

ADOPTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN METROPOLISES: A STUDY IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

National identity is the formation a common consciousness and language through the establishment of a common background, national ideology, ethics, emotions, remembrance and traditions in all individuals of a nation. Accordingly, having a rich historical background refers to the volition to live together as well as protect common values. Ethnic backgrounds of societies as well as their production and consumption practices, languages, religions, artistic concepts and development of similar elements throughout history also contributes to the formation of national culture concept in minds. Identity is expressed with several symbols denoting particular differences with regard to the others. Conceptualization of identity pertains to the categorizations of social relations into two groups (we and others) at least.

With regard to all these, the purpose of our study is to depict the profile of the existence of national identity depending on economic, cultural and social changes, which has been created by modernity in different local areas of metropolises. Meanwhile, the characteristics of different local areas adopting national identity strongly or weakly, or not assuming it at all as well as the factors, which bring about such an adoption, will be studied. Therefore, 257 people living in different areas of Istanbul will be given questionnaires. Considering development levels, socio-economic status, population densities of different districts, a research field will be formed with random sampling method. Questionnaires will be implemented through interviews with individuals. Following the completion of field research, questionnaires will be evaluated with computer and the findings will be reported accordingly.

Keywords: Identity, national identity, globalization

ULUSAL KİMLİĞİN BÜYÜK YERLEŞİM MERKEZLERİNDE TAŞINABİLİRLİĞİ: İSTANBUL ÖRNEK ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

ÖZET

Ulusal kimlik, ortak geçmiş, ulusal düşünce, ahlak, duygu ve coşkunun, anı ve geleneklerin ulusun tüm bireylerinde kökleşerek ortak bilinci ve ortak dili oluşturmasıdır. Buna göre, zengin tarih birikimine sahip olmak, birlikte yaşamak konusunda istekli olmak, ortak tarihin ve değerlerin korunmasında ortak istence sahip olmaktır. Toplumların etnik kökenleri, üretim ve tüketim kalıpları, dilleri, dinleri, sanat anlayışları ve buna benzer unsurların tarihi süreç içerisindeki gelişimi ulusal kültür olgusunun da zihinlerde oluşumunda rol oynamaktadır. Kimlik, diğerlerine göre farklı olduğuna işaret eden bir takım semboller yoluyla ifade edilir. Kimliğin kavramsallaştırılması sosyal ilişkilerin en az iki grup (biz ve ötekiler) olarak sınıflandırılması anlamına da gelir.

Bu doğrultuda çalışmamızın amacı, büyük yerleşim merkezlerinde modernitenin yarattığı, ekonomik, kültürel ve sosyal değişimlere bağlı olarak farklı yerel bölgelerdeki ulus-kimliğin tutunabilirliğinin profilini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Ulus-kimliğin farklı yerel bölgelerde güçlü ya da zayıf olarak algılanma ve içselleştirilme biçimi araştırılmıştır. Bu amaçla, İstanbul'un çeşitli bölgelerinde yaşayan toplam 257 kişi üzerinde anket çalışması uygulanmıştır. Bu araştırma Türkiye genelinde daha geniş kapsamlı bir araştırmanın ön çalışması niteliğindedir. Anket formunda toplam 57 soru yer almaktadır. Basit rastlantısal örnekleme yöntemi ile gerçekleştirilen olan çalışmada, İstanbul ili ilçe bazında gelişmişlik düzeyleri, sosyo ekonomik statüleri ve nüfus yoğunlukları dikkate alınarak araştırma evreni oluşturulmuştur.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kimlik, ulusal kimlik, küreselleşme

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INTRODUCTION

National identity is the formation of common consciousness and language through the establishment of a common history, national view, ethical values, emotions, remembrances and customs firmly in all individuals in a society. Therefore, having a rich historic background denotes the volition to live together and protect the common history as well as the values. The ethnic backgrounds of societies along with their production and consumption practices, languages, religions, artistic views and the development of such aspects throughout history play an important role for the formation of national culture concept in minds. Identity is expressed by means of some symbols indicating a difference with respect to the others.

