

REFLECTIONS ON THE TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN IZMIR
Moving to Another City in Pursuit Of Higher Education

AYŞENUR ÖLMEZSES ŞENTÜRK

AUGUST 2015

REFLECTIONS ON THE TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN IZMIR
Moving to Another City in Pursuit Of Higher Education

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS

BY

AYŞENUR ÖLMEZSES ŞENTÜRK

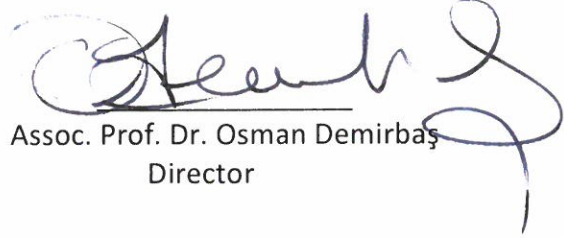
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

IN

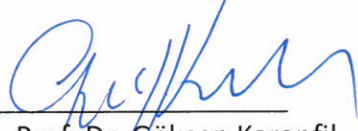
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

AUGUST 2015


Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences


Assoc. Prof. Dr. Osman Demirbař
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

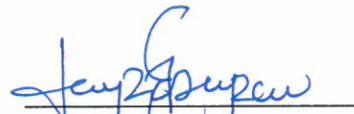

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

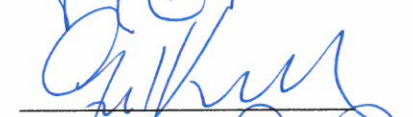

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

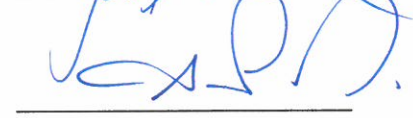
Asst. Prof. Dr. Burcu Eğilmez Gürsoy



Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil



Prof. Dr. Alev Fatoř Parsa



ABSTRACT

REFLECTIONS ON THE TRANSFORMATIVE EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN IZMIR

Moving to Another City in Pursuit Of Higher Education

Şentürk, Ölmezses Ayşenur

MA, Media and Communication Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil

August 2015, 120 Pages

This thesis aims at scrutinizing the transformative effects on the identities of young people who have moved from their hometowns to Izmir to study in a university. This process, which starts with a detachment from the family and the locality, has been conceptualized as a 'rite of passage'. These young people, as they formulate their daily lives, enter new realms of strategy and develop tactics accordingly. As they adapt to city and university life through these tactics, they experience influential encounters. The research, positioning these encounters as its centerpiece, analyses the impact of mobility and reformulation of daily life on the identity transformations of these young people. In depth interviews have been conducted with a total of 15 young people studying in 4 different universities. The participants have been chosen randomly through a snowballing technique. There has also been a participant observation, lasting more than a year, where the researcher has spent time with a multitude of young individuals in their daily life experiences. The thesis concludes that changing cities for university education has a 'productive disorienting' effect on the participants of this study, and that this results in dramatic transformations in the identities of these young people.

Keywords: Youth, space, daily life, identity, qualitative research, strategy-tactic, liminality, İzmir

ÖZET

YÜKSEK ÖĞRENİM AMACIYLA FARKLI ŞEHİRLERDEN İZMİR'E TAŞINAN GENÇLER ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

İzmir'deki Üniversite Gençlerinin Deneyimleri

Şentürk, Ölmezses Ayşenur

Medya ve İletişim Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil

Ağustos 2015, 120 sayfa

Bu tez üniversite öğrenimi için yaşadıkları şehirden ayrılıp İzmir'e yerleşen gençlerin bu süreçte kimlikleri üzerinde oluşan dönüştürücü etkileri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Aileden ve yerelinden fizksel olarak ayrılış ile başlayan bu süreç geçiş ritüeli olarak ele alınmıştır. Gençler gittikleri şehirde gündelik hayatlarını kurarken yeni bir strateji alanının içine girmekte ve taktikler geliştirmektedir. Bu taktikler eşliğinde şehir hayatına ve üniversite hayatına uyum sağlarken önemli karşılaşmalar yaşamaktadırlar. Bu çalışma, merkeze bu karşılaşmaları koyarak, katılımcı gözlem ve gençlerle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler aracılığı ile mekan değişiminin ve gençlerin gündelik hayatlarının yeniden kuruluşunun kimlik dönüşümüne etkisini araştırmaktadır.4 farklı üniversitede öğrenci olan toplamda 15 genç ile derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Katılımcılar kartopu tekniği ile rastgele seçilmiştir. Ayrıca araştırmacı 1 yılı aşkın bir süre farklı gençler ile gündelik hayatlarında birlikte bulunarak katılımcı gözlemlerde de bulunmuştur. Bu tez üniversite hayatı için şehir değiştirmenin katılımcılar üzerinde üretken bir kafa karışıklığı etkisi yarattığını iddia ederken, bu durumunun gençlerin kimlik dönüşümleri üzerinde çarpıcı etkileri olduğunu öne sürmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Gençlik, mekan, gündelik hayat, kimlik, nitel araştırma, strateji-taktik, liminality, İzmir

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the people who have helped and inspired me during this study. I owe my deepest gratitude to my advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Gökçen Karanfil for encouraging me to realize this research. I feel truly fortunate to have an advisor who has guided me with his invaluable academic advice throughout the research and the writing process while at the same time giving me the freedom to carry out my own exploration. His effort and kind support was more than I could wish for. His friendship and joyful attitude always made me enjoy the journey even at the most challenging times.

I would like to thank Asst. Prof. Dr. Burcu Eğılmez and Prof. Dr. Alev Fatoş Parsa who kindly agreed to participate in my jury and shared their invaluable comments.

My dear friend Melis never hesitated to spend time on reading earlier drafts of this thesis and always contributed with her constructive criticism. Despite the long spatial distance between us, knowing that she was always there for me as a both a true friend and an inspiring intellectual has always made me feel safer.

Of course, I would like to thank the participants of this study who shared their stories with me so openly. Without their sincerity and eager participation this thesis could never have been realized.

I'm thankful to my parents and sister who have always believed in me. They have always supported me in chasing after my dreams, simply because those dreams were mine.

My love Alper, has always been there for me with his never ending patience and love that refreshed me every moment. His experience on working with young people, and enthusiasm in discussing youth related topics have always inspired me. Without him, not only would writing this dissertation be impossible, but life itself would also be a big void.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	III
ÖZET.....	IV
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI
PROLOGUE.....	VIII
INTRODUCTION	1
The Rationale.....	1
Aims, Objectives and Research Question.....	3
The Structure of the Thesis.....	4
Method and Methodology.....	6
A Methodological Note from the Researcher.....	10
CHAPTER I: FORMULATING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	12
1.1 Reflections on the Theories of Youth.....	14
1.1.1 The Conceptualization of Youth.....	16
1.1.2 Youth and Social Sciences.....	17
1.2 Space and Daily Life.....	19
1.3 Identity and Social Interaction.....	25

CHAPTER II: RITE OF PASSAGE AND THE LIMINALITY: A PAHASE OF PRODUCTIVE	
DISORIENTATION.....	30
2.1 Arriving in Izmir.....	31
2.2 Rite of Passage.....	32
CHAPTER III: ENCOUNTERS WITH(IN) THE CITY.....	48
3.1 Accommodation as a Space: The Interplay of Strategies and Tactics.....	48
3.1.1 Forms of Accommodation: More than just Lodging.....	51
3.1.1.1 State Dormitories.....	52
3.1.1.2 Dormitories within Universities.....	56
3.1.1.3 Sect Affiliated Student Houses.....	58
3.2 Encounter with the City Space.....	61
3.3 Encounters with Izmirians.....	63
3.4 Attachment to Izmir.....	69
CHAPTER IV: RECONSIDERATON OF IDENTITY: SELF and the OTHERS.....	77
CONCLUSION.....	88
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	91
APPENDIX I.....	96
APPENDIX II.....	97

PROLOGUE

Throughout this research, above all everything my main effort has always been to give voice to the participants of this study. Thus I have tried my best to reflect human experiences as much as I could. One reason I have been able to find the courage to research the experiences of young people who have moved to Izmir in pursuit of higher education, has been the fact that I once had taken the same route myself.

When I consider what has urged me to choose this particular topic as my MA thesis, I realize that, as both a researcher and a person, the experiences I have had have been highly influential in orienting me towards this path. My experiences in my journey had played a prominent role in paving this route for me. It is with this realization that I should like to narrate at the very beginning of this thesis, two brief stories - one from my personal story, and the other, I have witnessed.

The first of these is about my arrival in Izmir more than ten years ago. I was born in Fethiye, a small touristic town in Southwestern part of Turkey. Following the central university exam, I moved to Izmir to study in a university, which was my tenth and last preference. It was the only choice I made for a university in Izmir, and I was not expecting that I would end up here at all. We arrived in Izmir with my family and had a very busy weekend setting my dormitory room and shopping around, trying to envisage what I would need after my family would leave me and go back home. Following that weekend, on the first day of school at the university campus, my father must have felt that I was very tense, so as he bid me farewell, he told me to be calm and to just say 'hi' to anyone I saw around. He said, "It is the first

day for everyone. No one knows each other. So just say hi, and introduce yourself”.

So, I walked into the corridor and heard students conversing among each other with excited and joyous voices;

“Ooo you are here!”

“I can’t believe you are here as well!”

“It looks like this will be a continuation of our class in high school”.

As they were joking amongst each other, one of them saw me walking on the corridor and as he pointing at me, he said to his friends:

“Look! A stranger!”

The second story is not exactly mine, but I was a witness to it. I was a youth worker in an NGO. In one of the non-formal trainings that university students attended, one of the trainers tried a new method for group building among participants which had unexpected consequences. He prepared an envelope with ten other envelopes each tucked within the other, like matryoshka dolls. Each envelope had a note in it and an assignment. Assignments were simple and interactive such as, “go to a participant, hug her/him and give her/him the tucked in envelope” or “go to a participant with a cup of coffee and give the envelope to the participant”. Each assignment addressed a specific participant so that there would be a chain reaction with participants delivering envelopes and assignments to each other. Each participant would open his/her envelope, implement the assignment and pass the inner envelope to the person mentioned in his/her note. The game would go on like this until the chain would be completed with the last envelope being delivered to the first person who had opened the first envelope. There were a total of ten participants.

At the end of each daily programme there would be a meeting in order to observe the participants' learning processes. Reflection groups were constituted of smaller number of participants to be more private. In the reflection group of the 4th day of the training, one of the participants told in her reflection group that she had experienced a deep realization that day, but that she preferred to share it in private. Later that evening she told one of the trainers that the assignment in her envelope wanted her to approach a participant, hold his hands, look him in the eyes and then hug him. She said she did as the assignment had directed. The deep realization she had, had occurred as she established eye contact with the other participant. She described this experience in her own words as follows;

“The person I hugged and gave the envelope to was a Kurdish person. The way I’ve been raised and my social surroundings have always fostered many prejudices in me regarding Kurds and none of them were good ones. This was the first time I was close to a Kurdish person. During the eye contact I realized the humanity and kindness of the person I was looking at. As an individual, he was as valuable as myself. He was a human being just as I was. At that moment all the things I said about Kurdish people, all the things I thought, everything started swirling in my mind. I became truly embarrassed about all my prejudices. How had I jumped to conclusions so easily, how had I judged Kurdish people so carelessly? This was the deep realization I had today.”

The moment she started telling all these, she burst into tears and cried throughout the whole conversation. As she was narrating her experience, she had once again come to grips with the depth of her experience and was awed by the fact that this was a highly intimate confession for her.

For me, the first story I have narrated above, from my personal experience, is about leaving the familiar behind and coming into a new social space to forge a new life. The second story is all about encounters. These two phenomena form the two major experiences of the participants of this research, hence, summarize the core concerns of this thesis as a whole.

INTRODUCTION

The Rationale

Every year in Turkey, many young people move away from their home towns for higher education, through which they step into a transformative phase in their lives. I choose to think of this phase as a transformative one because this mobility becomes a sophisticated and challenging period of time in their lives. First of all, as they are young, these people confront age specific experiences. Secondly, as they leave the socio-spatial environments they are born and bred in, the dynamics of the new space they move into with its totally new social, political and cultural networks offers them unprecedented opportunities to realize themselves. Finally, related with these new age and space specific experiences the young people start to question who they are. Hence, I argue in this thesis, new city and university space with a potential of endless encounters nourish this process of transformation of identity.

Young people who aim at pursuing university education in Turkey are centrally placed into universities through a national examination system. Following their graduation from high school, they make a maximum of 24 university/program selections. These selections are then processed through the central student placement institution. The prospective university students are then placed into their highest ranking choices their exam results allow. More often than not, this results in students being placed in universities and/or programs which were not their primary choices. In Turkey, universities are mainly located in cities and the rooted and prestigious universities are in bigger city centers. Thus, there are many young people leaving their homes and cities for further education which perhaps may

even be conceived as a form of internal migration. This displacement which comes with hurdles and opportunities play an influential role in the daily lives and their adventures of identity for these young people.

University is a space of complex interactions. It is even more complex for the ones who start a new life in the city in which their university is located. As for them, this mobility entails to their first encounters not only with the university but also with the city. City, university and the people who live in them are full of new signs and symbols that a new comer encounters. While ascribing meanings to these cultural texts, they position themselves in this complex plethora of signs and gradually start formulating their interactions and meanings through these cultural tools.

Spatial change and new encounters have a constitutive impact on identities since identities are no longer perceived as static, but rather accepted as processual. Identities are commonly accepted as an outcome of 'becoming' rather than 'being'. City space embraces a wide variety of differences in terms of identification, such as ethnicity, religion, socio-economic class, and gender. This triggers the inquiry of how these young people, who belong to different subject positions in their places of departure, enact new subject positions in the city and university space, through their everyday conversations, narratives and performances. I argue in this thesis that this process of enactment leads to a productive and continuous construction and reconstruction of themselves through these encounters.

Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the ways in which moving from another location to Izmir for higher education purposes is experienced among young university students. I focus on the articulation of these young adults' daily lives and identity constructions through their encounters in the city. Therefore, I formulate the transcendent research question of this thesis as follows;

What are the ways in which moving to Izmir for higher education purposes has an impact on the daily life experiences and identities of young people?

While this is the overarching question within my research, in looking for answers to this question, other sub-questions have also inevitable came to being. Thus, it is also through these sub-questions, listed below, that I attempt to understand the experiences of young people in this research.

- How does the experience of youth influence transformations of identity?
- How do everyday life and city itself as a socially constructed space impact on identity formulations of the participants of this study?
- How do these young people, as social agents, find ways to move around within and beyond the social structures within their new environments?
- What are the ways in which these young people establish connections and attachments to Izmir?
- In what ways encounters in the university – a multicultural space – impact on the transformations of these young peoples' identities?

Furthermore, each of these sub-queries constitutes a multitude of other micro-level questions that lead the researcher into the daily live practices of the participants of this study: What are the expectations of these young people before

their arrival in Izmir? How do they provide their basic commodities; accommodation, meals? How do they perceive Izmir and people in Izmir? How do they make new friends in this city? How do they define their identities? etc.

In trace of these questions, this research aims to critically formulate a comprehensive perception of young people who have come to Izmir for university education. Searching for answers to such questions help us in mapping out the causal relations that these young people experience in their daily lives. It is hoped that this inquiry, in turn, will open pathways towards a better understanding of the daily lives and identities of these young people along with the importance of changing cities in this process.

The Structure of the Thesis

This introduction chapter tries to explain the content of the research, and presents the main research questions. It explains how the qualitative research is appropriate for this particular research. Method of the research and field notes from the application of the method are articulated.

Chapter I aims at formulating the theoretical background of the thesis. This theoretical background is formulated before presenting the reader with the material from the field, as the theories discussed in Chapter I establish the grounds for analysis of the data gathered through participant observations and in-depth interviews. This theory chapter critically engages with the four major theories deployed throughout this study - youth, identity, space and daily life. At least as importantly, there is a discussion on the nature of interconnectedness and the interplay among these four nodes of theory. Insight that is obtained through

participant observation and interviews are conceptually analyzed through theoretical lenses that are presented in this chapter. While it is in Chapter I that the theoretical framework of the thesis is introduced, these theories are further elaborated on, and brought to the fore in the following chapters as well, where I analyze my data.

In Chapter II, I commence my analysis through my participant observations and in depth interviews. In this chapter, my particular emphasis is on the ways in which concepts of 'rite of passage' introduced by Arnold van Gennep (1960), and 'liminality' developed by Victor Turner (1967) can be employed as useful analytical tools to help us understand the transformations in the daily lives and cultural identities of young people. Therefore, it is in this chapter that departure from the city of origin and coming to Izmir for university education is described as a Rite of Passage. The physical detachment of these young people from their families and localities is interpreted as a starting point of liminal period. Moving from here, the conditions of this liminal period is examined through its impacts on processes of identity construction.

Chapter III is titled Encounters with(in) the City. In this chapter I allocate particular emphasis to three main sections. In the first section I question the role of accommodation in the daily lives of university students. I study the influence of accommodation through the analytical lens Certau's concept of 'strategy and tactic' offers. In the second section of this chapter, I shed light on how Izmir as a city space and the people who live in the city play a transformative role on the identity projects of university students. I draw on Certau's theories in this section as well, albeit this time with a particular focus on his analysis of daily life. Finally in the third

section, I scrutinize how these mobile young people establish attachments with their host city Izmir.

In the fourth chapter, which is the final chapter of the analysis section, I tackle the issue of identity. My focus in doing this is on a-) the fluidity and complexity of identities, b-) the argument that identity is a process of becoming that is in constant flux, and c-) the relation between 'self' and 'other' in the formulation and reformulation of identities.

Finally, in the Conclusion chapter, I summarize my findings and elaborate on potential paths further research can take in this field.

Method and Methodology

Even though it may not be possible to prove this immediately, how we think about the world is represented in research paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The methodological preference of qualitative research should also be seen as a reflection of a standpoint with regards to the researcher. Merriam explains it as follows (1998):

The key philosophical assumption...upon which all types of qualitative research are based is the view that reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds. Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed, that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world (6).

When considering this search of making sense of the world, Lincoln (1985)

provides five basic beliefs upon which inquiries of qualitative research rest;

1. Realities are multiple, constructed and holistic.
2. Knower and known are interactive, and inseparable.
3. Only time-and context-bound working hypotheses are possible.
4. All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.
5. Inquiry is value-bound (Lincoln, 1985: 37).

Drawing on these conceptualizations of qualitative research, I can state that this particular study also adopts a qualitative perspective in its inquiry. The motivation behind choosing to adopt a qualitative approach was the importance I gave to the participants' inner worlds. While acknowledging that quantitative methods have their benefits, I believe that my focus on a qualitative perspective made it possible for me to unravel the feelings, experiences, values and the transformations these young people were experiencing. At least as importantly, my main concern was for the participants to set their own agendas. I wanted them to talk about themselves with their own terms without me imposing on them any agendas or structures. I believe participant observation and in depth interviews as qualitative research methods were the most adequate research tools to deploy in order to make this possible.

At this point, it may also be useful to make a reference to how Denzin and Lincoln's (2000) use the metaphor of bricolage for qualitative inquires, and bricoleur for the researcher who deploys qualitative research. Bricolage refers to the deliberate mixing of qualitative methods and ways of thinking in order to address a specific issue or problem. The metaphor of bricolage for the qualitative research refers to the understanding the labor of inquiry as a complex, reflex, dense, collage-like creation that represents the researcher's image, understanding and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under the analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 3). A bricoleur is therefore a researcher who "understands that research is an interactive process, shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race and ethnicity and by those of the people in the setting" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 6). The bricolage, will connect the parts to the whole, stressing the

meaningful relationships that operate in the situations and social worlds studied. While each particular research itself is seen as a bricolage, it is also a part of a whole. In other words, particular inquiries present perspectives to the whole. Therefore, the more inquiries from different perspectives are accumulated, the more thorough our understandings of social realities become.

In line with what Denzin and Lincoln claim about getting closer to the 'whole' through an accumulation of micro knowledge, I feel my interviews with 15 young individuals were quite telling with regards to the daily life experiences and identity transformations they experienced through their mobility. While I am not claiming in any way that these 15 individuals can have a representative power, I strongly do believe that their stories about the way they make sense of the world contribute to a process of knowledge accumulation.

