education and instruction determines the main axis of these studies. Thus, the kinds of processes that student identities go through are questioned. The main problem in these studies is the structural analysis of identity studies in the schools or universities where students of different cultures come together.

People of different cultures have different evaluations about others and their characters. The experiences of individuals affect their evaluations and consciousness regarding their identities deeply. The main factor in this issue is that cultures have totally different ideas and evaluations about "individualism". As communities are shaped with reciprocal dependency relationships, realizing the studies on

the construction of harmony between individuals and others plays a significant role while solving the problem of order. Therefore, sociological and social psychological studies, in addition to the historical and philosophical ones, are really important in providing the social order. Especially, there are some identity studies which are carried out by synthesizing social psychology and sociology (Leary, 2004; Giddens, 1991; Brown, 1998; Goffman, 1958, 1967). Taylor (1992, 2006) deals with the problem by focusing on the philosophical and historical origins of modern identity. It is true that economy is not the only factor providing the development of modernity. Intellectual, philosophical and theological origins of modernity are also effective in the development of subjectivity. There are direct connections between subjectivity and modern identity. In any study about the identity problem, modern subjectivity should be considered. A deep understanding of the epistemological, political and aesthetical characteristics of modern subjectivity should be developed,as it is quite important to understand modern identities based on their origins.

Modernization removes all mechanisms between individuals and the state as it shapes the political and economic structure in order to integrate all local and religious identities into a nation as a whole identity. A government expects its citizens' attitude and behaviors to be harmonious with the interests of the nation. For that, it is necessary to forsake the interests of different groups. On the other hand, this is not possible in actual politics. When the gap between daily life practices of people and the already built constructs increases, identity problems revive. If certain groups centralize their identities on their own interests and activities, the relationship which modern politics attempts to establish between citizens and government falls into ruin. When a group gets more dominant, they might gain advantages over others. In such a situation, it becomes an important problem how and who will protect the groups which have limited opportunities due to the lack of organization. To solve this problem, critical studies about identity politics get new perspectives (Michaels, 2006; Steele, 1990; Gitlin, 1996; Schlesinger, 1991). On one hand, individuals desire to feel a piece of the identity of which they have direct experience, but on the other hand, they have to consider the interests of a community

of which the connections strengthen day by day. To get moreshares, it is inevitable to fight against other groups which demand a share from limited sources. The biggest problem of modern politics is the balance among the politic, religious, cultural and ethnical groups.

Even in communities where individuals come from the same ethnic origins and speak the same language, identity problems arising from class and social gender issues result in notable conflicts because individuals might take different roles in different places during social processes. For instance, many people have to work coordinately when production facilities have a complex structure, so family-based production turns into institutional production. This situation might cause individuals to have conflicting identities. The identity problems caused by this situation are in the study field of social sciences (Butler, 1990; Alcoff, 2005; Baxter, 2004; Butler, 2004). On one hand, individuals belong to their class identities in production processes, and on the other hand, they struggle with the problems about their gender identities. Under these conditions, double life-world becomes both a phenomenon and a problem in their daily practices.

Even in communities which consist of people from the same ethnical origin, there are identity problems about class and gender. In this sense, it is expected that several identity problems could emerge in the communities in which people from different ethnical origins live. According to Cornell and Hartmann (2006:23), race is not a result of natural powers but of humanitarian perception and classification. It is certain that there are some biological distinctions between people. However, we have to accept that there are several social and historic distinctions, as well. It shouldalso be accepted that races and cultures are intertwined in different forms. If we accept this approach, we should also accept that people build their identities to share some sources or dominate these sources. The use and share of sources is one of the main factors affecting political and economic structures. The networks of different races determine the activity level in the use and share of sources. Therefore, the welfare level of individuals might be affected by the network of their race, so race-based identity problems are also among the most important ones (Asante, 2005; Fergus, 2004; Gordan, 2003; Malesevic, 2006; Murrell, 2007; Delgado &Stefancic, 2001).

All identity problems become apparent in different forms through media. Media enables individuals to keep themselves informed about each other in modernity. In comparison with the traditional era, individuals who try to exist in a broadening life-world should consider all internal and external factors affecting them. Therefore, individuals who observe external factors with which they are in an indirect contact during identity formation process reveal their adaptation and reactions through media. This gives a way to studies about the reflection of identities in media (Evans, 2006; MacNamara, 2006; Barker, 2006; Bird, 2003; Buckingham, 2007; Ferguson, 1998; Hermes, 2005; Kellner, 1995; Nadel, 2005). Recently, analysis studies on the media haveincreased, especially in the field of sociology of knowledge (Hughey, 2009; Entman, Robert &Rojecki, 2001; Best, 2003; Daum, 2009). Philosophers have developed new approaches to the issue of how social positions affect knowledge structures by criticizing Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, and they have started to analyze how new media affects collective memory (Swidler&Arditi, 1994; 307). It is true that individuals make use of many sources from the media during their identity formation. As sources gained by media affect identity formation in different ways, it is necessary to analyze the diversity of these structures.