The main point in identity is the formation of the feeling of belonging. In the same way, belonging to a nation signifies the consciousness and opportunity for individuals to exercise their rights and responsibilities. Creation and security of the media where individuals can practice their rights, freedoms and responsibilities as well as express themselves is the responsibility of the nation-state. A democratic state of law can maintain the security and freedom of individuals in national scale by providing a solidarity consciousness and organization in the frame of national identity. However, gradually strengthening liberal economy has caused the nation states to transfer some of their authorities to supra-national institutions. These institutions function in not only economic but also political sense. Some global economic organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank and IMF pursue their policies without considering the interests of nation-states. At this point, the function of the multi-national companies is to curtail the function and domain of nation-states by introducing privatization, lack of confidence in public sector, reduction of centralization and regression in social rights.

The regions getting different with their historic, political, ethnic, cultural or economic aspects have assumed authority in the operations of the state. Demands of ethnic groups and religious fundamentalists etc. in politics and the imposition of their own agendas disturb the balance of

the dynamics of nation-states. Globalization also plays an important role in restricting the domain of nation-states. Thus, individuals, communities, private establishments and companies have replaced the concept of nation, and the important issue here is the realization of the preferences and interests of these new actors. Consequently, individuals cannot discern the existence of a nation-state for the implementation of all rights and responsibilities pertaining to economic, communicative, cultural and judicial issues as well as human rights. This situation has led to the creation of new concepts, such as the right of cultural identity, freedom of belief, the right of getting organized, considering oneself different and separating oneself from the others instead of the concepts forming the national identity. Moreover, instead of finding solutions to numerous problems, for instance poverty, insufficiency to obtain technological products, problems in education and health, inequalities in housing and social rights and emergence of shanty towns particularly in different quarters of metropolises, partly isolated quarters arise, where 'poverty culture' is exercised and people resist to orient themselves to the 'outer world.'

One of the former studies on culture and identity is "The Aspects of Turkish Culture" done by Tolga Esmer in 1997. The other research study, "Turk and Muslim Concepts," was done by Hasan Bacanlı in 1992.

Thus, the purpose of our study is to depict the profile of acceptability of nation-identity in different local areas depending on economic, cultural and social changes created by modernity. In the same way, the characteristics of the local areas that adopt nation-identity strongly, weakly or do not adopt it at all will be analyzed along with the reasons for such an adoption. Therefore, 257 individuals living in different quarters of Istanbul are going to be asked to fill in the questionnaire specially drawn up for this study.

1. IDENTITY AND THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

"A nation is imagined as a group, as a community because a nation is always designed as a deep and horizontal companionship whatever

the inequality and exploitation relations practically observed in every nation is” (Anderson 1995: 22). Identity is a compound mental structure having cognitive and emotional aspects and including an individual’s perceiving him or herself different from the others regarding his or her behaviors, needs, motivations, interests and loyalty to him or herself that display consistency to some extent (Musses 1986 qtd. in Bilgin 1996: 182). According to Norbert Elians, the relationship between nationalism and individual is the relationship based on love; nevertheless, this is the affection that individuals feel towards the group that they define as “we.” The image that individuals get by considering themselves as a part of a nation and feeling loyalty towards a nation is their own image. The preferences, values and meanings that are supposed to belong to a nation are also the preferences, values and meanings of individuals (Vatandaş 2004: 26).

According to Hall, as a process, narration and discourse, identity is always related from the position of ‘the other.’ Identity is not an open area where one can float freely because history has established the powerful and leading organization of the past. We carry the traces and links of the past. We cannot pursue such policies without referring to the past; nevertheless, it has never been a direct and thorough return. Nowadays, the policy followed carefully and effectively to resist against the powers striving for restructuring and repossessing the world has not been able to achieve a considerable performance. On the other hand, the areas that seem to have the due potential to develop counter movements, resistances and counter-policies are the localized ones. What we usually call global is something functioning by means of particularity, deliberating particular locations and activities as well as motivating the particular identities rather devastating everything and creating similarities in a systematic way. Hence, there is a always a dialectic, a continuous dialectic between global and local (Hall 1998: 72-88).

National identity defines the individuals shouldering a special responsibility for succoring those who share that identity. In addition, national identity also defines those who are named as the others. It also indicates that the

people constituting a nation should have the right to make decisions about their own destinies in order to define and improve national identity fully. National identity gives power to the individuals as they integrate themselves with a nation (Vatandaş 2004: 28).

As an ideology, nationalism comprises all economic, political and judicial aspects modern social life. It also includes the beliefs, objectives as well as institutional and social realities and motivates the society towards certain aspirations.

What is meant by a nation is the internalization of what is global into the medium that is thought to be local (Keyder 2000: 17).