From within the realm of qualitative research, more specifically, I have used participant observation and in depth interviews for means of data gathering within the context of this thesis. I conducted 15 interviews. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken to examine content focused issues relevant to the research questions. I had an interview guide of questions, which were all open ended and used to provide me with starting points in my dialogues. After the first question of a topic, the answers of the participants determined what would follow in line with their agendas. Each interview was recorded with my phone, and transcribed later on. I also noted my observations after each interview.

The interviewees were university students who moved to Izmir from different cities. I conducted interviews with students from two state universities; Ege University and Dokuz Eylul University and also from two foundation

universities; Izmir University of Economics and Izmir University. I formed the group of participants with snow ball technique. I knew some university students through my connections at the youth community that I worked for. Every first person in each university was chosen from my former acquaintances. Then, to keep the variety of participants in terms of hometown, ethnic, religious origins I asked them if they knew others who would like to contribute to the research.

There were personal and even private questions of research, so the first requirement for me was their sincere will to contribute in this research. Due to particular reasons, the process of in depth interviews resolved in a much easier manner than I had initially expected. First of all, the first of my interviewees knew me from the NGO that I had worked for, and when I was introduced to other participants my former affiliation with the NGO was always brought up, which created a thrust environment among the participants. Secondly, I always had at least half an hour of chat with them before the interviews telling about the research and myself while drinking a tea or smoking. This gave us the chance to get to know each other a bit more than simply being introduced. Thirdly, during the interviews I felt that they were so open and wanted to tell their experiences, as this was not something that they were asked to do often. Many of them even said 'I feel more relaxed now, after the interview.' I linked this with their feeling of not being seen and/or taken seriously.

The interviews were made in Turkish but translated to English by the researcher. The original texts of the interviews in Turkish are added as an Appendix at the end of this thesis. As the interviews were conducted in friendly manner of

warm talks, there were many unfinished and unstructured sentences, the participants were almost thinking out loud as we spoke.

I should also like to mention at this point that I took deliberate care not to include in my interviews young people who were directly representatives of an ideological group. My main interest in this study was the daily life experiences of young people – their experiences about being young. My main reasoning in taking this decision has been that choosing participants without strong ideological affiliations would contribute to the study being devoid of ethnic/religious/political bias. This in turn would help the study articulate the experiences of the participants about being young.

A Methodological Note from the Researcher

On a more personal note with regards to the methodology of this thesis, I should like to clarify that this research was never planned to be carried out as a Masters Thesis. To put it in other words, as a researcher, I never had a pre-planned intention to carry out such a research for the completion of my degree. To a great extent, the idea of this research arises spontaneously stemming from my personal worries, experiences and sensitivities. In fact, there are two important experiences that I have had which have been determinative through whole process of carrying out this research. The first of these is my own experience as a young person when I moved from my hometown to study in Izmir. Therefore, the point of departure for this thesis stems from a multitude of ways with what I and my friends have experienced in our arrivals and lives in Izmir. This gave me an initial understanding of the situations that participants of this study were going through.

Secondly, I was working as a field worker for an NGO which has the largest network of youth community in Turkey. So I have met with many young people in different cities with a responsibility of contributing to their realm of interactive learning; through gatherings, social responsibility projects, non-formal trainings etc... Relations with university students in this community with a responsibility of contribution to creating them interactive learning realms required observation. Having this responsibility but in a horizontal organizational community provided a realm of participant observation. I had visited many university groups of the community in different cities throughout my three years of work experience and developed personal relations with many of the members of these communities, stayed in their students houses, dormitories, went to cafes they hang out at etc. When the idea of this research came up I was still working in this organization, so it became a concurrent process of working and participant observation for this research.

CHAPTER I

FORMULATING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this research is to reflect on how young people who move to a new city in order to pursue their higher education goals construct and reconstruct their daily lives within new spaces and how their identities are transformed through this process. The Chapter is titled Formulating the Theoretical Framework because this is exactly what the chapter intends to do. In other words, in this chapter, I elaborate on four major nodes of theory which formulate the three pillars on which the thesis sits. These theories are on the notions of “youth”, “space’ , daily life”, and “identity”. While articulating on these theories I choose their intersections and interplays as my focus. What I do not aim to do in this particular chapter is to form organic links with these theories and my analysis just yet. The reason for this is that I feel it is important to initially familiarize the reader with these theories as they are. It is in the following chapters of this research that I weave these theories with my interviews and analysis.

I should like to clarify at the very beginning of this study that the theoretical standpoint of this study is built around two main pre-assumptions, I as a researcher, brought along with me into this thesis.

The first of these is the understanding and acknowledgement that social realities and categories are constructed in social life within and through a web of social relations. This presumption encompasses all key concepts of this thesis - youth, daily life, space and identity. My positioning here as a researcher is against the essentialist idea that social identities and social categories are pre-given natural traits and that they are produced purely through the acts of individual will. To the contrary, the above mentioned presumption of this thesis should be understood as

an attempt to unravel the ways in which social identities and categories are continuously and ingeniously re-invented rather than being discovered.

The second assumption of this research, following from the previous one, is about the notion of reflexivity. Within the context of this research, through the use of the term reflexivity it is aimed to pinpoint to the circular interconnections between cause and effect in all social experiences. This whole thesis contains a variety of conceptualizations drawing on different disciplines and approaches within disciplines. What I attempt to do is, without privileging one over the other, focus on the interplay between them which 'bends back on' itself and each other.

Always keeping these assumptions in mind, there are four theoretical dimensions of this thesis - space, daily life, identity and youth. In fact, it needs to be emphasized that this research works at the intersection of these four axes rather than focusing on each one of them separately. The reason for this is the understanding that the social phenomena the participants of this research experience lies at the intersection of these four pillars of theoretical foundations.

Throughout the thesis, particularly in the analysis chapters, I attempt to present some of the most influential approaches to these four concepts. But even before coming to the analysis section, I feel it is important to start tackling these four concepts as early as possible. Therefore, the main effort of this theoretical chapter is to construct a productive tie among them and present the interplay between these four dimensions.

As a starting point, I feel it is important to recognize that our existence always has a spatial dimension along with a temporal one. Saunders claims that this argument is beyond simply indicating that all social practices occur in particular

spaces and at particular times, but more so that where and when such activity occurs is at least as important in explaining and understanding these practices (as cited in Şen, 2008:10). As this thesis attempts to analyze various transformations experienced by young people, on the one hand, it recognizes that being young becomes a temporal point of reference in their life courses. On the other hand, the research also acknowledges that their arrival into Izmir, an urban space, becomes a spatial point of reference for them. Therefore, the daily lives and identities of these young people are tried to be analyzed through these 'when' and 'where' questions.

1.1. Reflections on Theories of Youth

The individuals who are the participants of inquiry in this research are young people. With the concept of youth, I am not necessarily referring to a comparison per se between various age groups. Indeed, there is no reason not suggest that age comparison could have existed since the start of social life. What I am referring to here is the idea that this comparison has started to be accompanied by categorizations as well. Hence, understanding of youth as a social category is a construct of modernity. Since modern times youth as a concept and young people as members of societies have always been one of the central concerns of adults and authorities of modernity such as the nation state and social sciences.

In contemporary Western societies "the age of our body is used to define us and to give meaning to our identity and actions" (Skelton & Valentine, 1998: 2). Similar to other phases of life, youth embraces certain years and is a temporal phase within the life course of an individual. However for the sake of societies, youth is a "reality" that always there and it ever exists. It is handed over from one group of people to another, so the inhabitants of this category may change, but as a

social group, youth is permanent. Despite the fact that the meaning of youth and who at what age constitutes it changes in time and space, there are always groups of people who are categorized both by others and by themselves as the members of youth.

Therefore, it becomes important to recognize that what is being understood from the concept youth is not universal. One reason for this vagueness is the difficulty in coming up with a universal definition of youth, which is between childhood and adulthood, simply because there are no universal definitions of childhood and adulthood themselves (Alemdaroğlu, 2005: 3). A second reason is that young people belong to different social classes and cultures; experience social, political and economic processes differently, and the way they experience youth is not any different in this sense. As is the case with all social constructs, youth is also simultaneously the constructor and the construct of the social landscape it belongs to. Hence, there are other constitutive components of its formation as a social *category*. Even though, there are common biological and physiological common grounds that young people have, youth is a social phenomenon and like all other social phenomena it is complicated (Alemdaroğlu, 2005:3) and has multiple dimensions. For these reasons, any universal definition of youth does not seem possible, despite curtailed definitions being employed for functional uses.

While indicating that the definition of youth changes with circumstances, especially with the changes in demographic, financial, economic and socio-cultural settings, for statistical purposes The United Nations defines those people between the ages of 15 and 24 as young.¹ Beyond an age cohort, youth is also seen as a

¹ <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf>

phase between childhood and adulthood, a passage from becoming dependent to becoming independent (Kehily, 2007), and tends to be conferred as a transition period that generally ends with the end of compulsory education, first job or marriage. The latter age limit has been increasing, as higher levels of unemployment and the cost of setting up an independent household puts many young people into a prolonged period of dependency.² On another note, the categorization of life stages mentioned by Kehily above, marked by cultural roles, enables the fostering of comparative definitions of youth. However, it should not go unmentioned that the understanding of youth as a transition to adulthood brings along with it the trap of perceiving adulthood as the destination and youth as the path to it. Youth then becomes an incomplete adult who is not yet able to fulfil adulthood (Nemutlu, Kurtaran, Yentürk, 2008: 5).

1.1.1. The Conceptualization of Youth

As previously mentioned it is widely adopted that “youth, as a category is a social construction interwoven with modernity, societal structures and the process of individualization” (Morch, 2003: 54). Lüküslü points out how Xavier Gaullier has asserted that the modern industrial society, unlike other societies, has constructed a life cycle dependent on working and indeed adult-focused and sexist (man-focused) (2009:20). This life cycle has three stages; (a) youth which is the period of preparation for work, (b) adulthood which is the heart of the whole cycle and is built around working, and (c) old age in which individuals cannot work anymore (2009:20). As can be understood from these stages, the modern industrial society can be perceived as being adult-centred. However, youth still has importance in

² <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/youth/youth-definition/>

modern societies that cannot be undermined. This importance of youth stems from the understanding that the members of youth constitute the forthcoming adults and citizens. Youth in this sense symbolizes the future of a society and therefore the education (minds, souls and bodies) of young people becomes of utmost importance. The influence of the enlightenment ideology, that emphasis enlightenment of the individual as the principal for the transformation of a society, is notably apparent in this approach to youth (Lüküslü, 2014: 20). The ideology of enlightenment, features educated youth taking the lead in construction of the modern nation state for progress. Since the process of industrialization necessitated a longer period of apprenticeship to adulthood and full citizenship through education, as Neyzi (2001) indicates, “youth came to be perceived as a distinct stage in life course associated with a distinct subculture after the growing labour (and, increasingly consumption) demands of industrial economies” (413).

1.1.2. Youth & Social Sciences

‘Youth’ as a distinctive social category to be studied in academia goes back to 1950s and 1960s. The members of this category were seen as a problematic group people after World War II, “during a period in which young men, in particular, were gaining cultural and economic independence from their families of origin” (Skelton, Valentine, 1998: 10). As Skelton and Valentine further argue,

Academic interest in teenagers was born within the criminology, fuelled with moral panic concerning the nuisance value of young people on the streets of urban streets of Western societies. Thus the research into youth groups was marked by a preoccupation with delinquency and associated with the study of other so-called ‘condemned’ and ‘powerless’ groups in society such as the working class, migrants and the criminal’ (Skelton, Valentine, 1998: 10).

Miles indicates young people are represented as ‘excluded risk-taking trouble makers motivated by nothing more than their own rebellious self-interest.’

However what is generally neglected is that the everyday realities of young people's lifestyles is an expression or reproduction of the dominant values that societies have (2000: 1).

There are main theoretical approaches on studying youth between structural and cultural approaches. This differentiation in approach does not spring solely from a dispute making sense of youth, but is rooted in the deeper dichotomy in cultural studies (of structure and agency) that have arguments for whole society construction, which finds its reflection in youth studies. For example, Miles points out that young people have traditionally tended to be studied by focusing 'on extreme cultural expressions of youth at one end of the spectrum and conceptions of 'disadvantaged' youth at the other' (2000:1). This spectrum in fact is a scale of the theoretical positions concerning the relation between agency and structure. The structural approach postulates young people as the victims of economic and social restructuring and undermines their role as active participants in the course of their everyday lives. Cultural approach on the other hand, along with ignoring the vital role of institutions and of changing economic and political circumstances and their impact on youth; labels, frames and delineates social formations. This, in turn, results in the relationship between the subordinate and the dominant culture becoming blurred (Miles, 2000: 3-4).

The position taken in this research derives on the assumption that no singular source or form of source can adequately illuminate a particular subject with all its various dimensions. Therefore, within the context of this study, I argue and show that young peoples' experiences of social life are founded on the intersection of the structural and the cultural.

1.2. Space & Daily Life

Having made a theoretical introduction to youth, I now move on to tackle the issues of space and daily life, as they also are constructed and in turn construct the social and cultural.

We live in designed/constructed places such as our homes, schools, cities etc. at all times. By living with/on/at these spaces, on the one hand we reconstruct them again and again by our performances, while on the other hand these spaces simultaneously determine our practices. Even though space has an ontological reality, it is produced through social relations and structures (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre, who has introduced the conceptualization of space as a production of social life, provides the understanding that 'human practice and space are integrated' (Smith, 1983: 77), and challenges the perspective that conceptualizes space as a static container or a platform. He explains how he sees this production in the following lines;

Space is not a thing among other things nor a product among other products: rather it subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity—their relative order and/or disorder (Lefebvre, 1991: 73).

Space has implications on our daily lives and our daily life practices have implications on it as it is an integral part of social life. Analyzing our daily life practices would be incomplete without considering the space that embraces our existence. As Lefebvre points out space and the political organization of space are not simply constituted by social processes, but they are also constitutive of them (Lefebvre, 1991).

Foucault, is another philosopher that must not go unmentioned when discussing theories of space. While Foucault has not directly written on space, he has included spatial insights in all of his works; 'from architectural plans for asylums, hospitals and prisons; to the exclusion of the leper and the confinement of victims in the partitioned and quarantined plague town; from spatial distributions of knowledge to the position of geography as a discipline' (Crampton, 2007: 1). His main contribution related with this research is pointing out that 'the reduction of space to something physical neglects the fact that, especially particularly in the urban context, spatial structures symbolize the invisible social relations, roles, hierarchies and powers that are distributed in the physical or geographical space' (Prigge, 2008: 47). 'Spatiality is always and everywhere an expression and medium of power' (Massey, 1997: 104), as power itself is constructed through social relations which of course almost never takes place among equals.

Lefebvre constructs a trilogy to comprehend his understanding of space. He demarcates three dialectically interconnected processes which he also calls formants or moments of the production of space. His trilogy defines two parallel series of approaches to space; one linguistic or semiotic and the other phenomenological (Goonwerdana, Kipfer, Milgrom & Schmid, 2008: 29). On the linguistic layer; they refer to spatial practice, representations of space and representational space. On the phenomenological layer they refer to 'perceived', 'conceived' and 'lived' space. (Goonwerdana et al., 2008: 29) Schmid's explanation of these two series is summarized in the following table:

Linguistic & Semiotics	Phenomenology
<p><u>Spatial Practice</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Material dimension of social activity and interaction</i> • <i>Networks of interaction & communication as they arise in everyday life</i> 	<p><u>Perceived space</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Perceivable aspect that can be grasped by senses</i>
<p><u>Representations of space</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Their emergence is at the level of discourse</i> • <i>Comprise verbalized forms such as descriptions, definitions, and especially theories of space.</i> 	<p><u>Conceived space</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Cannot be perceived as such without having been conceived in thought previously</i>
<p><u>Spaces of Representation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Symbolic dimension of space</i> • <i>Process of signification that links itself to a (material) symbol</i> 	<p><u>Lived space</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Lived experience of space</i> • <i>Denotes the world as it is experienced by human beings in the practice of everyday life</i>

Lefebvre attempts to bring physical, mental and social fields together in his triad (1991: 11). Social space, which is produced through this trialectic, contains all the relations of production, the social relations of reproduction, symbolic

representations of them and their interaction. (1991: 32) He explains the origins of his trilogy as follows;

The fields we are concerned with are, first, the physical — nature, the Cosmos; secondly, the mental, including logical and formal abstractions; and, thirdly, the social. In other words, we are concerned with logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and Utopias (11-12).

Lefebvre, using the concept of the *production of space*, posits a theory that understands *space* as fundamentally bound up with social reality (1991: 28). "Central to Lefebvre's materialist theory are human beings in their corporeality and sensuousness, with their sensitivity and imagination, their thinking and their ideologies; human beings who enter into relationships with each other through their activity and practice"(Goonwerdana et al., 2008: 29). Time and space as being integral aspects of social practice should be approached as being both result and precondition of society (Goonwerdana et al., 2008: 29).

Lefebvre develops urban theory based on his theory of space in which his inquiry shifts to possibilities within 'simultaneity of events, perceptions and the elements of the whole in 'reality' which socially involves the bringing together and meeting up of everything in its environs' in city. (Lefebvre, Kofman, 1996: 19) He defines urban as follows;

The urban is....a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity. This form has no specific content, but is a center of attraction and life. It is an abstraction, but unlike a metaphysical entity, the urban is a concrete abstraction, associated with practice . . . What does the city create? Nothing. It centralizes creation. Any yet it creates everything. Nothing exists without exchange, without union, without proximity, that is, without relationships. The city creates a situation, where different things occur one after another and do not exist separately but according to their differences. The urban, which is indifferent to each difference it contains, . . . itself unites them. In this sense, the city

constructs, identifies, and sets free the essence of social relationships (Lefebvre, 2003: 117-118).

According to Shields, Lefebvre always tries to connect personal 'moments' with social totality (1999: 62). This becomes an attempt to understand the connection between personal moments and socio-spatial relations. Socio-spatial relations and personal moments are at the core of inquiry for this thesis. Moving from hometown to a completely new city with a particular socio-spatial realm provide transformative experiences for the young people. City space as a construct and constructor has a reflexive influence on the individual's lives.

City space provides infinite encounters for a new comer. These encounters are both with space and the people. Inquiries into the 'spaces of self' and the 'spaces of others' pave ways for us to understand individuals' relations with themselves and others. Baydar defines boundaries as the 'sites of the encounter between the self and the other and points out 'as such they are sites of potential threat to be controlled and guarded against invasion (2002: 240). There are many complicated boundaries embodied in city space; which is at the center of the intersection of different domains such as political, economic, social, and cultural.

Everyday life is a theoretical concept which is conceptualized after urban life in modern times even though it has a long history of writing starting from ancient Greece. Felski makes a definition of everyday life as 'the essential, taken for granted continuum of mundane activities that frames our forays into more esoteric or exotic worlds (Felski, 1999: 15). She adds, it is the ultimate, non-negotiable reality, unavoidable basis for all other forms of human endeavor and points out the

Guy Debord's argument that tells everyday life is 'the measure of all things' (Felski, 1999: 15).

'Lefebvre argues that everyday life is a distinctively modern phenomenon that only emerged in the nineteenth century' (Felski, 1999: 16). Even though there is a universal feature of everyday life he rests his argument on the impact of capitalism and industrialization on human existence and perception in modern times (Felski, 1999). According to Felski,

As bodies are massed together in big cities under modern conditions, so the uniform petitive aspects of human lives become more prominent. Similarly Alvin Gouldner suggests that the rapidly changing fabric of ordinary lives creates a new awareness of the mundane. That which was previously taken for granted becomes newly visible, in both its new and its traditional, disappearing forms (Felski, 1999: 16).

Everyday life is shared with others so it has an intersubjective feature. The reality of everyday life is constructed in a common realm. Luckman points out; 'I am alone in the world of my dreams, but I know that the world of everyday life is real to others as it is to myself.' (Berger & Luckman, 1967: 23) Everyday life is a continuous interaction and communication among people.