There are many factors causing different identities to emerge. As different knowledge structures and sources affect the diversity of identities, the construction of space in different forms cause people to go through different processes. Another factor that discriminates people from others is how they construct the space they live on. People tend to reflect subjectivity to the outer world. As the methods and representation of social behavior are put into practice by individuals and groups within a certain environment, there is coordination between space, and political, cultural, commercial activities. De Certeau (1984: 117) treats "place" and "space" as different notions. According to De Certeau, people turn places into space by using them. In other words, streets are places in city plans but they become spaces when people start to walk on the streets. People historicize places by having experiences with them. The construction of spaces is the expression of the character and identity of the agent who builds them. New generations gain mutual knowledge through the place where they were born. Therefore, places

are conveyers of future. The increase in the circulation of individuals between places affects identity formation processes in different ways. The identity formation processes of the individuals who are affected by several factors in different places through media are exposed to a significant transformation. In traditional community mechanisms, this can be rare but it becomes a part of daily life in modernity. As the individual who is always aware of human activities in different places fixes its behaviors reflexively based on a great number of data, modern identities get more complex. The studies of social scientists which discuss identity and place together are on the analysis of these complex characteristics (Soja, 1997; Massey, 1994; Buell, 2001; Thomashow, 1996; Dunn, 2003; Ellsworth, 2004; Fetterley, &Pryse, 2002; Gourdine, 2002; Low, 2000).

Diaspora is another field that discusses identities seriously. Diaspora is defined as "a group of people with a common origin who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside the borders of their ethnic or religious homeland – whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control" (Shain& Barth, 2003: 452). According to this definition, social minorities such as exiles, immigrants and stateless communities are considered as diasporic communities. The main interest in diaspora issue is the existence of different identities which resist organically to the formation of a uniform identity in the construction of modern government and national identity. The communities which need to move away from their topography due to different reasons, and sustain their different ethno-cultural characteristics in different environments come across serious problems especially in the process of the formation of national identity. They are considered suspicion elements by neo-nationalist powers (Kymlicka, 1995). Furthermore, the process of infusing the identity of the nation as the essential characteristic of nation-state mechanism into crowds has dominated diasporic communities and identities, and has tried to assimilate or integrate them (Cohen, 1996: 517). These processes work sometimes through legal actions, and sometimes through the public opinion pressure of majority nationalism. Despite all these, national identities start to fade away, and transnational organization and identity types revive. As a result, ethnic and cultural groups that are identified

within the same national identity system (especially the diasporic communities that are exiled) establish new identities. These groups start to rediscover their old traditions, and even invent new traditions as their communication with their homeland increases(Gellner, 1964: 164). Even through notions of diaspora and diasporic identity are used for the communities which have to keep their cultures in new environments outside their homeland, many notions share meanings with diasporic notions such as marginalization, social discrimination, racism, xenophobia and homophobia among the religious, ethnic, cultural, subcultural, and racial and gender minorities(Clifford, 1994: 303). This semantic extension clarifies that diaspora studies have become related with identity discussions. Diasporic identity, at national, international and transnational level, refers to a character that covers many fields at macro and micro level (in other words, both at the level of community and individual) in discussions of modernity and post-modernity. In this regard, the issues of diaspora and diasporic identity are comprised of many notions and processes such as multiculturalism, transnationalism, ethnic minorities, assimilation, integration, ethnic nationalism and secessionism. As can be understood from these concepts, the notion of diasporic identity is a commontopic for many social sciences. It is possible to classify major studies about diaspora and diasporic identities based on thematic differences as follows: (I) communities such as Jews, Armenians, Sikhs etc. and the studies focusing on their relations with host communities (Chaliand, Ternon, 1983; Lemelle, et al. 1994; Dekmejian, 1991; Tölölyan, 2000; Parekh, 1994; Reich, 1987; Safran, 2005a, 2005b; Shusterman, 1993; Hall, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1995); (II) studies dealing with differences and diversity theoretically (Bauman, 1989; Said, 1990, 1991; Dhaliwal, 1994b, Boyarin, 1994; Chambers, 1994; Cohen, 1994; Arendt, 1978; Ahmed, 1992) and (III) studies treating diasporic identity related with transnational processes (Werbner, 2002; Rex, 1995; Bhabha, 1994; Sökefeld, 2006; Vertovec, 1999).