Defining oneself as an independent individual depends on a common belief related to the power of the state for motivating the objectives defined publicly. The facts that the choices and judgments of individuals have importance in the public sphere and individuals define themselves as citizens in a democratic regime also shape their attitudes towards different social roles, such as spouse, student, worker, taxpayers and consumer etc. (Connolly 1995: 251-252). Identity can be defined regarding its relation with culture and therefore, individuals can prove their existence and also realize themselves. According to Habermas, an identity of a person is interwoven with his or her cultural identity. As a cultural and historic concept, identity forms the two aspects of image and social-cultural existence, which already have historic and cultural roots. The opinions formed in minds are the social value judgments; in other words, how the values of a country are judged by the others. Nationalization is closely related to the concept of identity search. A community should realize their own existence in order to nationalize, which can only be achieved within the frame of socialization process.

For the formation national culture in minds, the development of the ethnic backgrounds of societies, their production and consumption practices, languages, religions, artistic values and such elements play a significant role through historic process. Within

the globalization concept, the search of societies for a new culture takes place through the acceptance of common values over the above-mentioned aspects (Gökçe 1988: 286).

National identities have been shaped with the influence of the myths descended from the past as well as the values and symbols. Briefly, they are built on the national ethnic structure.

Atatürks's principle of nationalism is the expression of national personality and individuality. Amalgamation of having a special characteristic which has been gained naturally with respect to the other nations, forming a unique existence different than the others and similarly trying to achieve a development which is different, whereas parallel to the others is called the principle of nationalism ("Atatürk Milliyetçiliği").

The adoption of the principle of nationalism fully is the indicator of the thorough establishment of national identity.

National independence movements in the Third World have taken western nationalism as a model theoretically. However, the nations established as a result of such an intention were just the opposites of the ethnically and linguistically homogenous units that started to be considered as nation-state models. Both the Third World and western nationalism have carried not only emancipating but also uniting aspects. According to the nationalism in the West, the developments in the Third World nationalism go out of control more easily (Hobsbawn 1995: 200).

2. NATION-STATE AND GLOBALIZATION

Nationalization process is the effort to convince the individuals to believe that they are homogenous in a whole. Nevertheless, infra-nationalism and supra-nationalism have the potential power to eliminate the nation-state structure. Infra-nationalism is subdivided into regionalism and micro-nationalism. Supra-nationalism asserts that nation-states hinder the

liberation and modernity processes. European Community is the most prominent example for it (Giddens 2000: 130). As a natural consequence of modernity, the transfer process of cultural values occurs the frame of social communication, which is the main factor in emergence of nationalism.

According to Karl Deutsch, there is always a relationship between a particular cultural structure and a particular society, which brings about a division of labor in social sense, and such a division of labor necessitates a continuous communication...Hence, a group of individuals connected to each other with similar behavioral patterns and communication channels depending on cultural aspects is called the people. The transformation from the level of people to an upper one, that is to say nation, can only be achieved after the communication channels reach a certain level of development. (Deutsch qtd. in Erözden 1997: 14).

Increase in communication channels, acceleration in information transfer, escalation in the transfer of goods and services in all areas are the consequences of globalization. However, as Stuart Hall indicated, "while attributing the blame on globalization for gradually eliminating the relationship between the nation-state and national culture, we should consider that globalization also provides opportunities for local identities to express themselves. Nevertheless, with the destruction of the central structure of nation-states, the emergence of local identities might be a threat to dominant discourses" (Hall qtd in Türkoğlu 2004: 198).

By means of global companies and institutions, several values, including language, habits, views and philosophy of life are reproduced and presented to the society within the context of globalization. "Today cultural globalization is besieged with contradictory content of the borders of nation-state and the political, technological and economic processes out of the national elements. It is observed that homogeneity and disparity happen simultaneously. Meanwhile, a question about how the proximity between traditional-cultural memory and technological memory as well as the one between traditional culture and modernization appear has also arisen. At the beginning of a

new century, millions of people experience their cultural identities in a multi-polar world not in a guaranteed, but inconsistent and controversial way” (Von Barloewen 2001: 9).

Cultural identity initially depends on identification, which has a great importance in order to let individuals feel themselves more confident in a culture. The types of identities in which association and confidence are observed in the most conspicuous way are the national identities. On the other hand, in a world where trade has become global, international companies have diffused, migrations take place continuously and marginal demands have increased, it can easily be seen how difficult it is to maintain association and confidence (Sözen 1999: 14).