I know that my natural attitude to this world corresponds to the natural attitude of others, that they also comprehend the objectifications by which this world is ordered, they also organize this world around 'here and now' of their being in it and have projects for working in this common world that is not identical with mine. My 'here' is their 'there'. My now does not fully overlap with theirs. My projects differ from and may even conflict with theirs (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 23).

Thus, while sharing a common reality of daily life we also differ through the perspectives and standpoints that we have. Still, 'there is an ongoing

correspondence between my meanings and their meanings in this world, that we have a common sense about its reality' (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 37).

Everyday life is dynamic in nature and it 'contains enduring consistencies through which identity is grounded' (Edensor, 2002:17). Harrison indicates 'in the everyday enactment of the world there is always immanent potential for new possibilities of life' (2000: 498). This is a fluid generative form of 'becoming' rather than being. It is constantly attaching, weaving and disconnecting; constantly mutating and creating (Harrison, 2000: 502).

1.3. Identity and Social Interaction

Identity is a notion studied in a variety of disciplines and has become a key area of interest in almost all of them. Psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science are just a few of these disciplines that can be named here. Each of these discipline approaches the concept with its own tradition and origin of point. Furthermore, there are also interdisciplinary realms like Cultural Studies, in which multi-perspectival approaches are adopted to tackle the phenomenon, as it is not easy to approach in the confines of a single discipline. This outpouring of writing on the concept can be perceived as a proof as to how the notion of identity 'is a potent tool through which to explore diverse social and cultural transformations across political, economic, gendered, ethnic, work and leisure, sexual and local spheres' (Edensor: 24). Since questions of identity formulate an important aspect of this particular research, in this theoretical chapter of the study, I elaborate on the approaches to identity.

Each and every discipline and approaches within disciplines have their own explanations of what identity is. In its broadest sense, the notion of identity is the conceptualization of an answer to the question 'who am I?'. The formulation of this answer is also defined through the terms of self and subject. In some instances these two terms overlap but they are also coined to demarcate more or less emphasis on the degree of agency that is possible to exercise (Woodward, 2002). According to Woodward, 'the term identity is preferred for its accommodation of the interrelationship between the personal and the social and the complex possibilities of an interplay between agency and social construction or even constraint' (2002: 3).

Space and everyday life as theorized in the afore sections of this chapter, mainly determine our social context. Identity is also a concept that is closely related with space and everyday life as it is 'interwoven with the ideas about society in which I live and the views of others who also live in that same social context' (Woodward, 2002: vii). Thus, as well as being a personal matter, the notion of identity is also a social one. Identity gives us a location in the world, and "presents the link between us and the society in which we live" (Woodward, 2002: 1). 'Setting boundaries between self and 'other' is a key element of the process of identification. For the formulation of identity is conceivable only through the identification of difference. This of identification is a continuous one, "not a reified continuation of absolute antipathy, even if it involves the same others continuously being distinguished from the self" (Edensor, 2002: 23).

All the meanings that shape who we are, through which we make sense of our past, present and what we want to become, are constituted through our social

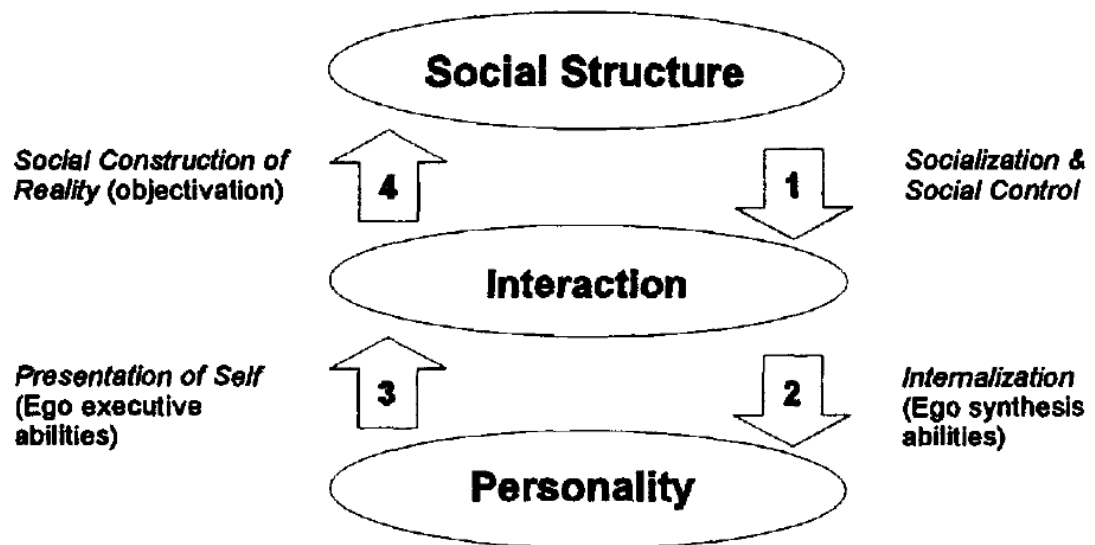
and cultural positioning in life. "Social positions offer different ways of being at different times and within different spaces" (Woodward, 2002: 156). As Cote and Levine point out, 'there is no identity without society, and society 'steers' identity formation while individuals attempt to 'navigate' often hazardous and blocked passages' (2002: 49). For many sociologists, social organization is the principle of self-organization, and it takes the two of these concepts to work together to explain social interaction (Weigert, 1986: 5).

Symbolic interactionist approach of Chicago School combines the psychological and social process. The prominent figures of this approach are Herbert Mead and his student Herbert Blumer. In this approach, identity is the process through which individuals become members of the society (Mehdi, 2012: 34). Their approach is based on the assumption that social reality is continually created by humans through the names and meanings (i.e., symbols) they attach to things when communicating with each other (i.e., during interactions). Identities are created and modified through these ongoing processes (Levine, Cote, 2002: 33).

The personality and social structure perspective, adds the structural side to this approach. According to this perspective there are three levels of analysis; personality, interaction, and social structure. It is summarized in the work of Cote and Levine as follows;

The level of personality involves the intrapsychic domain of human functioning traditionally studied by developmental psychologists and psychoanalysts.... The level of interaction refers to the concrete patterns of behavior that characterize day to day contacts among people in families, schools and so on, typically studied by social interactionists....Finally the social structural level refers to the political and economic systems, along with their subsystems, that define normative structure of a society (2002:7).

They also illustrate the interrelationship between these three levels in the following figure;



Arrows in the figure show the flow between three levels which all reflexively construct each other. Theories of space and everyday life are concentrating on these illustrated flows; presentation of self, social construction of reality, socialization & social control, and internalization, with a similar but different conceptualization as explained previously.

Strauss, points out language having an important role in the process of formation and transformation of identity, as a realm in the intersection of all those above. We use it to define and redefine ourselves and our places in the world; constructing narratives of our life-histories and our present selves that establish our present identities, redefine our past ones, and guide our future behaviors. These are further shaped by cultural, intergenerational, and broad historical changes that frame interactions guiding situational identity formation in the context of the available symbolizations. (Reynolds, 2003)

Identities in a way represent how we see the world, and it is not possible to grasp the source of it through singular fixed points. Hall argues that we are the products of the routes we have traversed, rather than a product which can be traced back to a single source. Identity formation is a dynamic process; it is a continuous process of being reconstituted by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial context (Edensor, 2002). It is becoming as well as belonging rather than being. This is so greatly narrated in a reference to an interview made with an artistic director of a play that has the story of migration of Asian people from East Africa and their settlement to UK who was asked 'is your play about roots?' in the Roots and Routes chapter of Understanding Identity by Kath Warwood. The answer was, 'it depends how you are spelling the word. I prefer to think of it as r-o-u-t-e-s. Roots lead backwards. Routes are more progressive, leading you to make connections with others'. (Jatinder Verma: 135).

CHAPTER II

RITE OF PASSAGE AND LIMINALITY: A PERIOD OF PRODUCTIVE DISORIENTATION

There seem to be three transformative experiences that participants of this study live through when they arrive in Izmir to pursue higher education. The first of these is leaving their families and homes to start a new life on their own. The second is encountering a new city that has a different social code and daily life. Finally, the third is experiencing university as an intellectual space, with students coming from different life experiences and backgrounds. Within the scope of this thesis, all three of these experiences are valuable, mainly because they are all quite telling with regards to the ways in which these young people experience identity transformations. Thus, I allocate the following three chapters of the thesis to elaborating in detail on all three of these experiences of the participants. I should like to think of these three chapters as the analysis part of this thesis.

In order to do this, in this particular Chapter, I shed light on the transformative role of the processes of leaving home and starting a new life in Izmir. While doing this, I draw mainly on Gennep's conceptualization of "rite of passage" (1960) with a particular focus on the concept of "liminality" mainly discussed through Turner (1967). Moving from here, in Chapter III, I articulate on the effects that varying forms of accommodation have on these young peoples' daily lives and identity formations in the city they have come to as newcomers. This section of the study deploys as an analytical tool, Certau's concepts of "strategy and tactics" (1984) Furthermore, encounters with Izmir as a city forms an important component of Chapter III. Finally, in Chapter IV, I focus on the university as a space of meetings

and encounters that influence the migratory experiences of the young participants of this research.

2.1. Arriving in Izmir: Leaving the Familiar Behind

Most of the universities especially rooted ones are located in cities in Turkey. Therefore, leaving their families and social lives behind, and arriving in unfamiliar cities for higher education and starting new lives there is a widely experienced process for the young people of Turkey.

This particular thesis focuses on those young people who have moved to Izmir to pursue higher education possibilities. In the first phases of my research, I have come to realize that for some of these young people, at first, being a university student was their only attachment to Izmir, while for others having relatives in Izmir was a decisive factor for their families to trust their kids to move into this city. Yet for others, having friends from their home towns who had also come to Izmir for higher education was an important factor in influencing them to choose Izmir for their studies. Nevertheless, despite these minor affiliations with Izmir, none of the subjects of this study had any organic connections with this city. Perhaps this has been an important common trait among them. However, for the concerns of this research, a much more important common point among these young people has been the fact that they had all left the security of their homes to start a semi-autonomous life free from the daily oversight of their parents. I have come to realize throughout my research that following their arrivals in Izmir, their daily lives no longer revolve around the familiar norms. This arouses feelings of various degrees of excitement, fear, aspiration and being an outsider, all the while

providing them with unprecedented opportunities. In this thesis, I endeavor to articulate, through their own words, how all these have had a transformative effect on these young peoples' daily lives and identities.

2.2. Rite Of Passage

Arriving in a city different from their hometowns and constructing lives in an unfamiliar social and cultural setting is a stage full of uncertainties in the lives of these young people, which could be considered as a Rite of Passage in Arnold Van Gennep's conceptualization (1960). Gennep characterizes life as transitions from one social group or situation to another. He indicates that this is evident as an individual passes through various age periods, social relationships, and occupations throughout one's life. In his book, he explores the fundamental processes determining the change of an individual's status in society and states:

For groups as well as for individuals, life itself means to separate and to be reunited, to change form and condition, to die and to be reborn. It is to act and to cease, to wait and to rest, and to begin acting again, but in a different way (1960:189).

He delineates a structure for transformative ritual practices, which are universal although varying in intensity, specific form and social meaning, and claims that all these transitions that accompany 'life crises' share a processual similarity that he calls 'rites of passage' (1960).

While Gennep's formulation of the concept of 'rite of passage' can equally be applied to members of all societies, I argue, since culture in Turkey can be conceived as a collectivistic one, it is possible that the process may be experienced

more intensely among the participants of this research. Genep's rite of passage is built on an individual's detachment and re-attachment to various social surroundings. Since in collectivist cultures intervention of social norms in an individual's life is at high levels, this detachment and re-attachment becomes almost impossible on abstract levels. Rather, it seems a physical detachment becomes necessary for it to be experienced. As will be prevalent in the following pages of this study, it has been my interviews with the participants that have convinced me as to the plausibility of this argument.

At this point, before moving any further into discussions on rite of passage, I feel it is important to briefly shed light on this notion of individualism and collectivism. I find this particularly important as this has been a point that has come up in my interviews with the participants without an exception. After a brief discussion on this, I feel I will be able to better articulate my taking on the concept of rite of passage and how it applies to the participants of this study.

Individualism/collectivism continuum is an important determinant of culture, considering how the relationship between self and the other is founded. The concepts of individualism and collectivism have been widely studied, and constructed as complex conceptualizations (e.g., Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Hofstede, 1980,2001; Kagitçibasi, 1997; Kim, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman et al., 2002; Triandis, 1982; Green, Deschamps, Paez, 2005).

Typically, in individualistic cultures, individuals are seen as autonomous agents motivated by their own preferences and goals (Hofstede, 1980; Hsu, 1960). According to Waterman (1984) in such cultures, there are social contracts or

abstract universal principles determined within social interactions. On the other hand, collectivist cultures are associated with a sense of duty toward one's group, interdependence with others, a desire for social harmony, and conformity with group norms. In such cultures, behaviors and attitudes are determined by norms or demand of in-groups, such as the extended family or close-knit community. (Green, Deschamps, Paez, 2005)

It is also important to note here that, the notion of individualism/collectivism finds its place as one of the components in Hofstede's well recognized theory of dimension - a theory widely employed in inquiries into the impacts of societies' culture, on values, and orientations of its members. In his theory, he develops a framework for analyzing cultures using a structure derived from factorial analysis. The fundamental issue addressed by the individualism/collectivism dimension is the degree of interdependence that a society maintains among its members. It is for example, in Hofstede's this particular formulization of cultural dimensions theory that Turkey is listed as having a more collectivistic culture than an individualistic one³. In more 'collectivistic' cultures, attention to the needs of others is valued, and there is greater inhibition of the expression of the individual's own wants and needs; interdependence is emphasized (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In her research, Kağıtçıbaşı (2002) points out how this is reflected in family and childrearing patterns, and what the possible results may be;

societies upholding individualistic values and reflecting these in their family/childrearing patterns have typically recognized and reinforced the basic human need for autonomy, while ignoring to some extent the basic

³<http://geert-hofstede.com/turkey.html>

human need for intimacy/connection (especially American individualism). Societies stressing collectivistic values have done the reverse (8).

A lack of awareness, by the families, regarding the importance of autonomy for their children is one of the important narratives of the participants of this study. It is commonly evident in these narratives that they have experienced such lack of autonomy while they were growing up. Indeed, while there were a variety of different reasons mentioned for wanting to change cities, the most frequently pronounced one was to pursue a more autonomous life. This is not to say however that search of autonomy was cited as the sole reason for leaving home. For instance, there were those participants who had no other option than to move away due to the lack of educational opportunities in their home village/town/city. There were also those whose options were limited due to their low entrance exam test scores. However in any case, they all stated that pursuit of autonomy was always evident as a motivation and that they all enjoy it after moving to Izmir – their new city. For example, one of my interviewees suggested about changing her city for higher education purposes as follows:

It is absolutely an advantage. Because if I did study in Edirne, probably, I would be like a fish out of water. Certainly, a person should be alone while studying university. That person should be away from his/her family, relatives and even the people that he/she is acquainted with. When I came here, none of my friends chose Izmir, I was always alone, there is a classical situation that there are one or two people from your high school, I didn't have that. In the beginning I had depression because of it, but later, it helped me a lot. For example, with simple things like paying the bills, you feel like you are taking care of some things, you feel like you get used to it, you feel like you can also be alone. I mean, I am 22 years old now, it is good that I can feel like this, I think. (1)⁴

⁴ Original transcriptions are attached in Appendix II with the numbers given in the text.

All participants have agreed on that leaving the family and the cultural setting they were born into behind and coming to a new city was the start of a fruitful and inspiring experience for them. Another example came from Aykut, a young man coming from Niğde, whom I interviewed. When asked about his thoughts on studying abroad, Aykut⁵ said:

According to me, whoever has the opportunity to do so, should study away from their family. One develops in terms of ideas, you see new things, and also when you are with your family, there is always constant protection, that doesn't happen when you are alone. You constantly learn new things from outside, that turns into a constant learning process and I really like that. (2)

Similarly, Derya, a young female interviewee suggested,

Absolutely it is an advantage. If I studied there, I would study translation and interpretation? translating' that I really wanted, but I told to myself that one should not study near your family. Why? For years my family paid for my bills, the food is ready when I get home. And constantly I'm a part of the household, I don't have an order of my own, but there is something that has gone on for a long time. I will continue a life that is from high school life. High school psychology, for example, is a psychology that is suppressed a lot. It was necessary to go to another city to get rid of that psychology. Otherwise, I would follow the same path and be prepared for YGS, and have the anxiety of the future, my friends would be the same friends and I wouldn't be able to adapt myself. (3)

In Turkey's collectivistic culture, families hold a strong influence on the decision making process regarding in which university young people will embark on higher education, both the city and the discipline in which they will study, and implicitly, their prospective occupation. This influence has been clearly apparent in the common phrase expressed by participants to refer to their coming to Izmir: 'my family sent me to study'. In all participants' experience, the decision regarding the

⁵ Throughout the thesis the names of the participants are pseudonyms.

choice of a prospective university appears to have been a collective decision of the family. Alper recalls the moment that he learned he was going to study law, as follows;

Even though I knew that we had the economic stability, I didn't think of going to a private University because first I thought my family wouldn't allow that and also I didn't want it. It was one week before the preferential terms, I was planning to go and choose Pamukova University, primary education or something like that. While I was having my holidays, thinking I am going to be a primary school teacher, my family called and said 'Alper come here, we made a decision and we will talk'. I went and they said: 'we decided to choose Law for you, in a private school'. They asked if I would study law and stuff, but they didn't put pressure on me after that. (4)

It is common practice in Turkey for the families to pay their children's university expenses when they study in a different city, this strengthens their position in this collective decision. Only three of the participants in this study have indicated that they did not receive financial support from their families and that they survived on study grants (which are due to be paid back) backed-up with part time employment. Moving to a different city for university education is generally accepted as a legitimate and necessary expense, especially for those in towns or smaller cities, since the established and well-reputed universities which demand higher entry test scores are in the bigger cities. Despite the legitimacy of this expense, and the appreciation by the families, this demand of young people, there have been participants who have mentioned that their families experienced doubts about 'sending' them away to study, due to their financial constraints.

I should like to suggest at this point that all these above narratives from the participants work towards showing the collectivistic nature of the cultural texture in Turkey. Additionally, it is my contention that these interviews are also strongly

telling with regards to the implications of this collectivistic culture on the decision making processes of families and young adults with regards to their higher education prospects. Furthermore, I have been convinced throughout this research that the collectivistic culture of Turkey also has a prominent impact on the lives of young university students who change cities for higher education purposes, after they establish in their new cities. I argue that being a university student in a city other than one's home town leads to a existence/experience of liminality. Having been brought up in a strictly collectivistic culture, it is only when these young people move to a new city, thus detach from their long-familiar social and physical surroundings that they enter a phase of liminality and are able to realize themselves. Keeping these arguments in mind, I feel it will be fruitful at this point to move back to the discussion on rite of passage, only this time through Turner's use of the concept of liminality (1969).

In his study, Van Gennep subdivides rites of passage into three stages; separation (preliminal), transition (liminal) and incorporation (post-liminal). Victor Turner further elaborating on Gennep's work summarizes these three stages as follows, and particularly develops his conceptualization of the liminal stage;

the first phase of separation comprises symbolic behavior signifying detachment of the individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or set of cultural conditions (a 'state'), during the intervening liminal period, the state of the ritual subject (the passenger) is ambiguous, he passes through a real that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state; in the third phase the passage is consummated (1969:94-95).

In this study, young people leaving their families, cultural and social settings, become physically detached from the previous conditions. They are adolescents en route to adult world. In this sense, we argue that this experience corresponds to a

shift from Turner's phase of separation to liminality. Carson interprets this liminal period as follows:

When young adults enter that strange liminal locale of a college campus, they find themselves 'unhoused and in transit, having left the familiar behind, neither able to return to it nor yet with a clear idea of what one was destined for and one's ability to get there. As students are separated from tribe, clan, and family, they often struggle with ambiguity and a lack of definition (1997: 75).

In the collectivist culture of Turkey, young people are expected to live with their families until they have their own family. However, this intervention of necessity to move out of home to pursue higher education results in young adults becoming liminars, symbolizing a new era for them, their family and also society. Being in a state between departure and arrival, in Turner's theorization he/she is "at once no longer classified and not yet classified...neither one thing nor another; or may be both; or neither here nor there; or may even be nowhere" (p. 96-97). This subject, during the liminal stage, is "betwixt and between' all the recognized fixed points in space-time of structural classification" (97).