Identity studies can be grouped under seven main headings. These are (I) studies related to identity, culture and diversity; (II) studies analyzing identity problem through historical, philosophical, sociological and psychological methods; (III) studies about the critics

of identity politics; (IV) studies about identity problems based on class and gender; (V) studies about how identities are reflected on the media; (VI) studies focusing on the interaction between place and identity and (VII) studies about diaspora and diasporic identities. In addition to these main headings, there are many different study methods. It is also possible to develop different perspectives by synthesizing these main headings. For instance, Elliott (2004) makes philosophical contributions to identity studies by forming a frame for the concept of agent while Appiah (2004) analyzes identities as part of ethics. On the other hand, Gauntlett (2002) deals with media and social gender together. Mantero (2007) carries out a study about the effects of identity in education processes. As is seen, the complex structure of identity problem reflects on the studies about identity.

Conclusion

Modernity had to replace morals and ethics with law because morals, which are implementations of ethics in daily practices, are not capable of providing social operations under conditions in which indirect relations and communication dominate. Modern communities that have expanded to such a level that individuals cannot communicate directly with each other, develop economic system by integrating everyone into a central mechanism. Therefore, traditional life styles fade away and are substitutedby abstract systems. In this sense, it becomes a vital issue how order can be provided in modern communities. From Hobbes (1991 [1651]) onwards, the problem of order is a vital issue for all philosophers. It is not a coincidence that Parsons (1949 [1937]) treats the problem of order as a core issue. As modernity attempts to integrate all localities into a central mechanism, the problem of order keeps its prominence. As economic developments make politic control systems more complex,the central government tries to dominate in a broader area. For this reason, the community under the control of central government should be managed through more complex bureaucratic mechanisms. To realize that, culture should be shaped. Culture politics isa mechanism which should not be undermined by modern states. While culture politics ensures the establishment of identities that individuals can feel dependent on, central identities dissolve all localities in its own body, and give them totally different functions and structures.

In addition to these, the basic characteristics of modern communities are dynamic. Change and pace are among the most important characteristics of modernity. The change in all social characteristics takes place quickly. As all kinds of knowledge are practiced in different places, knowledge is also restructured in a perpetually reflexive way. As knowledge that is shaped in different experiences is applied to different times and places, the pace of change increases. With the connections modernity has established between different places and experience worlds, the pace of change becomes an inseparable part of life.

In such a community, the opportunities of individuals to describe their characters and identities in an absolute way are getting less and less every day. The inheritedidentity becomes non-functional with the rapidly changing social structure. New conditions demand new functions from identities. Furthermore, localities encounter many different identities as a result of political centralization. Coordinated actions are realized naturally by the owners of a common identity but people who have different identities perform coordinated actions thanks to legal procedures. Some identities are more advantageous than others. Other identities (even if they are just a few) might get opportunities to make them more functional thanks to some of their qualifications. It is up to the existence of welfare to establish the balance between different power groups. Crises result in conflicts between identities, and this leads to the problem of order frequently threatening politic and economic mechanisms.

Social sciences show great effort to find solutions to the problem of order that often emerges in modern communities. From law to sociology, all fields of social sciences deal with the problem of how communities should be organized in possible crises. In this sense, all studies regarding the factors and agents that form social structure are about the resolution of the order problem. Specifically, the significance of identity problems has increased after the second half of 20th century, and this is the result of several social and historical developments. Bauman (1998: 205) remarks that the developments which cause social environments to have a flexible structure exacerbate the discussions about identities. According to Bauman, the mobility of identities makes

them have a flexible identity. Truthfully, changing places becomes a part of lives as modernity increases its pace. Not only individuals but also several religious, cultural and ethnic groups increase their mobility in the world. Under these circumstances, completely different identities come together and carry out coordinated actions in line with procedures. Some conflicts take place between classes at the beginning of modern communities, and these conflicts are among cultures, identities, genders, religions and ethnic groups.

Identity studies should find solutions to different problems in different fields. Therefore, identity studies are interdisciplinary in their nature. Identity studies attempts to relate to different methods and fields of sciences, and this revives the field of social sciences. This situation can be observed in the diversity of identity studies. Today, identity problems becomes a basic problem even in international relations (especially in diaspora and related identity studies) in addition to politics, and plays a significant role in order to maintain economic, political and cultural mechanisms properly. Modern politics cannot be sustained through the dominance area of a single state. As states have a role in the operation of modern world systems, they need to build their functions by evaluating the place of other states reflexively. In this sense, conflicts which arise from identity problems can be solved through coordinated efforts of states and communities. To achieve that, identity politics should be established through the data which scientists provide from different fields. The increase in the diversity of methods and subjects emphasizes both the currency and the significance of the problem.

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