TV programs, commercials and similar imported cultural products create a considerable cultural influence in the frame of such a cultural domination. Culture is not a natural concept, but totally a product of human beings. Consumption culture is imposed in developing societies, which, in turn, causes the distortion of culture (Tomlinson 1999: 42-44). “It is possible to say that capitalism has given way to imagining a new community style as a consequence of the encounter of both technology and man’s dependency to linguistic variety and this new style has prepared the basic morphology of modern nations” (Anderson 1995: 62)

“In spite of the noticeable transformation in the market level as a result of the adoption of consumption stereotypes of globalization and the signs accompanying them, what is going on in Istanbul is in an abject insufficiency with respect to the economy-politics of globalization. In the fields of production and employment, a material transformation suggested in the traditional “cultural city” model can just slowly work in Istanbul; thus, it can also be indicated that probably a different form of economic globalization that may bring about different kinds of results is experienced” (Keyder 2000: 25). Changing economic order has speeded up migration initially in Istanbul and this situation has created intrinsic inhabitants in Istanbul who

try to adapt themselves to the changes that globalization creates in cities or who try to shape these changes according to themselves.

Individual differences are respectively restricted less. Practically, everybody tries to fulfill his or her own interests and tendencies. The individuals who are in uncertainty and continuous change locate themselves in different parts of the world. As a consequence, they begin to consider themselves cognitively different too and they leave no chance for partnership among themselves. “Therefore, that kind of partly changed individuals according to the differences in the national structure, cannot be transformed in the stream of particular opinions and ideas...there remains nothing that people can love and worship together” (Durkheim qtd in Giddens 2001: 93).

3. METHOD

The purpose of our study is to determine the profile of acceptability of national identity in metropolises created by modernity through the example of Istanbul with regard to economic, cultural and social changes. In other words, the perception and internalization of national identity in a strong or weak way has been studied. Therefore, questionnaires were given to 257 persons living in different parts of Istanbul. This study is just an initial step to a more extensive one throughout Turkey. Due to the problems created by the depolitization process after the 1980s, particularly the views the young population aged between 18-25, pertaining to national identity have been taken. There are 57 items in the questionnaire. This study has been conducted according to the simple random sampling method, and the research environment has been formed according to the level of development, socio-economic status and population densities of different quarters and districts of Istanbul, namely; Kadıköy, Bakırköy, Mecidiyeköy, Avcılar, Küçükçekmece, Fatih, Kartal, Beyoğlu, Çapa, Beşiktaş, Sarıyer, Etiler, Gaziosmanpaşa, Bayrampaşa, Erenköy, Üsküdar and Bağcılar. The research was conducted between January 1-25, 2005. While preparing the items of the questionnaire, a former study prepared for Konrad Adenauer Foundation, namely “Türk Gençliği 98 Suskun Kitle Büyüteç Altında” (Turkish Youth 98:

Silent Mass is under Scrutiny), by the Social Research Center of Istanbul Alumni of School of Political Economy was also used.

4. FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE STABILITY OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN METROPOLISES

The findings in this study have been evaluated within 15 categories. The reasons for determining these categories and the research findings have been introduced below.

Most of the subjects in this study are young people. 51.8 % of them are between the ages 18-25. In addition, 58.4 % of the participants are university graduates. Most of them are students, employees in private sector and civil servants. Apart from this, 79.8 % of the subjects declared that they are Turks as their origin. In the same way, 6.6 % of them identified themselves as Kurds.

4.1. Traditions and Religious Festivals (Bairams)

Traditions and Religious Festivals (*Bairams*) : Traditions, customs, national and religious holidays (*bairams*) play a significant role in the formation of national identity with regard to the symbols and rituals they use. In other words, symbols and rituals are implemented in order to keep the individuals of a nation together and form a homogenous society with them. Moreover, symbols and rituals are also used to continue the formed individuality and homogeneity. Therefore, a nation differs itself from the others and also creates an entirety in itself. Ethnic, regional and class differences and clashes are made invisible with symbols. To put it another way, symbols transform emotional intensity to rituals. Thus, individuals gain power and confidence.

“There is there will always be a need for traditions because it is the traditions which maintain the continuity and form of life.. Rituals, ceremonies and repetitions have important social roles. Traditions will keep on surviving as long as they are legalized effectively” (Giddens 2000: 58-59).