The struggle with ambiguity and lack of definition provides young adults a realm of freedom to reconsider their 'definitions', which were previously greatly influenced by the collective values of their locality. Although they may not be fond of most of the definitions provided through their localities, they seem to deploy them to a certain extent until they can configure new ones – through their unending encounters with (in) the city - that befit their new surroundings. Generally, although the young adult participants of this study indicate that they try to escape from the subjection of collective values and their practices in their lives, it

takes time for them to learn alternatives during a process of continuous search and trial.

Throughout this process of search and trial, university and the new city space, that embraces a rich plethora of narratives simultaneously, provide a 'holding atmosphere' that alters their forms of learning and knowing. This shift occurs from learning and acknowledging uncritical and authority-bound narratives, to a more reflective kind of knowing (Brown, 2003) that constructs and matures definitions about the world, self and others. In turn, learning these new forms of knowing open pathways to forging new meanings which are more saturated and creol. These saturated new meanings, and potentials that exceed the borders of the previously held identity, result in the liminal actor typically being regarded as a polluting entity, in both the former and the new social surrounding (Douglas, 1966). By Turner's formulation, however, liminality exists as a uniquely permitted condition of disorder and denaturalization that would otherwise require stricter policing (Chan, 2015: 70). Contributing to these arguments, Tomaselli emphasizes the feature of the liminal state as one that enables the individual to question traditional ways of operating, and to recognise new possibilities. (Tomaselli, 1996) One example from Aykut's daily life that prevails for other participants is as follows:

...mostly I live at night, during day time I sleep more. Especially lately, if I don't have to go to school, I spend the whole night awake and go to sleep with sunrise or something. There had been a lot of days, I go to sleep at 8:00 am and wake up at 15:00. (5)

In the above quote from Aykut, we clearly see for example, how he reconfigures even his mundane daily live practices – such as sleeping – to suit his

own will in ways that would not have been possible had he not been in the liminal space that being a student abroad offers him.

When Turner first introduces the notion of liminality in his earlier work, he argues (1967), "liminality is the realm of primitive hypothesis, where there is a certain freedom to juggle with the factors of existence" (196). In his future work however, he revisits the concept (1977) and accepts that he had missed the transformative possibilities embedded in the liminal state, one in which 'individuals can try on new ways of being' (Anfara & Mertz, 2015: 106). Within the context of this study as well, the latter conceptualization of liminality is definitely more fitting, where young people who move to Izmir for higher education experience a transformation through the state of liminality. In the narratives of participants, new ways of being and the potential of the transformative nature of liminality are discovered mainly by new encounters.

The terms 'to learn' and 'to experience' are used synonymously by all participants for example. They are all driven by 'learning', and in their narratives, learning appears as experiencing encounters with other people, the city itself, and all new entities entering their lives. This main motive is effectual even in their intimate relationships. This is reflected in Seda's explanation of why she broke up with her boyfriend for instance;

Because I am studying in university, I expect to learn something constantly from a relationship, maybe it is something wrong, but I want him to sit across me and tell me something. That never happened. (6)

They are all in search of new experiences trying to fulfill the 'freedom to juggle with the factors of existence'. Derya explains it as follows;

If I studied with my family, I would be an organized student (one that can study a lot and one that is in order). Now, I have a four year limit in my head, I want to fit in this or that in this timespan. Because I have this time limit in my head, I plunge myself into everything. (7)

This precipitation is caused by the expectations that occur when the liminal period ends; and the ritual subject going through a rite of passage reaches a relatively stable state again. In Turner's statement, the ritual subject,

...by virtue of it this (liminality), has rights and obligations vis-a-vis others of a clearly defined and 'structural' type, he is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards binding on incumbents of social position in a system of such positions (1969: 95).

Similar to Turner's ritual subjects, the participants of this study have also stated on various occasions that they are so aware and even afraid of the obligations and the binding social positions awaiting them in the post-liminal stability, that despite their multitude of constraints, they feel anxious to live to the fullest the freedom that liminality offers. Still, this does not mean young adults have no responsibilities in this liminal period. Liminality also describes and relates to 'passing from common reality, into a symbolic understanding that enacts a change in an individual's personal relationship with herself and with society' (Burthner, 2004:193). Osman's example illustrates this.

For example relations with neighbors... Because you are the owner of that house, it is your thing to deal with your neighbors. When there is sickness or something like that, you learn to confront that, because you don't have your mother or father that takes care of you. There is no one to warm up a soup for you, and because of that, you yourself think of taking vitamins not to get sick.(8)

This change in relationship with the society and self comes with new forms of responsibilities. These are not responsibilities subjected by a given collectivity,

but rather these young people now feel various responsibilities towards themselves and their new social surroundings forged by the new ties and networks they establish. Perhaps the most important difference that needs to be recognized here is that it is the young people themselves and their choices that foster these new forms and fields of responsibilities. Fatma, who tries to define this state, shows great excitement when commenting:

What I am trying to say is that it is not the difficulties of living abroad that matures you. Instead, what makes you more mature is that for the first time you are fulfilling responsibilities for your own self but not for others. (9)

Mehmet also argues;

Nobody is responsible or nobody holds you to account for stuff. Nobody asks you why you did it like that; you do something, and you have to pay for its consequences. Even if it ends up badly, I am going to live that and this feeling really develops a person, it adds a lot to yourself. (10)

Turner indicates that the subject of the passage ritual who is in the liminal period is 'invisible'. He bases his argument on society's negligence of individuals who live in the margins of fixed definitions: 'As members of society, most of us see only what we expect to see, and what we expect to see is what we are conditioned to see when we have learned the definitions and classifications of our culture' (1967: 95).

Turner claims, subjects who are in the liminal period, who he calls 'liminal personas' or 'transitional beings', are invisible in a society because they are outside classifications. We have to note here that young people who leave their homes for higher education however, are not totally invisible in this sense. There exists a

category of a university student held in mind by the members of a society in general – and the families of young people in particular. This category is mostly based on the expectations and the conditioning of the society and the families of young university students. It has been evident in my interviews that these categorization of university students was prevalent in the families of the participants of this study as well. What I have come to realize however is that young university students deploy this ‘category of a university student’ ingeniously to preserve and further strengthen their invisibility in a society. While on a socially visible level, acting as if to conform to these images, in their actual daily lives they roam the ‘invisible’ social space their liminality provides them with. Therefore in this sense, the invisibility Turner mentions becomes a realm that young participants of this study are able to enter and exit as they will. This transitivity is made possible again by the liminal space they occupy as young people studying abroad. As an example, in one of my interviews I have asked one of the participants if there were any transformations she had experienced in her daily life after leaving home that she did not choose to share with her family, Seda’s answer was as follows;

A lot, a loot...I already mentioned that my mother is woman with belief. She has specific norms that come with her belief. As a simple example you cannot have sex with a person without marriage. Or she knows that I drink alcohol but she doesn't know that I drink this much. I don't talk about these things with my family. I don't talk not because I am afraid of them or they would do something to me, I don't talk about these because talking about them would make them sad. My mom is a person who cried when she learned that I smoke. It is unnecessary for me to tell them because they will be sad. They don't have anything to threaten me with. I don't have a fear as such. But I am afraid that they will deny me, in terms of emotional denial, I'm afraid that they will not establish emotional ties with me. If they learn what I do,

the Seda image in their head could go away. Because in their head, Seda is a girl who is a very successful student with the GPA of 3.60, and who only goes to school and to home. Maybe I don't want to disappoint anybody.(11)

Besides religious and cultural norms, families are also allowed to see the daily practices as they 'expect' and are 'conditioned' to see. Another participant, Aykut states;

I don't tell my family that I am just hanging around. Generally, I tell them I'm studying. For example, my father calls and asks 'what are you doing?', I lie to him and say we were studying at a friend's house and I'm going back home now, in fact, I'm just hanging around with friends in Alsancak. (12)

Another example comes from Derya. Lying does not seem ethical, so Derya develops a tactic;

I cannot tell when I go home late. My mom texts me via viber for example, I see the text but I don't respond because she will ask where I am. I prefer sending incomplete information rather than lying. And then I respond saying 'I'm at home', she asks 'what are you doing?' and I say 'I am studying' and of course I am studying at that moment. It's not a lie anymore. (13)

In all Seda's and Aykut's and Derya's responses it is possible to see how these young people move in and out of the 'university student category' as it suits their needs. They are invisible and visible both at the same time – a privilege gained through their liminality.

Young people's physical detachment from the family and social and cultural settings they were born into is expressed in the narratives of the participants as being arduous at first. However, all find it a transformative life experience that has an impact on 'who they are' and how their adventures of identity continue in an enriched manner. All have agreed that studying abroad has offered them unprecedented opportunities for realizing themselves. Participants' narratives

describe this period as an endless series of hypotheses of being, that they must at least encounter and also experiment with. Thus, it results in them reinventing themselves in many ways. The features of the liminal period, which I have tried to explain above provides this 'freedom to juggle with the factors of existence' (Turner, 1967). This in turn, offers them the possibility to forge new forms of existences. Later in the study, I will attempt to elaborate on the transformative impact on these young people and the strategies implemented on them. I will further argue that these strategies, more often than not, result in an intervention into their spaces of 'freedom'.

Liminality provides particular period within a life course in which identities, values, daily life practices, etc. can be altered, constructed and reconstructed. Young adults need to detach from the imposed and learned values of their family and their locality, and to progress through the liminal period in order to gain more personally constructed values, identities based on intellectual and social awareness, and experience all of which is provided by university and city life. I should mention here that while they do become active social agents in forging their own values, experiences etc. this is by no means to suggest that, the societal structure has no influence in these processes. To the contrary, the society and its structures are of course, always at play. However, what I aim to underline here is a weakening in the subjection of these young people to the family and locality. The family and locality, as discussed above, imposes on these individuals understandings of 'ultimate truths'. Young people, even as they begin to reject some of these 'ultimate' truths, need an opportunity for separation to allow them to find ways to replace these truths. Encounters in this liminal period are crucial for the construction of new

'truths' and meanings. This period could be interpreted as a time of disorientation. This disorientation however is a productive phase as it which is a key factor in developing a stronger orientation to adulthood.

CHAPTER IV

ENCOUNTERS WITH(IN) THE CITY

3.1. Accommodation as a Space: The Interplay of Strategies and Tactics

My focus in the previous chapter has mainly been on a process of transition. I have been concerned mainly with the ways in which leaving a familiar social surrounding behind and moving to a new social environment has an impact on the lives of young university students. I have argued that moving to Izmir had transformative effects on these young peoples' lives. In the following chapters, I aim at shedding light on their lives in Izmir and questioning what these transformative effects actually are. Within this context, this particular chapter focuses on the question of 'where to stay', one of the most fundamental issues the participants of this study face once they arrive in Izmir. Choosing a place to stay is a determining decision for them (and of course for their families) as where they live also brings about the social environment in which they spend an important part of their lives in their new city of dwelling.

While articulating on the effects that varying forms of accommodation have on these young peoples' daily lives and identity formations in the city they have come to as newcomers, I deploy as an analytical tool, Certau's concepts of "strategy and tactics" (1984). In the following paragraph I will briefly touch on how Certau's theory works and articulate on the ways in which it may be applied to the participants of this research. Therefore I can state that while this chapter focuses on forms of accommodation, at the heart of my discussions lies the question of how these young people develop tactics to productively disorder the confining strategies implemented on them. In this sense, I choose in this chapter to focus only on

various forms of dormitories as accommodation options because it is mainly these dormitories that push these young people to formulate new tactics for survival. In other words, I argue that dormitories usually pose quite strict regulations and rules that act as strategies confining young people, hence offering a fruitful realm of study. In this context, I have chosen to leave the discussions on private housing out of this chapter as they can be interpreted as spaces with less regulations and where further freedom can be fostered. Instead, I have tried to articulate the participants' experiences regarding private housing in more detail in the previous chapter where I elaborate on the link between liminality and freedom.

The main interest of Certau's work is on ordinary people and daily life. He makes a conceptualization of tactic and strategy in his inquiries of power relations in daily life. Strategy and tactic are terms presented by Certau which have roots in military theory, where strategies refer to plans made prior to the war and the tactics that are created as the battle is taking place in accordance with the circumstances. Certau further-develops these terms and deploys them in analyzing daily life, all the while positioning power relations as the centerpiece of his analysis. He links 'strategies' with institutions and structures of power. In this framework institutions and structures are deemed as the producers while individuals are conceptualized as 'consumers' acting in environments defined by strategies. He calls the top down exercise of power by government, corporations and other institutional powers as strategies. However, as Golsorkhi puts it 'Certau's argument is that daily life works by a process of poaching on the territory of others, using the rules and products that already exist in culture in a way that is influenced, but never wholly determined, by those rules and products' (2010:190). He defines

tactic as the 'art of the weak', which is an act of opportunist manipulation offered by circumstances. His assertion of city and ordinary people experiencing the city could be presented here as an explanatory example of strategy and tactic (Certau, 1984: 217). He conceptualizes the city as an 'analogue of the facsimile produced, through a projection.....by the space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer' (217). However, the ordinary practitioners of the city, live 'down below', continuously finding ways to go beyond the planned and designed; formulating their short cuts and detours, all the while avoiding certain paths. According to Certau, 'the street defined and designed by urban planners is transformed into a space by walkers' (1984 : 117).

In the chapter in which the theoretical framework of this study is formulated, I have claimed that ever since the construction of youth as a social category, young people have always been subjected to strategies in social life – a world where the adults are the determining actors. Similarly, for the participants of this study, the lodgings they live in in Izmir (dormitories and sect affiliated student houses) are all full of strategies constructed by the producers of these spaces; such as entrance hours in state dormitories, praying schedules in sect affiliated student houses etc. However, as they are the inhabitants (consumers) who experience these spaces; they create tactics to manipulate strategies to their benefit as much as they are able. Throughout my participant observations and in-depth interviews, this notion of 'formulating tactics' have always been apparent, albeit at times implicitly. Since my insights have shown me that these tactics form an important part in the transformative processes of these young people, I will attempt to present these strategies and tactics in the following pages with references to spaces in which they

take place. I should like to mention here once again that while the following pages will focus on strategies and tactics of young individuals, there will also be a specific emphasis on the notion of space. Of course, the reason for this is that it is from within and through these spaces that strategies and tactics are developed.

3.1.1. Forms of Accommodation: More than Just Lodging

The very first issue for these young people and their families is finding a place to stay, and strategies implementing on them starts with this basic need. Deciding where the student will stay is influenced mostly by the economic status and the political and religious affinities which is also a realm of strategies beyond the scope of this study. The strategies and tactics which is developed in the spaces further this decision of place to stay is aimed to be presented.

There are different accommodation alternatives for students; however in some cases, due to financial constraints of the family, these options are reduced dramatically if not completely. The alternatives are dormitories and houses. Dormitories can be grouped as follows; state dormitories under Kredili Yurtlar Kurumu (KYK), dormitories within universities, and dormitories affiliated with various religious sects. Student houses affiliated with religious sects could be claimed as having aspects of both houses and dormitories, as they have dormitory-like rules, such as time of entrance, even though they are houses in physical terms. Students also stay in houses alone, sharing with other students, or they sometimes move into relatives' houses that were already in Izmir. The participants of this study along with my observations among students in general has revealed that mainly relatives living alone, such as unmarried or widowed aunts offer accommodation to

these young people, where a mutual interest can be gained. Students' expenses are reduced and the relative has a company. Looking from the social aspect; a woman and a young person living alone lack a sense of security, but when they live together they provide daily sight for each other.

All participants in this study, except one, experienced more than one of the above alternatives. Initially, family pressure and simply not foreseeing how the new daily life will be constructed, resulted in experimenting with alternatives as young peoples' needs and demands change through their adjustment into city and university.

3.1.1.1. State Dormitories

State dormitories are the main choices for the new comers with limited budget. These are managed under the KYK, which is subjected to Ministry of Youth and Sports. KYK has dormitories in 81 cities, 152 towns and 2 dormitories abroad, with a total capacity of 368.736 beds.⁶ In Izmir there are 15 dormitories with a total of 93 bloks.⁷

Families of young people, especially those from smaller cities, insist on lodging their children in dormitories, promising them that they will consider alternative choices in the further years. Their main argument is that both the university student and the family will know more about the city by experiencing the city and will give more 'accurate' decisions. Until then, their orientation is mainly the state dormitories as they see it as 'secure' places. Osman, one of the male

⁶ <http://kyk.gsb.gov.tr/Sayfalar/2438/2389/barinma.aspx>

⁷ <http://www.kyk.gov.tr/web/Yurtkur/bolgeIlyurtListesiGetir.do?bolgeKodu&ilKodu=35>

participants coming from Doğu Bayazıt, eastern part of Turkey explains his experience as follows;

....and also there is your family who says this dormitory is more secure, there is certain entrance or exit time... stuff like that. "we trust you but we don't trust the people around", or "we sent the kid abroad, we don't want him to go astray" kind of reasoning but then later they also understand that the conditions of living in a dorm is hard. (14)

KYK dormitories had been serving male and female students with separate spaces in the same dormitory buildings or in different buildings in the same campus area. However, there had been a change in this implementation with the policies of Ministry of Youth and Sports, and now dormitories are totally separated based on gender since August 2013. They are not even in the same campus area anymore. This general policy change should be interpreted as a strategy, in the Certauian sense, that has been implemented on these young people from above. The policy change has inevitably been reflected in the state dormitories of Ege University as well. Male students in Ege University have all been moved to a dormitory in Inciraltı (a suburb few km outside of the campus). There had been several protests by university students; however the students have not been able to devise any tactics to bypass this regulation. Mehmet who has stayed one year in the KYK dormitory inside Ege University Campus indicated that despite economic constraints, he 'had to leave that dormitory in Inciraltı after staying for one year'. In our interview, when referring to the difficulties of living in the dormitory in Inciraltı, he recalled;

When I first came, I was in a state dormitory. When the dorms in Bornova got separated based on gender, they threw us to Inciraltı. For a year I had a lot of

troubles. I stayed there for a year. Going to university took 1 hour 20 minutes, coming back to the dorm as well. Of course there were moments when the bus was late, those times it took longer. I was not satisfied at all. Especially in winter, I always got sick and I don't remember being well again. Because the bus stop was just a shack, not even a proper stop, there were storms sometimes and we would be in the middle of the storm. We had a lot of trouble. We would miss the bus while being on the way to Konak for example, the next bus would come 45 minutes later and we would wait in that cold for 45 minutes. (15)

There are general rules and regulations of KYK dormitories however there are also institution specific rules. It can be claimed that the flexibility of implementation of the rules are also depending on the dormitory. One among these rules that vary in both its regulation and implementation for example is about the latest entry hours into the dormitories. Rojda, one of the participants, in our dialogue reflected on how she felt about this particular regulation as follows;

Once I went to the dorm late because we had been to a theatre with the AGB group(a civil society project group) in Güzelyalı. The way back to the dorm was a little troubled and I missed the time deadline to check in the dorm. Entrance is 11:00 pm on weekdays and 11:30 pm on weekends. Normally, employees don't stay that long, there is only security guards and mostly they don't say anything, you just write a notice of defence and enter the dorm. That night, to my luck, an employee was there as well, he talked to me like he was questioning me, and lecturing me while sounding a little angry. "Look, you are alone at this hour by yourself, what if something happened to you." that kind of rhetoric. I don't know, we are also at some age in which we can distinguish what is what, I know that and that's why I was there. Of course the things he said are things that could happen, but I am studying in a university and I am going to be a teacher, I think he shouldn't have talked to me the way he did. (16)

Both male and female students I have interviewed mention that they felt restricted in their private realm. Mehmet's narrative, a male interviewee, supports this,

The only advantage of the dorm was that it was more relaxed financially, on all other accounts, it was troubling. For example you need to go and take the notes of the lecture from a friend who is in another building, or you want to study together with your friends, but can't get permission as such. Later with some protests, we got that ban removed. Because of that we could go to the blocks across us. (17)

Similarly, when I asked Rojda if she was happy living in a dorm, she indicated;

I am not very satisfied; I think it can be better. You are in one room with six people and the room is very small according to me, no one has a private space. There is no place for you to cry if you would want to do so. Or even with the phone, if you would want to talk to someone, there is no space, everywhere is full of people. (18)

Rojda also stayed in a sect affiliated student house in her first year and after second year chose to stay in a state dormitory. Even though she doesn't feel that she has a private space where she lives currently (state dorm), when she compares her former and current accommodation alternatives, she states;

...when I first came I stayed in a house. Sect affiliated student house. When I could go to a dorm I chose the dorm. I was not very satisfied in the sect affiliated house. Actually, it is like this, I didn't want to stay in a state funded dorm either. A certain kind of ideology, I don't know, I didn't want to stay under the pressure of the state either. (Then she stops and thinks) ...but when you consider financial reasons... (she goes back to the original topic) ...at least in state dorms nobody tries to impose an idea on you, there are not so much people who stick their nose in your business, you are more relaxed in that sense. (19)

She also tells how she feels indisposed about the trainings given in the dormitories. They are not compulsory trainings; the ones who participate get

certificates. Her objection about trainings is ‘they are not geared towards the needs of young people;

Religion or religious beliefs and such, I don't know, I wish they had asked us, "what do you need", "what do you want". Joining is not compulsory but it seems like they are being done just for the sake of being done. To be able to say look we are also interested in youth, we are also meeting their needs. It is not merely enough I think, the dorm could be way different. (20)

3.1.1.2. Dormitories within Universities

There are dormitories within Izmir University of Economics and Dokuz Eylül University which are not linked to KYK in. Izmir University also has some places reserved for its students in the dormitory of Fatih Koleji.