According to the findings, most of the participants in this study are in favor of the continuity of national days; however they also think that

such festivities are not celebrated as enthusiastically as they were before, which consequently erodes national identity. Moreover, the majority of the subjects state that the societies that do not preserve their customs and traditions cannot survive. Because traditions are the elements not only accentuating the differences of societies, but also locating and providing them with an essence and basis with the reference to the past. National identity is maintained with a tradition and a collective memory loaded with symbols, remembrances, and works of art, customs, habits values, beliefs and knowledge.

4.2. Language

Cultural imperialism has been an important factor in the elimination or transformation of local languages. Global communication networks have made a common language compulsory, which will enable all individuals to communicate with each other. According to Bayar (2000: 7), such a need has been fulfilled with “the international language of imperialist age, namely English, which has raised the conceptual richness to a really global level by plundering all languages in the world.” 80-90 % of the local languages used in underdeveloped countries died out during the colonialism process. By spreading out their languages, the dominant powers try to get their own cultural values internalized especially by the educated groups of the societies they are control. Dominance of English especially in the fields of electronic media and technology can easily be perceived. Use of a common language refers to national identity by influencing the formation of self-consciousness as well as the ways of thinking and reasoning.

Concerning the language, which is supposed to play an important role for the formation of national identity, the participants indicate that having a common language and its indispensability are the necessary factors for the development of a nation in education, science and similar areas. According to Giddens, the concept of nation has five aspects as internal and external ones. The internal ones are religion, language, race, culture and common history. On the other hand, the external one is the image of enemy. As a result of the manifestation

of cultural values and educational system, these aspects can be maintained in a particular political system and the idea of association is created.

4.3. Military Service

The structural elements of nation-state are national and political integrity. Political integrity denotes the unification of individuals to the political structure within the frame of a nation by equipping them with the identities as citizens. The concept of citizenship refers to belonging to a nation. The elements that provide the consciousness of citizenship are compulsory education, compulsory military service, general principle of voting and political participation. As an external factor in determination of national identity, the introduction of enemy image is just an effort to have individuals adopt the existence of an alien power. Military service is the most important of all these ways of adoption. The military functions as a school of citizenship. "People's sacrificing themselves easily for a nation manifests the facts that the concept of nation is really experienced by the individuals and explains the existence of nationalistic movements" (Uzun 2003: 152).

The majority of the participants think that military service should be obligatory. However, they agreed upon the idea that military service should be shortened. The structural elements of nation-states are the territorial and political integrity. Political integrity indicates the unity of individuals in the frame of a nation by equipping them with the identity of citizenship. The concept of citizenship indicates belonging to a nation. The factors providing the consciousness of citizenship are compulsory primary school education, compulsory military service, voting and political participation.

4.4. Consumption

The way of consumption is an important means for individuals to express themselves. The quality of the consumed goods and services as well as the beliefs and values they convey are reflected to individuals. Such a situation helps emerge the identities that individuals belong to. In the construction of national identity, consumed goods and services form the basis of a

mass consciousness by referring to the experiences and emotionalism pertaining the concept of nation.

Most of the subjects in our study think that the products made in Turkey should be consumed more and these products are of as good quality as the imported ones. They also find it quite grievous that the import of Turkey is higher than its export. Ethnic backgrounds, production and consumption practices, languages, religions, artistic perspectives of societies play an important role for the implementation of national culture concept in minds.

4.5. Consciousness of History

The initial element of social reality is history and the components of reality are considered in integrities. By neglecting the integrity of social structure and also forgetting the fact that such an integrity includes certain historic determinants, the effort to explain the mobility of a nation with respect to some groups in it is to disintegrate reality (Ergun 2000: 84).

"Identities are the differences developing and transforming in the historical process, but at the same time, conceptual formations enabling integrations with symbolic rather than logical means" (Sözen 1999: 9). Identities evolve during the historical process. As a historical and cultural concept, identity constitutes the two different aspects of cultural and social existence by means of the images again with historical and cultural origins. The opinions formed in minds are the social values. In other words, this fact indicates how the values of a country are perceived by the others. Nationalization is closely related to the concept of searching for identity. A social group should have the consciousness of their existence in order to be a nation.