In Izmir University of Economics (IUE) there is a dormitory inside the campus for both female and male students in the same building. Their flats are separated but they have common spaces. Students who are accepted into IUE with a scholarship do not pay a fee for the dormitory. If they do not choose to stay in the university's dormitory they get extra housing aid. The same trend, that is, staying in the dormitory in the first years of arrival and then trying to find ways to rent a house, is apparent here as well, but for different reasons pointed out as follows by Seda who used to stay in IUE's dormitory;

...now I am staying in a house for two years. Three years prior to that I stayed in the university dorm. When I was staying in the dorm in the first year, there was a dining hall under the dorm of the school, I was eating there. Later they changed that rule, the prices increased and I started not being able to eat there. For a while, my roommates and I went on in the lines of "lets order this, lets order that". We bought a toaster at that time. Then it was also banned, we messed up the electrical system for a couple of times and they made life difficult for us because of that. (21)

The dormitory rules in foundation universities are determined by the profits of business managements according to participants of the research. There is no common kitchen for the use of students in the dormitory of Izmir University of Economics and participants see no other reason for this other than making them imperious customers of the restaurant which is run on the ground floor of the dormitory. Some of the university students try using kettles and toasters to fend for their food (to boil an egg in a kettle, to cook on the toaster etc.) however it doesn't last long to keep these devices since cleaners enter into the rooms once every two days and discover them.

9 Eylül University has also a dormitory within. Hülya, a female participant, explains how difficult it was to get a place in this dormitory for her;

It was hard to find a place for me. I was not assigned a state dorm and my family could not afford private dorms; they were very expensive and they were not worth it. I also applied to the dorm of the school, it was semi-private, I didn't have the opportunity to access that either. We came to Izmir, on Monday the school is going to open, and I didn't have a place to stay, I just became roofless like that. Later we also explored some other places from private dorms but they were small as a box and we didn't have that much money. And they were not places that would be worth it even if we had money to pay for it. We went back to the place where the school is and we begged to the principal saying that I have no place to stay and he should do something about it. Later I think he showed mercy and wrote a letter to someone I think. Then I started staying there, and I have been staying here for the past three years. (22)

After three years of staying in the same dormitory, she now says that it was worth that 'begging';

I am very happy with my dorm, I feel happy when I go there, generally dorms are very crowded or it is hard to go the bathroom and stuff, but ours is not like that at

all. I stay in the room with one other person, that is the biggest practicality. We are also good with my roommate. Entrance hours on weekdays is 12:30 am and on weekends it is 2:00 am, but when we are late, or it is obvious we are going to be late and we know it beforehand, we write a letter, and they don't make it a problem. (23)

3.1.1.3. Sect-affiliated Student Houses

Sect affiliated student houses serve as a significant accommodation opportunity for low income students regardless if they are loyal to the sects or not. There was only one participant of this research who had an affinity with a particular sect. However, she does not stay in the student houses of her sect. She explains this by saying that these places are for low income university students and that she doesn't want to occupy a place in these houses since her family has a significant economical income. She indicates that she sometimes goes into these student houses when there is a communal praying. Even though she has an affinity to the sect, when we talk about her daily life, it becomes apparent that living in these houses and abiding by their rules are not concurrent with her lifestyle. She says she is experiencing the benefits of living in her own house with her own rules, and adds that *'I want to have my own space, I wear my pyjamas, sit or lay in the living room, I like these things, that's why house is more comfortable for me.'* (24)

The only sect affiliated participant of this research, as mentioned above, chooses not to stay in these houses and explains her choice with her economic well-being. However there are other participants who end up staying in these houses despite the fact that they do not have any affinities to these sects. They come from different parts of Turkey and they belong to different ethnicities. For example,

Rojda, who initially stayed in the sect affiliated student house and then moved to KYK dormitory tells that actually the house was perfect in logistical terms, it was close to school and also to the strategic bus stops. She is thankful for the facility they served considering it was the first year of coming to Izmir, a city she was clueless about and had no acquaintances in. She also states that it actually could have been a less pleasant experience considering that she did not feel any affinity to the sect. However, she thinks that she was lucky in sharing her house with roommates who she got along with very well. She later moved to KYK as they were graduating;

In a sect affiliated student house, if they are going to accept you, they tell you beforehand about what kind of rules that they have. Be at home around 19:00, don't be late, if you are going to be late, tell the elder sisters. Each house has a certain elder sister. They have a type of praying that they call tesbihat, the times of them are clear or there is some kind of an event, a lot of people that you don't know enters the house in a flash and the excuse is today is a day of sohbet, we are going to do it in your house. The number of people in houses differs but in the houses I stayed in, it was always five people. We had the opportunity of staying in rooms with one other person. If there is room for one, the elder sister of the house stays there. But I should be fair, the house I stayed in was very comfortable for me because I had people around me who also were thinking similar to me. We just came to study. And because we didn't have any affiliation beforehand we were acting comfortably. We were taking care of each other so we didn't have trouble but of course the atmosphere beyond us was always a bit disturbing. (25)

Aykut, one of the male participants who stayed in one of the sect affiliated student houses explains he could bear it one year in the house and it was because his family's insistence. His main discomfort was strict religiously oriented rules and

regulations. But still, looking back, he recalls fond memories and says that he had a good atmosphere for socialisation in that house;

I was satisfied in terms of friends in the sect affiliated house. Leisurely talk with the people there was nice, we were arranging football matches, it was fun. But I had troubles with the religiously oriented lifestyles of the sect. Not in terms of friends but in terms of the sect, because I didn't like it I was staying due to the pressures from my family. The rules were strict and demanding. We were expected to pray, you will get up in the morning, clean the house on a roster base, cook on a roster base etc. Therefore, I was unable to handle the stress. I had a lot of fights with them. (26)

Young people, especially the ones who do not feel an affinity to sect leave these houses after they know more about the city and demand a more 'free' space to realise themselves. Participants of this research did not have any problems while leaving these houses but they link it with their maladjustment to the sect;

Exiting the sect affiliated house was not problematic; normally it doesn't happen like this they say. If you are going to leave these people, you have to change your phone number, change your surroundings because they will call you back to get a hold on you they said. But I think they understood that nothing will come out of me, they said live as you wish. I had no problems. (27)

Sect affiliated student houses are not serving just for the students who are affiliated with the sect. Although the students' affinity with the sect is not questioned when enrolling in these houses, at least initially, as they start living in them, they become subjected to particular rules, including practicing religious exercises. Some of the families of the students have an affinity, but for some, even the families do not feel any affinity with the sect. However families see these places secure with discipline. While on the one hand, these houses could be interpreted as places of strategies for the sects, it is important to recognize that on the other hand, they are also utilized by the new comer low income students. The houses

have strategic locations that make life and adjustment in a new city relatively easier for a new comer. Young people, while enjoying the benefits and facilities of these houses also try to create tactics to flex the rules that they are subjected to. The most crucial tactic seems to be watching over each other, particularly for those who do not feel any affinity to the sect but find themselves staying in these houses never the less. These young people choose these houses, as mentioned above, for the opportunities they provide or since their family's insist - but perhaps most importantly because they have no other choice due to their economic constraints.

The dormitories within both foundation universities and state universities are seen as providing more space compared to most other accommodation options, considering rules, regulations and the private spaces they offer their residents. The student houses affiliated with sects and KYK dormitories on the other hand, are seen as allowing for the least space for university students. Young people feel indisposed with the strategies implemented on them. However they are also content with the opportunities that they serve and try to stay there as long as possible until they know more about the opportunities of university and the city. This reciprocal interest creates a space in the intersection of strategies and tactics as I have tried to explain above.

3.2. Encounter with the City Space

University students coming from different cities experience through many encounters in Izmir. City space as a whole could be interpreted as an encounter too. The experience of walking in the street is so apparent in the narratives of the participants of the research while talking about their experiences of city space.

Certau suggests 'to walk is to lack a place. It is being absent and in search of a proper'(1984 :103). This is so viable for participants. Their attachment to the city is not to a 'seen whole'. 'They are 'the ordinary practioners of the city live "down below"(94)'. Certau links walking, social experience of lacking a place and city as follows;

The moving about that city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place—an experience that is to be sure, broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks) compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the City (1984:103).

When their relationship with the street is asked they all tell about walking in the city with an excitement, alone or with friends, as Aykut recalls,

I spent so much time by walking on the street. I like walking. A friend of mine made me this familiar with walking. We sometime have walking adventures with him at nights. Once we were at my house and we ate pilaf made with bulghur and that make us indigestion. Then we get out of the house to buy a soda. There are friends living in the next street, we dropped by them and they also joined us(to walk). Then we just realized that it is 01:00 am (and we were still walking) I mean we are walking. (28)

Muhittin also explains,

I really like walking alone. Generally I just go out and make a walk to distant places. I also walk regularly on the seaside. When I am bored sometimes I wear my headphones and walk from Göztepe to Alsancak. (29)

Experiencing the city and getting to know it by walking without a destination to go is significant in their narratives. For most of them this experience just evokes the experience in ferry boat and they tell about how they just get into the ferry and go across to the city without a reason on the shore of arrival. It is just for traveling in the sea. The link between these two wouldn't be fortuitous as it is repeated one

after in most of the participants' stories. Being in the middle of the sea or even being on the one edge of sea, which is seen immense, trigger the feeling of lack of place.

These two experiences, walking and traveling in the sea, which have infinite routes that vary with personal choices, are social experiences of personal attachments that provide to live your 'Izmir'. The following lines from Seda are one of the similar ones in which traveling in the sea is followed by the experience of walking;

I like going to Alsancak during daytime for example, walking in the streets. I like going across to Karsiyaka and eat kokorec and drink pickle water. I like Izmir a lot during daytime as well. Sometimes I just take the boat to go across without a purpose or in the mornings. Once I stayed awake all night and it was 9:30 or something I thought to myself what should I do and I went from Üçkuyular to Bostanli and from there to Karsiyaka just to eat kokorec at 9:00 am in the morning. (30)

The city space of Izmir is characterized by the sea for the newcomers especially for the ones whose hometowns are not located by the sea. Rojda, referring to her Kurdish identity states as follows;

I really believe the air of the sea is good for me. We have a situation like this, we fall in love with the sea without seeing the sea. I always want that. I prefer the boat instead of metro even if the metro is faster because I there are seagulls and the air of the sea on the boat. (31)

3.3. Encounters with Izmirians

The significant narrative of encounter with city space taking it as a whole is tried to be presented. Now the encounters of the participants with other people who has a daily life in the city space of Izmir will be narrated.

Encounters are results of space-time concurrences; however every encounter that provides the sharing of a common time and space dimension does not pave the way to create a bond which requires attachment. Some encounters result with creating ties and some of them just do not.

University students coming from different cities spend most of their time and construct ties with the other university students, especially with the ones coming outside of Izmir. There are few university students, who were previously in Izmir before university, in participant's personal circle of intimates which is constructed in Izmir, actually most of new comers indicate there aren't any. The ones who tell they have intimate relations indicate it was third or fourth year that their intimacy is occurred. Participants believe university students who already have a social life here in Izmir, have a group of friend and they tend to leave the university to meet with them as soon as possible after the courses finish. Seda tells *'The ones who are previously in Izmir already know each other, or get to know somebody common, but you try to familiarize with them by observation.'* Familiarizing in her words does not just refer to personal acknowledgements, but also symbols and codes of the youth who were already living in Izmir. As an example, the symbolic meanings of graduating from different high schools of Izmir, consumption habits and some brands that new comers first time come across but young people already in Izmir consuming, or even some surnames especially for the ones who are students in private universities can be given. All these that they encounter in daily life activities have meanings in a semiotic context, which is a part of communication beyond words. They function as cultural codes that new comers need to deal with.

Bauman indicates on cultural codes;

...to know the code is to understand the meaning of signs and this, in turn, means knowing how to go on in a situation in which they appear, as well as how to use them to make such a situation appear. To understand is to be able to act effectively and thereby sustain coordination between the structures of the situation and our own actions (1990 : 130).

Constructing ties with young people who were already in Izmir depends on the ability of this coordination which takes time. New comers feel that the ones who were already in Izmir tend to spend time with each other during this time. So the relationship between them is mainly told as acquaintanceship from the class. New comers construct more intimate relations with each other. The first spaces that intimate relationships are constructed are the dormitories and there are no young people who were already in Izmir there, as they mostly live with their families.

University students who had arrived Izmir from different cities do not construct strong ties with people in Izmir, however they have a strong attachment to the city. They all describe Izmir as educated and libertarian. It is not the city but the people living in this city that they describe in spite of the fact that they do not construct strong personal ties with them. Encounters with people who were already in Izmir other than classmates occur with their professors, retailers that they shop, neighbors for the ones who live in a flat -whom they tell that have limited affiliation-, the people that they ask for permission or support for their projects for the ones who are active in clubs or civil society organizations, and the people in the street. Their descriptive narration about people in Izmir is mainly about the people on street whom they observe and have limited communication in limited time.

Personal ties are seem to be constructed rare, however they experience through a sum of warm relationships in the street and daily life. In their narratives

the positive side of civil inattention that allows others to live together is underlined, but negative side of it is not mentioned. Civil inattention is the term introduced by Erving Goffman to describe the care taken to maintain public order among strangers and thus to make anonymized life in cities possible. (1972: 385). Glancing each other to show the recognition of presence and looking away again with avoidance of any gesture that might be taken as too intrusive is a demonstration of civil inattention. (Giddens, 2006: 129) Civil inattention is assumed as of fundamental importance to the existence of social life (Giddens, 2006 :129) in urban context. It is 'providing emancipation from the noxious and vexing surveillance and interference of others, who in smaller and more personalized contexts would feel entitled to be curious and to meddle in our lives'(Bauman, 1990: 40), but also expected to have a negative aspect especially for new comers as Bauman indicates;

New comers not used to the urban context are often struck by such routines. For them, they might signify a peculiar callousness and cold indifference on the part of the population. People are tantalizing close in a physical sense but spiritually appear remote from one another. Lost in the crowd there is a feeling of abandonment to our own resources leading in turn, loneliness. Loneliness appears as the price of privacy (1990: 40).

Participants of this research as new comers do not experience through the negative aspect of it as it is expected. They gain and enjoy the freedom comes with it, however they feel warm relations in the street that provide not to experience the negative aspect of it in an influential way. Muhittin comments on this as follows;

I mean...when i think of people as tradesman, I think even the tradesman had read some books. At least you can talk to someone about some things, not only because they are going to earn money from it, but you can just start discussing things. When you say Izmir, I imagine what kind of people, I grew up in Ankara but i grew up in a small neighbourhood. Even though I grew up in a small neighbourhood, people were

disconnected i dont know if could explain it well, interactions among people. In Izmir, it was the opposite. (32)

Ayşe also tells,

I see sincerity and discretion in people, I like it more. For example once, a pregnant lady came, and there is only one bottle of water left and another woman had bought it. The woman who bought the bottle gave the last bottle of water to the pregnant lady. I liked that a lot, she turned around and saw that there is a pregnant lady and I really appreciated that. Because we lived in a very selfish manner. Life is bad, people are bad and you have to be strong and gritty you have to fight some things. These little things make me appropriate Izmir. (33)

As indicated earlier they do not construct strong personal ties. Their understanding about Izmir and people in Izmir constructed upon the experiences of daily life in the street, and absence of surveillance. Characteristics of life and their Izmirian image has been constructed upon freedom, ease and joy, and they believe this also has influences on new comers. Deniz telling about people in Izmir,

Indulge in their freedom and live more relaxedly. For example I see this here, in Karadeniz, you cannot just establish a raki table just because you want it, that doesnt exist. People are not too much into drinking, but here, people are like 'let's just make a raki table, let's make the mezzes for it' until every little detail, there are things like this. I also like people who indulge in their enjoyment, that's why it is a city who indulges in its freedom and enjoyment. They know how to live joyfully. (34)

Even some of the participants who experienced incidents that they were subjected to discrimination tell they feel free in this city by making comparisons. For example Osman, who had been the subject of discriminative incidents because of his Kurdish identity, thinks as follows;

Izmir, let me put it this way, maybe is better than the other 75-76 of the cities among 81 cities of Turkey. You can face reactions to put it simply just by walking on the street holding hands with your girlfriend even in a city that you would call big for

example Kayseri. Here, the number of people who reacts is extremely small. When you have the need of doing something or meet with your friends to do something you find a place way easier. There is nothing that threatens you. When for example simply we make a protest of reading books here, we know that they will even join. We also know nobody will stick their nose in our business. But even in Istanbul, when you make a protest like that, there will be a lot of questions like what are you reading, is it political etc.(35)

There are also other characteristics of Izmirian image for them which also has a political context;

For me, the strongest characteristic of Izmir is that they are nationalists of Izmir. For example they love Yilmaz Ozdil. I mean this is something that is both negative and positive. Sometimes I think over this. I dont know they are very engaged with one another, never nobody allows you to say something bad about Izmir. You cannot talk bad about Izmir, at least i havent seen it in Izmir and at least a person from Izmir will not talk about Izmir. Aside from that, if i compare it to the cities I lived in like Edirne even though it is in the west of turkey, Izmir is the most open minded city, about anything. For example, let me take my professor as a point of departure, i am not only talking about people my age. In any problem i have, even intimate details of the problems i have with my boyfriend, I went to my professors and they helped. Other friends of mine also did that. I dont feel that comfortable connecting to people in other cities when there is an age gap, I never had that problem here. (36)

Seda also tells about how she sees people in Izmir;

They are kemalists, there is a general strong sense of the country and the flag as such, also a little apart from religion. I lived that very dense in Bursa. Aside from that I havent seen anything bad. I see sincerty and discretion in people I like that more. It's your life, your choice, they still talk, but they say it and move on. There is no interference; it allows a space of living. (37)

Even though not having strong personal ties with the people from Izmir, they feel attached to the people in Izmir with sum of warm small dialogues occurring in the street without knowing each other. Experiencing only positive aspect of civil

inattention provides absence of feeling of surveillance. Moreover knowing that there is always possibility of warm dialogues as characteristic of city culture prevents the negative aspect of it, which could result with feeling of loneliness.

3.4. Attachment to Izmir

‘Where do you feel you belong to’ was possibly the second most time consuming question for my interviewees, following the question ‘which identity/identities you refer to while defining yourself’? They needed time to think as they felt that an affinity of a space is an important determinant in defining themselves. In the narratives of the participants, the places to which they feel an attachment have always been reflected as a significant part of their identities.

For participants of this research, who are young people coming from places less ‘urbanized’ than Izmir, Izmir is the city that they ‘have found’ or in which they are ‘still trying to find’ themselves. They define Izmir as ‘modern’ and ‘libertarian’ and indicate there are so many choices and opportunities to construct and continuously reconstruct themselves through, again and again in this city. In all narratives without exceptions, they refer to their lives before coming to Izmir as an existence stuck between access to information of global lifestyles and local limitations. As Giddens indicates, today in conditions of late modernity, whereas locality is still a matter of fact, with all its constraints of the body, it is “thoroughly penetrated by distanced influences” (1991: 187). This has implications for our ‘phenomenal worlds’. In Giddens’ conceptualization:

... the transformations of place, and intrusion of distance into local activities, combined with the centrality of mediated experience, radically change what ‘the world’ actually is. This is so both on the level of the ‘phenomenal world’ of the individual and the general universe of social activity within which

collective social life is enacted. Although everyone lives a local life, phenomenal world for the most part are truly global (Giddens, 1991: 187).

Phenomenal worlds - as an abstract conceptualization - of individuals are not possible to be characterised. This global process of interference of mediated information into daily life is mostly based on an individual's correspondence. Giddens links this correspondence, and as its result, construction of phenomenal worlds, to two attitudes: how open a given individual is to new forms of knowledge, and how far that person is able to tolerate certain levels of dissonance. There are of course, wide variations in an individual's active correspondence, considering mainly these two determinants. In the narratives of young people, the gap between their phenomenal world and their locality in which they were raised is significant. It is possibly greater than in that of their elders, considering that young people are more accustomed to mediated experiences as they are more in pursuit of and capable of using technologies of communication.

Participants see living in Izmir and experiencing university atmosphere as an escape from this period of being trapped between these two contexts; phenomenal worlds and local constraints. Theoretically speaking, this does not make sense, since Izmir as a city is a geographical place with its own local limitations. However feeling closer to their phenomenal world after the experience of the huge gap in their locality, makes them feel relatively satisfied. This creates the state of belonging to Izmir, which is stronger than their feeling of belonging to their own local towns/cities. Most of the participants indicate that they feel Izmirian rather than belonging to their localities; where they were born into and spent most of their time before coming to Izmir. Deniz, who had lived six months in Izmir after 18

years in Ordu at the time of our interview, indicated that she felt Izmirian and explained this as follows;

The concern of “how would people react if I do this, if I do that” doesn’t seem to exist here. In Karadeniz for example, there is a Karadeniz way of thinking, and you cannot live as you wish without considering what others think. But Izmir is a place that exactly fits my soul and my way of thinking, I can do the things I want here and because of that I feel comfortable.(38)

The participants of this study experience difficulties with the physical necessities of city life that they encounter for the first time. However, these difficulties do not stand in the way of their state of belonging. For example, in the case of Deniz, she does not feel comfortable in traffic; she prefers walking if possible, even though it would take so much more time. She feels dizzy and affected by being in a tightly-wedged-state in mass transportation. However she sees this as a sufferance that she can handle. Hilal also indicates that she feels Izmirian despite the fact that she cannot go out of Bornova alone because of her feeling of insecurity in public transport.

I still couldn’t get used to it. Even coming here for example, I wouldn’t have come if I didn’t have someone with me. I say ‘I am afraid’ and they make fun of me. Crowded spaces make me uncomfortable for one, besides, I also have a fear that I might get off the bus or the metro in the wrong stop and get lost. This is my third year in Izmir and I am still like this. I don’t move too much out of the walking distance of Bornova.(39)

Having to face similar physical challenges of city life that they had not experienced previously in this form, does not prevent them creating an attachment to the city. Their feeling of belonging to Izmir in such a short time is also a sign of weakness of their belonging to the places in which they were born into and spent most of their lives.

For Ayşe, who feels Izmirian after two years living here, it wasn't a smooth adaptation. She was raised in Bursa in a conservative family with values to match. Now, she is disenchanted with these values, and indicates that she feels she belongs more to Izmir. In her last year of high school education, her family decided to move to Izmir. To avoid disruption to her education, Ayşe came before her family to stay with her aunt until the family moved over as well. She expresses how she felt about Izmir at that time as follows;

In Uçkuyular, there is a high school, I came there. But back then, since Bursa was very conservative, (I felt) that Izmir was too liberal in terms of morals for me. My constant mood was 'what are these people doing, they must be perverts'. Women are very relaxed, men are relaxed, the skirts in the high school are very short, I came from Bursa, I am wearing thick tights to make sure that nobody sees any part of my body. I said to myself, 'what is all this' and went back to Bursa one week later. I mean literally I bought my tickets by myself and stuff. I saw the environment and I said no, this is not it. I even called my mother and said mom 'this place is like a whorehouse, I mean I think I cannot stay here' and I bought my own ticket without telling anyone and went back to Bursa. I stayed in Izmir for five days or so and when the school started on Monday I went back to Bursa.(40)

However, today she says she belongs more to Izmir than Bursa, since in her initial experience *it was the rules of the family that she was born into and also the people around her*, but now she lives here with the rules that she has created herself, which are shaped while living in Izmir.

There is also a second group of interviewees who create their own rules, construct and reconstruct daily lives and self-identities in Izmir's 'libertarian' space, but still indicate that they belong to their hometown. The common point of these participants is having some observable symbolic components of being 'other' in Izmir, such as a headscarf, accent from the Kurdish or rural parts of Anatolia etc.

These symbolic components are significantly apparent in their appearances and encounters, and they create an expectation in the members of the society as to the attributes of their 'social identity'.

In fact, this could be interpreted as becoming a 'tribal stigma' in Goffman's conceptualization. 'Society establishes the means of categorizing persons, and the complement of the attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories' (Goffmann, 1986: 11). Stigma is a term originally referring to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. 'Tribal stigmas are traits, imagined or real, of an ethnic group, nationality, or of religion that is deemed to be a deviation from the prevailing normative ethnicity, nationality or religion'. (Goffmann, 1986: 13). Goffmann indicates that the term 'stigma' refers to an attribute that is deeply discrediting, but this should be seen as a language of relationships, not attributes. In this language of relationships, interviewees who feel they are not accepted as 'ordinary' construct a relatively poorer attachment to the city.

As an example, Rojda is a Kurdish female participant from Nusaybin with a Kurdish accent. Hilal on the other hand is another female participant coming from Turgutlu, a small town in Aegean region, who defines herself as 'standard Turkish'. Their biographical narrative before coming to Izmir is very similar in terms of the social pressures that they were subjected to especially because of being female. They both feel they were subjected to locality rules that did not allow them to live as they chose. Now, in Izmir they feel free and they freely construct their own lives as they choose. Hilal states that because of this condition, she feels that she belongs

more to Izmir. Rojda also criticizes what she was subjected to, and had highly disempowered the values that her locality had imposed on her. She indicates that she is now able to be herself in Izmir; however she states that she is still attached to Nusaybin.

Headscarves are considered to be a component of 'otherness', since Izmir is known as secular, republican (in Turkey's context) and even 'infidel'. A female student wearing a headscarf in Izmir University of Economics states;

I am a true 'Bucakian' I think. The reason I feel Bucakian is because all my family is back there. But if you ask me if I am able to stay there for long periods of time, I would have to say no. Aside from summers I cannot stay in Bucak (due to her school). Izmir is suitable for me, but I am a Bucakian none the less. The place that I want to live in is here, but my social surrounding is back there. I don't know, it is complicated for me, but I also feel like I belong there, I feel happy when I am there.(41)

Osman, who is coming from Doğu Bayazıt, a border town in Eastern Anatolia, states that he belongs to Doğu Bayazıt with a smile and pride on his face. He indicates he had been in Izmir before coming for university education and anticipated that he would have a more relaxed university life here. He says he is satisfied with the university life that Izmir provides as he had anticipated, but he plans to return to Doğu Bayazıt after graduation. He had previously thought he would stay in Izmir, but he justifies the change in his decision as follows;

My surrounding there is different than my surrounding here. First of all, I have a lot of history, there are people I have been friends with for more than ten years, who live there. The time that I spend with them seems valuable to me. I miss it a little. And they would treat the job I'm doing with more respect there. I think I would work in better conditions there for in that sense.(42)

He also says that he has sympathy for Karşıyaka, as he thinks it has a symbolic resemblance to Doğu Bayazıt;

Similar to the case of Karşıyaka, back home, we don't say that we are from Ağrı either, we say 'we are from Doğu Bayazıt' (he laughs). Because that distinction exists for us as well, in that sense I have sympathy for Karşıyaka. Doğu Bayazıt was a province before but now they've turned it into a district and connected it to Agri. It has to do with politics a bit you know, and being at the border and all. (43)

Some hometowns carry stronger meanings, meanings more than being just a town in terms of ethnic, religious identities. If participants experience otherness in the sense of these related identities in Izmir, their attachments to their hometowns are seen as being stronger. Despite saying that they have now 'found' themselves in the libertarian culture of Izmir, unlike the first group they do not give Izmir as the response to the question 'where do you feel you belong to?' The constructed relations between towns and identities are seen significantly in Derya's answer. She feels she belongs in Dersim, a city she had been to only once, while she was a small child. When asked where she feels she belongs, she says;

This is something that I have been thinking for years but could not answer. I was born in Cyprus. I was born in Lefkoşa and grew up in Magosa. I feel a little Mogusian, a little Dersimian. Because my mother and father are from Dersim. Both settled in Cyprus some time ago and we were born in Cyprus. I don't feel like a Cypriot, or Turkish but I feel that I am a Dersimian. I don't know why. It is not via the distinction of being Turkish or Kurdish. However, they say Kurdish Alevite. Maybe Kurdish Alevite but not Turkish or Kurdish. I feel as a Kurdish Alevite and a Cypriot. I went to Dersim when I was very little, I have an uncle there and his kids are there as well, every holiday season they invite me, maybe, if I go, I think I will feel more like I belong there. (44)

There is a third group of interviewees who says they do not feel that they belong to any place, but adding that Izmir is more appealing. As Mehmet indicates;

I spend my summer holidays in Hatay. It is the city that I first lived in aside from Izmir. Normally, I am not a person who feels a belonging to a city that he/she lives in, but I can say that Izmir appeals to me more than Hatay. The atmosphere in Izmir is very different. One indulges in it, feels free. The first thing I searched while I was choosing a university was how the pressures from the society would be in that city. I checked if there was any pressure from the society. You cannot live in some places, it is kind of understandable when people speak ill of what you do, but they also try to put pressure on you. I cannot live with that. Because I am not a person, (who could easily say) 'that's OK, I can live like that as well'. For me, my freedom is very important. The relaxed mindset of the society is good in Izmir in that sense. People have tolerance even though they don't understand. Nobody asks why are you doing it like this or like that.(45)

This seems more about conditions of daily life in a city, however, young people attribute more meaning to this condition, considering construction of their individual identity. Leaving the familiar behind, and being in a liminal period is a significant experience for their identity construction, as explained earlier. In their narratives, it is prominently reflected as a time in which there is 'freedom to juggle with factors of existence' and Izmir is the space that provides this experience. The prevalent tendency is that in most other cities in Turkey, it would be more difficult to experiment with 'these hypothesized' of life without interruptions from a repressive culture of city space. Therefore, they feel a strong attachment to Izmir as they bind it with their construction of individual identity.

Chapter IV

Reconsideration of Identity: Encounters with the Other

Identity is that which gives us a sense of self. It is a concept that recites who we are and what we do. But our answers for 'who we are' and 'what we do' are not fixed points overarching time and space. They are constantly changing and evolving. It is not stable and moreover it is not unified. Individuals have different identities simultaneously. For example a university student is concurrently young, Kurdish, atheist, female or male etc. There is not only one identity that we can define a person with, but it is more of complexities of many identities. Only if we can grasp this capacity of evolvment and multiplicity of one's identity, can we understand approaches to identity.

Seda, one of the female participants of this study explains how this transformation is even denser while you are a university student in these lines;

I don't believe in one stable identity, because it changes all the time, it is evolving and it is exactly at the time that it should (because I'm a university student). According to me this is something that continues until death but as I said this period of life is when humans search for an identity extensively. I was more stable in high school, I was not in pursuit of an identity that much. I was living it by myself, I listened to Nirvana and thought that I would be grunge, I listened to this and thought that I would be that. This time it is something with a lot of interaction, I am changing because of the things that other people add to me. I am changing while talking one on one and I get influenced a lot. (46)

Each and every individual constructs, reconstructs and reinforces his/her unique identity. Todorrov (2010) explains this process with the metaphor of a river making alluvial deposits. According to him cultures are not monolithic islands but criss-crossed alluvial plains, thus every individual is multicultural. He continues as;

Individual identity stems from the encounter of multiple collective identities within one and the same person; each of our various affiliations contributes to the formation of the unique creature that we are (2010: 54).

Fatma, the only female participant of this study who wears a head scarf, when asked what she refers to when defining her identity, gives the following answer,

I am going to say two things that can be opposite to one another according to you, I indulge in my freedom but I do it conservatively, I can do it. I can really have fun because I can organize my understanding of fun according to this. I have a friend, one day we are sitting together and she asked me if I ever had a drink. She/he means alcohol. I said no. 'How do you have fun' she asked, and I said 'do you only have fun when you drink?' If you adapt some things to yourself it is OK according to me. (47)

In her daily life and value system she doesn't interpret conservatism as many others do, although she has a strong religious affiliation. Her answer is telling in showing us how even collective identities (in this case religious identities) have individual practices that one can live according to one's interpretation and unique proportion of composition with other identities. In turn, it is these unique compositions and amalgamations that bring forth an individual's unique cultural identity.

Young people in their liminal period, coming into the multicultural space of a university where they encounter many other individuals with their own 'criss-crossed alluvial plains,' through a web of new social relations nourish from a huge hinterland with plethora of collective identities. Collective identities are deeply related with cultures. Culture is one of the concepts which is debated a lot especially to find a useful definition for making analysis in social sciences. Geertz, a highly influential figure in cultural anthropology, defines culture as 'a set of public

symbolic forms that people can use to express meaning' (1973). Swidler, who expands this definition to implicate daily life practices indicates, 'culture consists of such symbolic vehicles of meaning including beliefs, ritual practices such as language, gossip, stories and rituals of daily life' (1986: 273). These symbolic vehicles are the means that enable the sharing of thoughts and behaviors within a community (Swidler, 1986). Collective identities are constructed around these symbolic vehicles, whereas individual identities are constructed through infinite possibilities of intersection among these collective identities that are constructions of cultures. As Todorov indicates;

Individual identity results from the interweaving of several collective identities; it is not alone in this respect. What is the origin of the culture of a human group? The reply- paradoxically- is that it comes from previous cultures. A new culture arises from the encounter between several smaller cultures, or from the decomposition of a bigger culture, or from interaction with neighboring culture. There is never a human life prior to the advent of culture (2010: 54).

There is a reflexive relation between culture and identity. Stuart Hall, a prominent figure in Cultural Studies, points out to a different direction in the relation between culture and identity. Hall, while making a distinction between identity and process of identification, brings out the discursive dimension of identity making process (1996). O'Hagan explains his contribution as follows;

.....it allows us to reflect on subjective elements of the sense of self but also to think about how the sense of self and other is produced and reproduced relationally in and through discourses that deploy representations of self and other. Discourse is viewed here not simple as linguistic tools that describe an existing reality rather discourse is the medium through which we interpret the material and constitute the social world on intersubjective basis (2004: 27).

Another influential scholar, Antonio Gramsci, further elaborating on the notion of identity, adds the concept of social history into these discussions. He

argues that like discourse or psychological factors, social history is a determinative factor of subjective formations as well. He argues:

...man becomes, he changes continuously with the changing of social relations ... Each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations, but of the history of these relations ... (1971: 355).

Looking through these different philosophers it could be summarized that identity needs to be understood as not a singular stable 'thing' but a flowing stream of psychology, social history and discourse. And this brings out a unique distinctive being, in the infinite variations of proportions of similarities and differences with other people on earth and in history. 'Human beings are not all similar, or entirely different. They are all plural within themselves, and share their constitutive traits with very varied groups' (Todorov, 2010: 54). Discourse and construction of "the other" in terms of socio historical and intersubjective ways is fundamental, as individuals and groups build their sense of identity by distinguishing themselves from others (Neumann, 1999). What is central to the construction of identity is differentiation and alterity. Identity needs differences to provide its distinctness and solidarity (Connolly, 1991). "Identity requires differences in order to be, and it converts difference into otherness in order to secure its own self-certainty" (Connolly, 1991: 64).

Differentiation is mainly constructed within discourse, thus it changes in different contexts. Derya, a participant of this study who was living in Cyprus until coming to Turkey, is surprised with the variety of differentiations in Turkey. Unlike other participants she was not familiar with the discursive differentiations of collective identities in Turkey until she came to Izmir. She compares and contrasts, how she perceives the main differentiation lines of collective identities in Turkey

and Cyprus, as she develops a better understanding of these after being asked over and over to categorize herself. She states,

In Cyprus there is excessive nationalism against the Turks who come from Turkey. Because I was born there and because of my circle of friends, they embrace me but they don't embrace people from Turkey. There, I feel my self again as one from Turkey. I mean thank you, you embraced me, I think like this but they stop me from feeling like a full Cypriot. The differentiation of either Cypriot or Turkish exists there, they don't care about Kurdish, Christian or Muslim. But here there is more separation. He/she cares if you are Turkish, or Kurdish, or Alevite, I mean he/she cares if you are from Cyprus or did you come from outside. Here I say I am Cypriot but I am from Dersim who was born in Cyprus. They immediately understand, ah this is Alevite Kurdish. When I say I am from Dersim they immediately ask 'what are you?' and I say 'I am Alevite Kurdish.' (48)

Todorov, in search of how community's perception of its identity can be constituted, reconstituted and reinforced through contact with those perceived as different; suggests three levels at which constitution takes place. His analysis is explained in O'Hagan's lines as follows;

The first level of value judgement, what Todorov describes as an axiological level : 'the other is good or bad, I love or do not love him' or he is my equal or inferior.' The second level is the action of rapprochement, or distancing in relation to the other: I embrace the other's values, I identify myself with him, or else I identify the other with myself, I impose my image upon him; between submission to the other and the other's submission, there is also a third term which is neutrality or indifference' this level is described as the praxeological axis. The third level is described as operating at the epistemic level. It relates to the degree of knowledge to which one knows or ignorant of the others' identity.