The majority of people asked to fill out the questionnaire feel themselves belonging to the Turkish society culturally and historically and also state that linguistic, historic and cultural accumulation of values should be protected, that is to say; having a rich historic background, being desirous to live together and protect the common history and values. The developments in ethnic backgrounds of socie-

ties, their production and consumption practices, languages, religions and artistic perspectives and such aspects throughout history has a considerable impact on the formation of the national culture concept in minds.

4.6. Political and Social Events

Monitoring the political and social activities in a country and expressing the ideas freely are the indications of the fact that the individuals feel themselves belonging to that country. In addition, this situation denotes that the individuals are conscious of their rights and responsibilities as well as sensitive about any issues in their country.

According to the findings, political and social events in Turkey are followed and the participants say that they can express their opinions easily. Moreover, the majority of them vote in the elections as the most important indicator of the participation in political activities. In the same way, most of the participants consider themselves as 'secular' in the Turkish society and state that they do not encounter any prejudices as a result of their ethnic backgrounds.

4.7. Public Services

The quality of the services that a state provides for its citizens is directly proportional to how the rights of citizens are safeguarded. Some basic services provided by the state in Turkey, such as education, health, employment and housing are considered to be problematic by the participants in this study, who believe that no satisfactory solutions can be found for these problems. The fact that individuals consider the services provided by the state insufficient and think that they cannot satisfactorily exercise their rights gradually make them alienated. At this point, alienation appears as a factor deteriorating the sense of identity. As the economic status of the country affects the upper structure directly, social ideas, emotions and actions are also influenced. Some sub-identities gain more importance than all the others particularly in the cities like Istanbul, where the people from different socio-economic and cultural statuses and the majority suffer crises over unemployment and economic issues. Being also a city where economic activities pertaining to capital

are rather intense, religion, community and ethnic identities have begun to get decomposed depending on class identity.

4.8. The Symbols Constructing National Unity

The flag as the symbol of national independence, the common language providing a wide-scale communication, the culture inherited from the past to the present and expanding to the future as well, the country comprising the whole values experienced by individuals and the consciousness of history establishing a close connection with the past are considered to be values maintaining national identity.

The most important factor that holds a society together and forms a common way of life is the sense of unity. The participants in our study defined the most important factors maintaining national identity as; the national flag, language, culture, homeland, history, religion and state. The majority of the participants stated that generally speaking, there is a prevailing sense of unity in the Turkish society. Although 49.8 % of them believe that the problems in Turkey are common for all in Turkey, they do not think the same for the policy of the parties to solve those problems.

4.9. Social Problems

Poverty, regional differences, lack of the consciousness of history, the differences in education, shanty towns, corruption in language and over-consumption are the commonly experienced problems in Turkey. These problems initially affect the consciousness of citizenship negatively. Therefore, they have been considered as a different category here.

While 47.1 % of the subjects have expressed that they are unable to perform their religious practices in the workplace, 30.7 % of them have stated that they can perform them in a limited way. Likewise, 12.1 % of those who have stated that they cannot perform their religious practices in the workplace blame secularism, 11.7 % of them have indicated working conditions and 9.3 %; the work hours. Considering that being unable to perform religious practices or feeling to be prevented from per-

forming may bring about the sense of alienation in the society, this issue can be considered as a degenerating factor for unity.

4.10. Participation and Confidence

Aimlessness, lack of idealism and insensitivity are the main reasons for alienation. Their continuation may result in the deviation of individuals from the society, lack of interests in social problems and considering themselves different in time. Lack of confidence also influences the will to act together and the unity in objectives negatively. Law and education secures the harmony between individuals and society. Institutionalization and socialization function as a mirror between individuals and society. Therefore, societal participation and self-trust are the other factors that are influential over the formation of nation-identity.

70 % of the participants think that the youth in Turkey has been pacified; similarly, 84.8 % of them consider that the individual are not given enough opportunity to take part in decision-making processes in many fields in the society. In addition, 75.5 % of the participants have declared that they are oppressed in many fields and 80.5 % of them think that aimlessness, lack of idealism and insensitivity are quite diffused in the society. These respective aspects are also the ones leading to alienation. Their continuity is likely to bring about the withdrawal of individuals from the society, indifference towards social problems and differentiating themselves different from the others. What is more, 70.4 % of the subjects think that educational system affects the personality development of individuals negatively. Here, a lack of confidence toward the educational system should be noted. Law and education guarantee the harmony between individuals and the state. Lack of confidence also affects the will to act together and the association in objectives negatively. % 82.9 % of the participants have stated that individuals should have social responsibility, and 82.9 % of them have pointed out that the main responsibility of an individual is to be a good citizen. These replies indicate that it is vital to have social responsibility and the consciousness of good citizenship in the society.

4.11. Search for a Solution

The main obstacles for national unity in Turkey are the everlasting problems that have been unsolved for years, lack of confidence in institutions and the anxieties for the future. As for the individuals and the institutions that could possibly provide solutions to those problems, the subjects consider the national assembly, the government, non-governmental organizations, the youth, teachers, the press and media as well as the political parties. Similarly, the participants have mentioned unemployment, educational problems, and insufficiencies in public services, the huge gap between the rich and the poor, bribery, corruption and terror as the urgent issues.

4.12. Anxiety about the Future

National unity denotes experiencing and sharing the anxieties as well as hopes about the future. The functional limitations of the nationalization process have to be taken into consideration in an analysis to determine the strength of the basis of a nation state and the survival probability of such a political construction. Hence, the issues that the participants are usually anxious about are around unemployment, cessation of social peace, damaging influences against secularism, poverty and economic crises, restriction of freedoms and increase in environmental pollution etc. Such anxieties about the future are likely to cause deterioration in the social order and relations along with distrust.

Emergence of such lack of confidence may bring about the deterioration of national identity.

4.13. European Community

When the subjects were asked which international organization they want Turkey to be a member of, 53 % of them stated that Turkey is to be a member of the European Community; however, 37 % of them expressed that Turkey should not participate in any of such organizations, instead establish good relations with them. Meanwhile, 72.4 % of the participants think that being a member of the European Community will contribute well to the devel-

opment of Turkey with respect to human rights and democracy. While 66.9 % of them believe that being admitted to the European Community will be beneficial to the Turkish economy, 38.5 % of them assume that being a member of the respective organization will divert us from our own values. In addition to all these, 63 % of the subjects think that we should find some ways to improve ourselves instead of striving to be a member of the European Community.

Although there is generally a positive view about Turkey's membership in the European Community, there are also fears for a probable diversion from their intrinsic values and identities. In the same way, they believe that what is important for Turkey is to be conscious of the fact that no concessions should be made during the admission process to the European Community.

4.14. Westernization

Westernization policy of Turkey is regarded to be superficial by 38.1 % of the participants. Even if 47.1 % of them consider this policy quite sound, they think that the Europeans are prejudiced and hypocritical towards Turkey. The majority views that Turkey's foreign policy depends on foreign influences and such a Western-focused policy is considered erroneous. Another result is the inefficiency of the presentation of Turkey abroad. According to Smith, "By ditching the ethnic-pan advocacy of Turkism as well as the respective adventures about it, Atatürk and his party tried to establish a territorial nation on a constant territory where civil rights, common law, a secular political culture and a religion depending on citizenship would be exercised" (Smith 2002: 37). In fact, all nations carry the traces of both territorial as well as ethnic principles and aspects.

4.15. Domestic Policy

78.6 % of the participants in our study have indicated that the decisions related to the domestic policy depend greatly on the demands of foreign countries. Moreover, 68.3 % of them think that the decisions about the foreign policy are not sufficient to strengthen national unity and these decisions are not taken according to the expectations of the people. In fact, main-

taining social unity and strength can only be achieved with the participation of the citizens in the decisions concerning the nation itself. Nevertheless, the majority of the participants believe that the judgments about them are exercised by disregarding their opinions and national unity. Such a result supports the assumption that the decisions about the individuals depend mostly on foreign powers.

CONCLUSION

For the purpose of evaluating the stability of national identity in metropolises, this study has been conducted in Istanbul chosen as the research universe and the findings denote that a common background, the concept of nation, ethics, emotions including particularly enthusiasm, the consciousness of possessing and preserving the traditions have been adopted quite well. A rich historic background, keenness on adopting and conveying the traditions and customs to the coming generations, considering the social problems as the issues of the whole nation in spite of having different ethnic origins and willingness to live together in the future are the indicators of the establishment of national culture as well as national consciousness.

The use of a common language and the consciousness of self directly refer to national identity by affecting the ways of thinking and thinking. Thus, 84.4 % of the subjects think that a nation can only achieve development if the media of education and science are in the national language.