After marking these three levels, Todorov underlines that there exist relationships and affinities between these three levels. It should not be understood as if Todorov's levels were consecutive, one following the other. This approach is purposive to analyze the complexities and even paradoxes that would have

influences in the constitution of differentiation. However, still university space with students coming from different parts of the country with a common purpose, could be claimed for being more suitable 'holding space' for epistemic level, considering also the dominant learning motive among university students. Newcomers experience and even struggle through similar challenges with other newcomers and they also have a common goal; education. They are young people who belong to discursively differentiated groups coming from different parts of the country. City space has similar challenges for all of them as newcomers. Having a common experience of being a newcomer in the city space helps them to develop empathy and to get closer with other 'others'. However, their differences become apparent through the ways in which they cope with differences. Among young adults, the strong motive of learning and experiencing seem to accelerate the development of the epistemic level in Todorov's analysis of value judgment of encounters with 'other's. Participants are in search of getting to know more about 'others'. In Fatma's words;

You know in highschool you try to find those who are similar to you. In University, I got used to differences and tried to be with those who were different. I am thinking now, perhaps in high school everybody tried to show that they were the same. Because nobody wants to be excluded from that environment. Because highschool environment is different than university. (49)

The identity's paradoxical necessity of being similar but at the same time authentic is seen in Fatma's comparison between the social atmosphere of high school and university. Identity as a concept needs some similarities and also differences with others in some dimensions. So the constitution of identity occurs

among similarity and difference continuum in a dialectical way (Bilgin, 2007: 26). In all my interactions with the participants of this study throughout my research, it was clearly apparent that they were quite aware of their identity construction process being an ongoing one. Although they realized that needed similarities to feel secure, they were all also in search of difference. Mehmet, who was living in a village before coming to Izmir where he knew everyone, explains how he enjoys being with different people in the city as follows,

I like people that are different. You know the psychology of 'he/she is like me that's why we are close'. I don't believe in that. Let's say ok, closeness can exist, but I always like people that are different because they add different things to me. I feel better when I see new things. I learn from their experiences about the things that they have more experience. (50)

Through the process of this search for difference and encounters with others, comes a reconsideration of one's own identity not questioned before, as it was taken for granted and perceived to be common. Seda starts to think about what does being Turkish mean, when her international friends at university tell her that she doesn't seem Turkish at all. She explains this process of estrangement from what she was told she is until now as follows;

Lately I feel more that being Turkish is what I am born into and it is what I am adhered to be. Newly, I had a lot of friends from Erasmus. I have never been abroad before. I start talking to them, it goes well, and they ask me if I am Spanish. I say no, and they say but your English is very good and I say can't it be? They say your mind is so different that it cannot be Turkish. But then I asked a lot about how they think a Turkish mind should be? They start giving examples on everything they've experienced, I mean not going out to balcony with shorts and stuff, they started lining up these. They never have a certain idea of what a Turk is but when they meet

a Turk like me, they get suprised. They even don't call me with my own name, they gave me a different foreign name and they call me with that. (51)

Derya is also one of the participants who started to think about her identity after the encounters with others in Izmir. She was raised in a family who had moved to Cyprus from Dersim. Her family has Kurdish Alevite origins, but in her words 'they do not embrace their Kurdish identity'. They define themselves as Kurdish Alevite which refers to Kemalism and Republicanism in Turkey's context. She indicates that her family told her she was not Kurdish but rather that she was a Kurdish Alevite. She explains how she developed a Kurdish identity inspite of her family after coming to Izmir as follows;

That happened in Izmir among friends. There(in Cyprus), I only have the definition of Kurdish that how I saw my mom and dad. Or, the environment that comes from Turkey, there is Alevite Culture Center and people from Diyarbakir who speaks Kurdish. I know they are different because they are speaking Kurdish but I didn't put certain lines between Kurdish or Alevite Kurdish. Cyriots have a thought like we should change our accent in order to perpeuate our existence but they don't look at your identity and disturb you with it. Here, I have friends for example that say you are Kurdish. And there are my friends from Izmir who change that, I am not like them, I don't think like them. Then I think I belong to the opposite side more (being Kurdish) because I am not that much of a Kemalist or Ottoman. (52)

One of the most observable practices of ethnic identities is mother tongues. Even though it may trigger discrimination it may also provide a realm of sharing. Osman who was feeling uncomfortable while talking Kurdish in public space, for example in the bus or dormitory, now feels at more ease as he has found a social environment in which his mother tongue arouse interest;

When we first started talking kurdish among our friends there were some interventions from outside but now they have sympathy. We also have friends who want to learn kurdish, we talk a little sometimes, we teach. I have friends that I meet once a week and teach kurdish. This also depends on how that person is. An

extreme attitude like I am Kurdish and I won't speak anything other than that can be too much. People want to know you and they act according to how you act. The more they know you the more they like you and want to speak the same language with you. (53)

Todorov makes references to Montesquieu and Hume while discussing about co-existence of differences (2010). According to Todorov, while Montesquieu pointed out the benefits of coexistence via the concepts of emulation and competition where everyone tries to prove that they are better than the other; Hume, pointed towards another advantage, that is 'the development of critical thought' (2010: 181). According to Hume, Todorov argues, the development of critical thought occurs because of an 'observer's distance from the culture being observed' (2010). In development of critical thought, the culture that is being observed has different prejudices than the culture of the observer. It becomes possible to differentiate between the concepts of 'custom' or 'nature' with the help of others' perception of us, 'or the way we see ourselves through the eyes of the imagined other' (2010: 181). With differentiating these concepts and grasping what they may refer to, it also becomes possible to make a distinction between arguments that are based on 'authority of tradition' from rational arguments (2010: 181). Todorov finally concludes that, 'a comparison between particular identities, teaches us to examine every doctrine with a critical eye' (2010: 181). This theoretical explanation fully overlaps with how Rojda explains her development of critical thinking on the culture where she was born into,

Where I live, people are the same, everything is the same, they are people from my ethnic roots who speak my language. I have never been in a different setting, a place that a different language is being spoken in, people from different ethnic roots, people from different lines of thinking, people from different sexual choices, a

lot of things... none of these existed for me, it was all the same. Again maybe I didn't have too much strict narrow ideas but it was not like this (today). Because after I came here, different people, different city, different culture...that added a lot to me, both in terms of perspective and structure of thinking. For example, I realize for the first time, of course some things settle in time, that I started criticizing myself, my family and the people who live where I was living after I came here. I think this had been an important step for me. Because for me, what I knew as true was the things I knew, the things my family did or the people around me did. But after I came here, I started comparing and contrasting things, hearing different thoughts and settling them in my head. (54)

Through encounters with different identities and cultures with the development of critical thinking, young adults at some point find themselves differenced from the culture and family they were raised in. Departing from old customs and value systems result in disparity between who they are now, and the ones they left behind. Most significant distinction is seen in Ayşe's feelings and attitudes, who was raised in a conservative family in Bursa;

I dont introduce my friends to my family, it doesn't matter male or female, I separate them. Both are different worlds and I dont want them to clash. My family, when they see my friends they will not respond when they are there, but what they can say afterwards can hurt me. I also wouldn't want my friends to see my family, actually I would give signals saying I am different than my family but I cannot stand if someone judges my family without knowing them. Because of that, they are in two separate worlds. This is more or less the case in Bursa as well, I don't bring friends from outside but for my friends in Izmir, it is completely the case. (55)

They position themselves in the middle of these 'two worlds' from where they are able to judge both sides fairly, as they have experiences in both. However, they are hurt by the ways in which their friends judge their families and vice a versa.

It is my contention that all these claims and comments that participants make, show us how, through their transformation in Izmir, they have become the inhabitants of a 'third space' in the Bhabhian sense. Homi Bhabha (1994) states in his influential work, that the 'third space' is a productive realm where the inhabitants are neither one nor the other, nor are they simply a mixture of both. The third space and its occupants are unprecedented, new formations. I would argue that this is precisely what the participants of this study experience as young people who have changed cities to pursue higher education. Their arrivals to and lives in Izmir, as illustrated in their narratives, becomes a catalyzer in the transformations their cultural identities go through. Furthermore, this experience of mobility offers them an enriched spectrum of cultural textures to choose from in their ever-continuous adventures of identity.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have examined the ways in which identities and daily lives of young people coming to Izmir to study in universities have transformed in a multitude of ways. Of course, as I started carrying out my participant observation and in-depth interviews, it soon became clear that moving to Izmir had had a wide array of transformative effects on these young people. However, a number of these experiences became narrated fervently in all the in depth interviews I carried out with the participants. I came to realize that these experiences were the most highly and widely influential ones for them. Thus, the research veered towards these issues and became interwoven into these particular daily life and identity practices of the participants. Although I have elaborated on these in detail throughout my chapters, I should like to take this conclusion as an opportunity to summarize them once again.

I should also like to clarify once again that the transformations these young people have been going through in Izmir could only be comprehended when positioned at the intersection of understandings of youth, space, daily life and identity. Therefore, when studying the identities and daily lives of the young participants, this thesis speaks with a particular emphasis on the interplay between these theories.

The first of these highly and widely influential phenomena for these young people has been the experience of moving to another city as a university student. In analyzing this process, I have favored from Van Gennep's conceptualization of 'rite of passage'. Furthermore, in trying to understand their experiences in Izmir as a new stage in their lives, I have used Victor Turner's formulation of the concept of

'liminality'. I argued that in Turkey, where collectivist culture is dominant, physical detachment from the family and locality pave the way towards a stage of liminality. My focus in this thesis has been to point out the realm of freedom that liminality provides for the realization of self. While doing this, I have also highlighted that liminality with its ambiguous nature brings many challenges.

The second prominent experience I have discovered among the participants was how as young people coming to Izmir from different parts of Turkey, they would enter into the space of the city and the university – neither of which they were familiar with in terms of cultural codes. I have discovered that they all tended to spend time with other newcomers rather than mingling with the ones who were already there. Furthermore, this entry into a completely new social space has rendered them subject to various strategies of city life starting with their search for a place to stay. Drawing on Michel de Certeau's conceptualization, I have unraveled the strategies and tactics at play with relation to these young peoples' adjustment to their new dwellings. I have shed light on their encounters with the city as a whole, and with the people living in this city, with a particular focus on their construction of daily lives.

My third endeavor in this thesis has been to understand the transformative impacts of encounters in the multicultural space of the university. I have argued that universities are meeting realms for the young people from different parts of the country. I have suggested that in addition to the impact of encountering the city and its 'native' dwellers, encounters among the newcomers, have also had a transformative impact on these young people opening pathways for them to reconsider their identities.

Put simple, I should like to see this research as an intervention, from an Izmirian perspective, into a broader discussion revolving around the issues of youth, daily life, space and identity. In carrying out this research, I have come to realize once again the difficulties of changing cities to pursue higher education opportunities for the young people of Turkey. However, as a final statement, I should like to state that perhaps much more importantly; this thesis has shown me over and over again the ways in which changing cities for higher education purposes have enabled broadening, enriching and prospering experiences for the participants.

Selected Bibliography

- Alemdarođlu, A.(2005) *“Bir İmkan Olarak Gençlik”*, Birikim Dergisi, Sayı 196, 2005.
- Bauman, Z. (1990). *Thinking sociologically*. Oxford, OX, UK: B. Blackwell.
- Bellah, R. N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W. M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S. M. (1985). *Habits of the heart: Individualism and commitment in American life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Berger, P. Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality; a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London, Routledge
- Bilgin, N. (2007). *Kimlik İnşası*. İzmir, Aşina Kitaplar
- Burthner, M (2004) *The Shamanic Object as a Model for New Multimedia Computer Performance Interfaces*. International Computer Music Conference (ICMC) Proceedings. Miami, Florida.
- Carson, Timothy L. (1997) *Liminal Reality and Transformational Power*. Lanham:University Press.
- Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chan, Anita Say. (2015). *Networking Peripheries: Technological Futures and the Myth of Digital Universalism*, MIT Press
- Connolly, W. (1991). *Identity/difference: Democratic negotiations of political paradox*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Crampton, J. (2007). *Space, knowledge and power Foucault and geography*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.
- Denzin, N. Lincoln, Y. (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Deschamps, J. Green, E. Paez, Dario.(2005). *Variation of individualism and Collectivism within and between 20 Countries A Typological Analysis*.Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology May 2005 vol. 36 no. 3 321-339.

- Douglas, M. (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger.
- Edensor, T. (2002). *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Bettis, P., Mills, M., Williams, J., & Nolan, R. (2005). *Faculty in a Liminal Landscape: A Case Study of a College Reorganization*. *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies* Spring 2005, 47-61.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, A. (2006). *The consequences of modernity* (Reprint ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goffman, E. (1972). *Relations in public; microstudies of the public order*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Golsorkhi, D. (2010). *Cambridge handbook of strategy as practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goonwardana, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R., Schmid, C. (2008). *Space, difference, everyday life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. ed. & trans. Q. Hoare & G. Nowell-Smith New York: International Publishers
- Hall, S. (1996). *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.
- Harrison, P. (2000) *Making sense: embodiment and the sensibilities of the everyday*. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18: 497-517.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences. International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Kagitcibasi (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology*, 2nd Ed
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2002). *A Model of Family Change in Cultural Context*. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 6(3).

Kehily, M. (2007). *Understanding youth: Perspectives, identities and practices*. London: SAGE Publications.

Kim, U. (1994). Individualism and collectivism: Conceptual clarification and elaboration in U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitçibasi, S-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.). *Individualism and collectivism. Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 19-40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell.

Levine, C & Cote J (2002). *Identity formation, agency, and culture a social psychological synthesis*. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Lincoln, YS. & Guba, EG. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Lüküslü, D (2014) Türkiye’de ‘Gençlik Miti’: 1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği, İletişim Yayınları

Markus HL, Kitayama S. Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*. 1991;98:224–253. doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.98.2.224

Massey, D. (1997). *Space/power, identity/difference: Tensions in the city*. In A. Merrifield & E. Swyngedouw (Eds.), *The urbanization of injustice* (pp. 100-116). New York: New York University Press.

Mehdi, A. (2012). *Strategies of identity formation youth of Turkish descent in Germany*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, S. (2000). *Youth lifestyles in a changing world*. Buckingham [England: Open University Press.

Morch, S. 2003. *Youth and education*. In *young* 11(1) : 49-73 , London: Sage.

Nemutlu, G. Kurtaran, Y. Yentürk, N. (2008) *Türkiye’de Gençlik Çalışması ve Politikaları*. İstanbul, Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları

Neumann, I. (1999). *Uses of the other "The East" in European identity formation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Neyzi, L. (2000). *Object or subject?: The paradox of "youth" in Turkey*. Cairo, A.R. Egypt: Population Council.

Prigge, W. (2008). Reading the urban revolution: Space and representation in *Space, difference, everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre* (pp 46-62.) New York: Routledge

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). *Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses*. Psychological Bulletin, 128, 3-72.

Reynolds, L. (2003). *Handbook of symbolic interactionism*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Skelton, T. Valentin G. (1998). *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures*. London: Routledge.

Smith, N. (1984). *Uneven development: Nature, capital, and the production of space*. New York, NY: Blackwell.

Elden, S. Crampton, W. (2007). *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Ashgate Publishing

Swidler, A.(1986). *Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies*. American Sociological Review, Vol. 51, No. 2. (Apr., 1986), pp. 273-286.

Şen, S. (2008)The Production of Space and Construction of Urbanity: Informal Practices in 1930s Ankara (Unpublished doctoral dissertation) Bilkent University, Ankara

Todorov, T. (2010). *The fear of barbarians beyond the clash of civilizations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tomaselli, K. (1996). *Appropriating images: The semiotics of visual representation*. Højbjerg, Denmark: Intervention Press

Triandis et al. (1982). *Allocentric vs. Idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation*, Journal of Research in Personality, 19, pp. 395- 415

Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Pub.

Turner, Victor.(1967)“*Betwixt and Between: Liminal Period*” in *The Forest of Symbols*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Van Gennep, A.1960. *Rites of Passage*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press,
Anfara, V. (2006). *Theoretical frameworks in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Waterman, A. (1984). *The psychology of individualism*. New York: Praeger.
Weigert, A. Teitge, J. (1986). *Society and identity: Toward a sociological psychology*.
Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Woodward, K. (2002). *Understanding identity*. London: Arnold Publication

APPENDIX I: Participants

Name (Pseudonym)	Sex	University	Age	Hometown
Seda	Female	Izmir University of Economics (%100 scholarship)	22	Edirne
Hasan	Male	Ege University	28	Kazlık/Batman
Derya	Female	Ege University	21	Lefkoşa
Muhittin	Male	Dokuz Eylul University	22	Ankara
Aykut	Male	Ege University	23	Çankırı
Ayşe	Female	Izmir University	22	Bursa
Rojda	Female	Dokuz Eylul University	21	Nusaybin/Mardin
Deniz	Female	Dokuz Eylul University	18	Ordu
Hülya	Female	Dokuz Eylül University	21	Bafra/Samsun
Mehmet	Male	Ege University	23	A village in Mersin
Hilal	Female	Ege University	20	Turgutlu
Fatma	Female	Izmir University of Economics	23	Bucak/Burdur
Osman	Male	Ege University	23	Doğu Bayazıt/Ağrı
Alper	Male	Izmir University	24	Antakya
Mahmut	Male	Izmir University of Economics	27	Isparta

APPENDIX II: Original Transcriptions

- (1) *Kesinlikle bir avantaj. Ben çünkü Edirne’de okusaydım herhalde sonra sudan çıkmış balığa dönerdim. Üniversitede bir insanın kesinlikle yalnız olması gerekiyor, ailesinden hatta tandıklarından da... Ben buraya gelirken hiçbir arkadaşım İzmir’i tercih etmedi hep tek başımaydım hani liseden olur ya klasik 1-2 arkadaşın olur falan, hiç öyle bir durumum yoktu. Başlarda onun bunalımını yaşadım ama sonar çok yardımcı oldu bana bu. En basitinden fatura ödemek bile gidip hani bir şeyler hallettiğini hissediyorsun, alıştığını hissediyorsun, kendi başına da kalabildiğini hissediyorsun, yani 22 yaşındayım ve güzel şuan böyle hissedebilmem bence.*
- (2) *Bence fırsatı olan üniversitesi ailesinden uzakta okumalı. Fikirleri olarak büyütüyor insanı yeni şeyler görüyorsu. Bir de ailenin yanında hep vardır bir el bebek gül bebek; o olmuyor. Dışardan yeni şeyler öğreniyorsun sürekli, o devamlı bir öğrenme durumuna dönüşüyor. Benim de çok hoşuma gidiyor bu.*
- (3) *Kesinlikle avantaj. Orada okusam hatta daha çok istediğim mütercim tercümanlık okuyacaktım ama dedim ki aile yanında okunmaz. Neden? Senelerdir faturalarımı annem babam ödemiş, yemek eve gittiğimde hazır. Ve sürekli evin bir parçasıyım kendime ait bir düzenim yok ama süregelenmiş bir şey var. Liseden kalma hayatı devam ettireceğim. Lise psikolojisi mesela çok baskı altında bir psikoloji... O psikolojiden kurtulmak için biraz farklı ortama geçiyor olmak lazımdı. Yoksa halen aynı yolu geçip YGSye hazırlanıyor gelecek kaygı taşıyor hissini taşıyacaktım ve oradaki arkadaşlarıma ki benzer arkadaşlarım olacaktı adapte olamayacaktım.*
- (4) *Maddi durumumuzun olduğunu bilememe rağmen hem ailem yollamaz diye hem ben de istemediğimden özel üniversiteye gitmek aklımda yoktu. Tercihlere 1 hafta kalmıştı, gideceğim Pamukova sınıf öğretmenliği falan yazacağım, sınıf öğretmeni olacağım kafalarında tatil yaparken ailem ‘Alper gel buraya biz bir karar aldık, konuşacağız dedi’ neyse gittim ‘biz hukuk yazmaya karar verdik sana, özelden’ falan dediler. Hukuk okur musun falan, sonra baskı kurmadılar tabi ama.*

- (5) Genelde gece yaşarım, gündüzleri daha çok uyuyorum. Özellikle şu son zamanlarda falan, okula da gitmeyeceksem eğer sabaha kadar otururum, güneş doğduğunda falan yatarım. 8:00 de yatıp 15:00de kalktığım günler çok olmuştur.
- (6) Üniversitede olduğum için bir ilişkiden sürekli öğrenmeyi bekliyorum, belki yanlış bir şey ama karşısına alıp bana bir şeyler anlatmasını bekliyorum. O hiç olmamıştı.
- (7) Ailemle yaşasaydım tam bir öğrenci olacaktım.(düzen içinde ve daha çok ders çalışabilen) Ben de şimdi şey oluyor, 4 senem zaman limiti kafamda, şunu da yetiştireyim, bunu da sokayım istiyorum. Zaman limiti ile yaklaştığım için her şeye telaşla atlıyorum
- (8) Mesela komşuluk ilişkileri.. Yani sen artık o evin sahibi olduğun için yandaki komşularla nasıl geçineceğin senin olayın. Bir hastalık bir şey olduğunda göğüs germeyi öğreniyorsun artık sana bakan bir annen, baban yok. Çorba ısıtacak kimsen yok o yüzden hasta olmamak için şu vitamini alıyorum şunu yapıyorum kendin düşünüyorsun.
- (9) Zaruretler seni olgunlaştırır gibi değil demek istediğim ama sorumluluk, ilk kez başkaları için değil kendin için hissettiğin sorumluluk...
- (10)Tutup hiç kimse sorumlu değil, ya da hesap soran yok. Sana niye böyle yaptın diyen yok, sen o şeyi yapıyorsun ve bedelini kendin ödemen gerekiyor. Kötü de olsa sonucunu ben yaşayacağım ve bu insanı gerçekten çok geliştiriyor, çok şey katıyor.
- (11)Çok var...Çoook var yani. Annemin inançlı biri olduğundan bahsettim. İnancından gelen belli normları var. Evlenmeden biriyle birlikte olamazsın en basiti. Ya da alkol aldığımı biliyor ama bu kadar aldığımı bilmiyor. Bu tür şeyleri konuşmam ailemle. Konuşmak onları üzer diye konuşmam daha çok aslında bana bir şey yapacaklarından ya da korktuğumdan değil. Annem benim sigara içtiğimi falan öğrendiğinde ağlayan bir insan. Anlatmam gereksiz, üzülür çünkü..... Beni tehdit edebilecekleri bir araç yok ellerinde. Bu tarz bir korkum yok ama belki red etme, duygusal anlamda red etme eskisi kadar benimle yakınlık kurmamalarından korkuyorum. Biraz da eğer öğrenirlerse kafalarındaki Seda imajı gidebilir. Çünkü onların kafasında not

ortalaması 3.60 olan, evden okul okuldan eve giden çok başarılı üniversite öğrencisi şöyle böyle bir kız. Hiç kimsenin hayallerini suya düşürmek istemiyorum belki...