As an external factor in determining the national identity, the enemy image arises from the effort to have the existence of a foreign power adopted by the individuals in order to accentuate the difference of their identities. In the same way, military service is the most important way of the respective issue. According to the findings, the ratio of those who think that military service should be compulsory is 61.9 %.

The initial aspect of social reality is history and the elements of reality are considered as a whole. "Explaining the dynamics of a society with regard to some specific groups in it by

neglecting the unity of the social structure and social realities would be like segmenting the reality" (Ergun 2000: 84). Furthermore, according to our findings, 93.4 % of the subjects share the opinion that a society that is unaware of its past cannot make decisions about its future.

Monitoring political and social occurrences as well as expressing opinions freely in a country is the indication of the fact that the individuals feel themselves belonging to that society. It also displays that apart from being conscious of their rights and responsibilities, the individuals are sensitive about any issues related to their country. The findings also indicate that 52.5 % of the participants follow the political and social events very closely and express their opinions. Although the abundance of the communication channels appears as an important factor maintaining the above-mentioned issue, the formation of these messages while being conveyed through these channels is also an important problem.

Generally speaking the subjects feel themselves belonging to the Turkish society in cultural, historic, ethnic, linguistic and religious points respectively. After all, the most important factor holding a society together and forming a common way of life is the feeling of unity. The participants have ordered the significant factors related to this unity as the flag, language, culture, motherland, history, religion and the state. Similarly, the values constituting the contemporary Turkish identity are the unity in language, culture and history.

The ration of those who think that the Turkish identity has an embracing influence over the ethnic identities is 63 %. While 40.5 % of the subjects assume that the Turkish identity is also an ethnic one, 41.2 % of them think that the Turkish identity is a national one.

54.9 % of the participants affirm the activities of multi-national companies and the transfer foreign capital in Turkey. However, considering the direct and indirect influences of multi-national companies to the Turkish economy along with the social life, some problems in application unavoidably arise. As a result of globalization individuals tend not to recognize

themselves as citizens and employees. Therefore, the tendency to define identity with regard to religion, beliefs, actions, traditions and cultural groups displays a noticeable increase. With the separation of global culture from the social institutions, these institutions have turned to just simple instruments of administration. Depending on the products and services, multi-national companies impose their own cultures, ways of life and aspects of identity (Touraine 2000: 49).

According to the results of this study, 83.3 % of the subjects have indicated that the state should follow a national policy and this policy should be suitable and dependent on domestic institutions. Moreover, the ratio of those who assume a multi-cultural nation-state instead of a mono-cultural nation-state model is 45.5 %. Nevertheless, 90.7 % of the participants have mentioned that they are proud of their national identities.

Furthermore, 70 % of the participants think that the youth of the country have been pacified and 84.8 % of them assume that the majority of the individuals are not included in decision-making processes in many fields of the society. Likewise, according to 75.5 % of the participants, individuals are under pressure in many fields of the society, and 80.5 % of the participants have declared that aimlessness, negligence and lack of idealism are quite common in society. It should be noted that these factors are also the ones causing alienation, and needless to say, their continuity may lead to gradual alienation of individuals from the society along with lack of interest in social problems and developing a sense of differentiation from the others. Consequently, the sense of confidence and association will be replaced with alienation.

The most important obstacles for national unity in Turkey are everlastingly unsolved problems, distrust in institutions and the anxiety about the future. As for the persons and institutions that could provide solutions to these problems; the subjects think about the national assembly, the government, non-governmental organizations, the youth, the teachers, the media along with the press and the political parties. The issues about which they expect an urgent consideration are unemployment, education, inefficiency

in public services, the gap between the rich and the poor, bribery, corruption and terror.

National unity refers to exercising and sharing the anxieties and hopes about the future. The functional limitations of nationalization process have to be considered in an analysis about how strong the basis of a nation-state is and how such a way of political construction will survive in the future. Thus, considering the findings in general, the subjects appear to be vexed about unemployment, probable termination of social peace, detrimental influences towards secularism, in addition to poverty, economic crises, limitation over freedoms and increase in environmental problems. The existence of such anxieties about the future is likely to cause deterioration in the social order and relations parallel to lack of confidence.

To put it briefly, the individuals living in Istanbul generally have the consciousness of national identity, whereas it has also been noticed that this consciousness is gradually declining as a result of the continuity of unsolved problems for years, loss of their faith in politics, anxieties about the future as well as mistrust in the institutions.

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