(12) Bir de boş boş takıldığımı söylemem, genelde ders çalışıyorum derim. Babam arıyor mesela neredesin oğlum diyor Alsancak'tayım halbuki ama yalan yani arkadaştan eve geçiyorum baba ders çalışıyorduk falan...

(13) Gece eve geç gelmeleri anlatamıyorum. Annem viberden mesaj atıyor mesela görüyorum ama cevap yazmıyorum neredesin diyecek diye. Yalan söylemek yerine eksik bilgi gitsin diyorum. Sonra cevap veriyorum evdeyim diye, 'ne yapıyorsun?' diyor 'ders çalışıyorum'. O an çalışıyorum tabi artık yalan değil.

(14) Bir de aileden şu var yurt daha güvenilirdir, giriş çıkış saati belli, şu bu... Sana güveniyoruz da çevreye güvenmiyoruz, ya da dışarı gitti bozmasın kendini muhabbeti... Ama daha sonra onlar da anlıyor yurdun kalma koşullarının zor olduğunu.

(15) İlk geldiğimde devlet yurduydum. Bornova'daki yurtlar kız erkek diye ayrılınca bizi İnciraltı'na attılar. Bir yıl çok sıkıntı çektim. Bir yıl kaldım. Gidiş 1 saat 20 dk dönüş de 1 saat 20 dk sürüyordu. Tabi bazen otobüsün gecikme durumu falan olunca daha da uzuyordu. Hiç memnun değildim. Özellikle kışın hep hasta oldum, hiç iyileştiğimi hatırlamıyorum. Çünkü durak durak gibi değildi, fırtına oluyordu bazen fırtınanın ortasında kalıyorduk. Çok sıkıntı çektik. Konak'a gelirken kaçıryorduk bazen, bir sonraki 45 dakika sonra geliyordu. 45 dk o durakta o soğukta bekliyorduk.

(16) Bir kere yurda geç gitmiştim. AGB ekibiyle tiyatroya gitmiştik Güzelyalı'da. Dönüş biraz sıkıntı oldu açıkçası geciktim normal girilmesi gereken saatten. Hafta içi 11:00 hafta sonu 11:30 giriş. Normalde memurlar pek kalmıyor o saate güvenlikler olunca çok ses etmezler, savunma yazıp gidersin. Şansıma memur da oradaydı çağırırdı beni sorgu gibi öğüt verir gibi biraz da kızar gibi. Bak şöyle şöyle bu saatte kaldın ya başına bir şey gelseydi ya şöyle ya böyle... Bilmiyorum biz de sonuçta belli bir yaşa geldik, neyin ne olduğunu biliyorum ki oraya gittim. Tamam, söyledikleri olabilecekler şeyler ama üniversiteye geldik öğretmen adayım neticede konuşma tarzı bu olmamalıydı diye düşünüyorum.

- (17)Yurdun tek avantajı maddi olarak daha rahat olmasıydı, başka her açıdan sıkıntı. Mesela diğer binadaki arkadaştan gidip ders notu almam gerekiyor, ya da birlikte çalışacağız öyle bir iznim yoktu, yasaktı. Sonra işte eylemler falan o yasağı kaldırdık. Bu sayede karşıdaki bloklara gidip gelebildik.
- (18)Çok memnun değilim, daha iyi olabilir diye düşünüyorum. 6 kişi 1 odadasın ve oda da çok küçük bence kişinin özel alanı yok yani. Ağlamak istesen ağlayacağın bir yer yok. Veya telefonla bile konuşmak istesen öyle bir yer yok, her yerde insanlar var.
- (19)İlk geldiğimde evde kaldım. Cemaat evinde. Yurt çıkınca yurda çıktım. Cemaat evinde de çok memnun değildim. Şöyle aslında devlet yurdunda da kalmak istemiyordum. Belli bir düşünce ideoloji ne biliyim devletin şeyi altında kalmayı hiç istemedim ama maddi imkanları göz önünde bulundurunca en azından devlet yurdunda çok fazla karışanın olmuyor bir düşünceyi empoze etmek ya da bir şey yaptırmak falan gibi o anlamda biraz daha rahatsın.
- (20)Din ve dini inançlar falan filan ya bilmiyorum bize soraydınız keşke ne isterseniz ne lazım. Katılmak zorunlu değil ama sadece sanki yapılmış olmak için yapılmış gibi. Bak biz de ilgileniyoruz gençlerle ne istiyorlarsa yapıyoruz demek için. Çok da yeterli değil, çok başka olabilirdi yurt...
- (21)Şuanda evde kalıyorum 2 senedir. Ondan önceki 3 sene yurtta kaldım, okulun yurdunda. Okulun yurdunda kalırken ilk sene okulun yurdunun altında yemekhane vardı, orada yiyordum. Sonra o uygulamayı kaldırdılar, fiyatlar falan yukarı çekildi, yiyememeye başladım. Oda arkadaşlarıma göre hadi bugün şunu sipariş edelim bunu sipariş edelim öyle gitmişti ilk zamanlar. Tost makinası almıştık o dönem. O da yasak, şarteli attırdık kaç kere mahvettiler bizi sonra.
- (22)Kalacak yer bulmak zor oldu benim için. Devlet yurdu bana çıkmamıştı. Özel yurtları da benim ailem karşılayamazdı çok pahalıydı ve paraya değecek yerler de değildi. Bu okulun yurduna da başvurmuştum, yarı özel olarak geçiyordu, çıkmamıştı bana. İzmir'e geldik pazartesi okul açılacak benim daha kalacak yerim yoktu, öyle ortada kalmıştık. Ondan sonra birkaç bi yerler daha gezdik özel yurtlardan, ama gerçekten kutu gibi bir yerlerdi ve hani o

kadar paramız da yoktu. Olsa versek de deęecek yerler deęildi. Okulun bulunduęu yere gittik ve mdre de yalvardık, kalacak yerim yok beni ne yapın ne edin alın diye. Sonra o da insafa geldi galiba bir yerlere dilekçe yazdı, ve ben orada kalmaya bařladım. 3 yıldır da orada kalıyorum.

(23)Yurdumdan çok mutluyum, oraya gidince mutlu hissediyorum kendimi genelde yurtlar çok kalabalık ya da lavabolar falan zor olur ama bizimki hi oyle deęil. Odada iki kiři kalıyoruz o zaten en byk rahatlık. Hani oda arkadaşım ile de iyiyiz. Giriř ıkıř saatleri hafta ii 12:30 hafta sonu 2:00 ama ge kaldıęımızda da ya da nceden belli olduęunda dileke yazdıęımızda da sorun yapmıyorlar yani.

(24)Ben kendi alanım olsun isterim. Pijamalarımı giyeyim, oturma odasında oturayım yatayım, onu sevdięim iin ev daha rahat geliyor.

(25)Cemaat evinde seni oraya alacaklarsa nden sana anlatırlar bizim byle byle kurallarımız var diye bařtan sylyorlar. Saat 19:00 gibi evde olun, ge kalmayın, ge kalacak olursanız ablalara syleyin vb. Evin ablası oluyor. Belli tesbihat dedikleri ibadet var, onların zamanları belli. Ya da etkinlik oluyor bir anda eve tanımadıęın bir sr insan geliyor neymiř bugn sohbet varmiř, sizin evde yapıyoruz. Evlerdeki kiři sayısı deęiřiyor ama benim kaldıęım evlerde hep beřer kiři yařıyordu. Odalarda ikiřer kiři kalma imknımız vardı. Eęer bir kiřilik oda varsa ev ablası orada kalır. Ama hakkını yemeyeyim, benim kaldıęım ev çok rahattı benim iin. nk genelde aynı kafadan insanlar denk gelmiřti. Çok fazla cemaat baęlılıęı olmayan iřin iinde çok olmayan kiřilerdik. Sadece okumaya gelmiřtik. ncesinden bir baęlılıęımız olmadığı iin yine rahat davranıyorduk. Birbirimizi kolluyorduk ok sıkıntı olmuyordu ama yine de vardı tabi bir řey ister istemez tedirgin eden.

(26)Cemaat evinde arkadaş ortamı olarak memnumdum. Yani oradaki insanlarla muhabbet iyiydi, malar yapıyorduk, ortam gzeldi. Ama oradaki iřte dięer cemaat olan kısımla sıkıntım vardı. Arkadař ortamı olarak deęil de cemaat ortamı ile ilgiliydi, nk sevmiyordum ben ailemin zorlaması ile kalıyordum, onun iin. Namaz kılcan, sabah kalkcan, sırayla temizlik yapacaksın, sırayla yemek yapacaksın, onun iin zora gelemedim gibi bir řey oldu. Onlarla ok kavga ettik.

- (27)Çıkışım çok sorun olmadı, normalde böyle olmuyormuş, öyle söylerler zaten eğer bunların içinden çıkacaksan telefon numaranı falan değiştir çevreni değiştir çünkü sürekli ararlar seni yine burada tutmak için. Anladılar herhalde benden bir halt olmayacağını dediler git ne halin varsa gör. Hiçbir sıkıntı yaşamadım.
- (28)Yürüyerek baya vaktim geçiyor sokakta. Yürümeyi de seviyorum. Beni bir arkadaşım alıştırdı yürümeye. Gece maceralarımız oluyor bazen onunla. Benim evdeydik bir kere gece 24:00 bulgur pilavı yedik şıştik, soda içelim diye çıktık. Üst mahallede arkadaşlar var onlara uğradık onları da aldık sonra baktık Nato'nun oradayız gece saat tabi 01:00i geçmiş. Yürüyoruz yani...
- (29)Tek gezmeyi çok severim genelde çıkıp biraz uzaklara yürürüm. Düzenli şey yapıyorum yürüyüş yapıyorum sahilde. Canım sıkıldığında işte kulaklığı takıp işte Göztepe'den yürüyorum bazen Alsancak'a kadar geliyorum.
- (30)Alsancak'a gündüz gitmeyi daha çok seviyorum mesela sokakta dolaşmayı. Karşıyaka'ya Çarşı'ya gidip turşu suyu içmeyi, kokoreç yemeyi.. Gündüzleri de çok seviyorum İzmir'i. Bazen boş boş vapura binmek için karşıya geçtiğim oluyor. Ya da sabahları... Bir gün sabahlamıştım mesela 9:30 oldu ne yapayım dedim, Üçkuyular'dan atladım Bostanlı'ya oradan Karşıyaka'ya kokoreççiye gittim sabahın 9:00unda.
- (31)Deniz havasının gerçekten iyi geldiğine inanıyorum. Bizde de öyle bir durum var, deniz görmeden denize aşık olan insanlarız. Onu hep istiyorum. Metroyla gitmek daha rahat olacaksa bile vapura binmeyi tercih ederim hep sırf deniz havası martılar falan var diye.
- (32)Şey var ya. Esnaf olarak düşündüğüm zaman bir şeyin esnafın bile kitap okumuşluğu olduğunu düşünüyorum. En azından birisiyle bir şeyler konuşabilirsin, sadece ekmek parası olduğu için değil, hesapta yokken sen sohbet edebiliyorsun. İzmir deyince nasıl insanlar canlanıyor gözümde... Hep bir şeydir, ben Ankara'da büyüdüm ama küçük bir mahallede büyüdüm. İnsanların şöyle... Küçük bir mahallede büyümeme rağmen kopuktu anlatabildim mi acaba, insan ilişkileri... Nasıl desem. İzmir'de tam tersi oldu...
- (33)İnsanlarda samimiyet, nezaket görüyorum daha hoşuma gidiyor. Mesela bir keresinde, bir tane hamile kadın geldi. Bir tane su kalmış. Onu da başka bir

kadın almış. Alan kadın son suyu hamileye verdi. O benim çok hoşuma gitti. Dönüp arkasına bakıp bir hamile varı görmesi çok hoşuma gitti. Çok bencilce yaşadık çünkü. Hayat kötü. İnsanlar kötü. Bir şekilde dişli olman gerekiyor bir şeylerle savaşman gerekiyor. Bu küçük ince hareketler İzmir'i sahiplenmemi sağlıyor.

(34) Özgürlüklerine düşkün, daha böyle rahat yaşayan... Mesela benim burada gördüğüm şey var, Karadeniz'de mesela böyle keyfine oturup bir rakı sofrası kuramazsın, öyle bir şey yoktur. İçmeye pek düşkün değildirler, buradakiler de değil ama zevkine bi masa kuralım mezesini yapalım en ince ayrıntısına kadar, böyle şeyler var. Ben de severim keyfine düşkün insanları o açıdan keyfine düşkün ve özgürlüklerine düşkün bir şehir. Keyifli yaşamayı biliyorlar.

(35) İzmir şöyle söyleyeyim belki Türkiye'deki 81 ilin 75-76sına göre daha iyi. Yani burada bir şey yaptığında en basitinden, kız arkadaşınla bile yürüdüğünden diğer illerde hani bir tepki bulabilirsin. En basitinden büyük bir il diyeceğin Kayseri'de bile olsun... Burada o tepkiyi veren insanların sayısı çok çok az.. Bir şey yapma gereği duyduğunda toplanıp arkadaşlarıyla bir şey yapmak istediğinde daha rahat mekân bulabiliyorsun. Seni tehdit eden bir unsur yok. Şurada en basit kitap okuma eylemi bile yaptığımızda katılacaklarını da biliyoruz. Kimsenin bize karışmayacağını da biliyoruz. Ama başka bir yerde yaptığında İstanbul gibi bir yerde bile yaptığında ne okuyorsunuz, siyasi mi değil mi bin türlü soru...

(36) Bence İzmir'in en büyük karakteristik özelliği İzmir milliyetçisi olmaları... Yılmaz Özdil sevdalıları. Yani bu aslında negatif bir şey de pozitif bir şey de. Bunun üzerine ben düşünüyorum zaman zaman. Bilmiyorum, birbirlerine çok kenetliler, asla İzmir'e kimse bir laf söyletmiyor. İzmir kötülenmez İzmir'de ben bunu hiç görmedim, en azından İzmirli olanlar tarafından kötülenmez. Onun dışında yaşadığım şehirlere kıyasla Edirne bile Türkiye'nin ne kadar batısı olmasına rağmen yaşadığım şehirlere kıyasla İzmir en açık fikirli olan şehir, her konuda. Yani hocalarımı baz alayım, sırf kendi yaşitlarım için konuşmuyorum. Ben herhangi bir problemim de, erkek arkadaşım ile olan çok mahrem konularımı bile gidip konuştum ve bana yardımcı oldular. Bunu diğer arkadaşlarım da yaptı. Ben arada yaş uçurumu olunca o kadar rahat

hissedemiyorum diğer şehirlerde iletişim kurarken ama burada hiç öyle bir sıkıntı yaşamadım.

(37)Hem kemalistler, genel bir vatan millet bayrak duyguları yoğun. bir de dinden biraz uzak. Bursa'da onu yoğun yaşadığım için. onun dışında hiç kötü bir şey görmedim. İnsanlarda samimiyet, nezaket görüyorum daha hoşuma gidiyor. Senin hayatın, senin tercihin, senin yaşamın... Yine konuşuyorlar ama söylüyor geçiyor. Yoğun bir müdahale yok. Yaşam alanı açıyor.

(38)Şunu yaparsam insanlar nasıl tepki verir derdi burada pek yok gibi. Karadeniz sonuçta (benim geldiğim yer), hani bi Karadeniz kafası vardır ya çok şey yaşayamazsın bunu düşünmekten. Ama İzmir tam benim ruhuma göre, düşünce yapıma göre bir yer istediğim şeyi yapabiliyorum burada o yüzden de kendimi rahat hissediyorum.

(39)Halen alışamadım. Mesela buraya gelmek bile yanımda biri olmasa gelmem tek başıma. Korkum var diyorum benimle dalga geçiyorlar. Kalabalık bi rahatsız hissettiriyor, bir de yanlış yerde inirim bulamam kaybolurum korkusu var. Üçüncü senemde halen böyle... Bornova yürüyüş mesafesinden çıkmıyorum.

(40) Şöyle, Üçkuyular'da bir lise var oraya geldim ama o zaman Bursa çok muhafazakâr ya İzmir bana çok large gelmişti. Yani bu insanlar ne yapıyor sapıklar herhalde yani modundaydım. Kadınlar çok rahat, erkekler çok rahat, lisede etekler beş karış, ben Bursa'dan gelmişim bir anda kalın çorap hiç bir yerim gözükmessin modunda. Noluyoruz deyip 1 hafta sonra geri döndüm. Yani biletimi falan kendim aldım. Ortamı gördüm dedim ki hayır yani bu değil, hatta telefon açıp anneme şunu demiştim ya "anne burası kerane gibi" yani ben burada duramayacağım gibi deyip hiç kimseye söylemeden otobüs biletini alıp Bursa'ya döndüm. 5 gün falan durdum işte pazartesi okula başladığımda geri döndüm.

(41)Ben tam bir Bucaklıyım bence... Bucaklı hissetmemin sebebi bütün ailemin orada olması... Sorarsan ama oraya gittiğinde uzun süre kalabiliyor musun, yaz dışında uzun süre kalamıyorum. İzmir daha benlik ama Bucaklıyım. Yaşamak istediğim yer burası ama ortamım oraya....bilmiyorum karışık bu benim için ama oralı da hissediyorum, mutlu oluyorum oraya gidince.

(42)Oradaki çevrele buradaki çevrem biraz daha farklı oluyor. Öncesinde baya bir geçmişim var 10 senelik arkadaşlarım orada, mezun olan halen okuyan arkadaşlarım var. Onlarla geçirdiğim zaman biraz daha değerli gibi geliyor bana. Bi özledim yani.. Bir de orada yaptığım işe saygı daha fazla, orada daha iyi şartlarda çalışırım diye düşünüyorum o anlamda.

(43)Biz de bizim orada kendimize Ağrılıyız demeyiz, Doğu Bayazıtlı'yız deriz. O ayrım bizde de olduğundan bir sempatim var. Doğu Bayazıt önceden ildi sonradan ilçeye döndü, Ağrıya bağlandı. Biraz daha siyasi biraz daha sınır kapısı muhabbetlerinden dolayı...

(44)Bu benim senelerdir düşündüğüm ama cevaplandırmadığım bir şey. Kıbrıs'ta doğdum. Lefkoşa'da doğdum Moğusa'da büyüdüm. Biraz Moğusalı biraz Dersimli hissediyorum. Çünkü annemle babam Dersim doğumlular, ikisi de zamanında Kıbrıs'a yerleşmişler, biz de orada doğmuşuz. Kendimi çok Kıbrıslı hissetmiyorum, çok Türk de hissetmiyorum ama Dersimli hissediyorum. Nedenini bilmiyorum. Türklük-Kürtlük üzerinden de değil. Hâlbuki alevi kürdü diyorlar. Alevi kürdü belki olur ama Türk değil, kürt değil. Alevi kürdü ve biraz da Kıbrıslı hissediyorum. Dersim'e çok küçükken gitmişim. Bir tane amcam var orada çocukları orada olan, her tatil çağırıyorlar belki gitsem daha da ait hissedermişim gibi geliyor.

(45)Yaz tatillerim Hatay'da geçiyor. Onun dışında ilk yaşadığım şehir burası oldu. Ben aslında pek bir yere kendimi ait hisseden biri değilim ama İzmir bana daha çok hitap ediyor öyle söyleyebilirim. İzmir'in havası çok farklı. İnsan kendini kaptırıyor, özgür hissediyor..... Ben üniversiteyi tercih yapacağım zaman araştırdığım şey şuydu toplum baskısı ne alemde. Toplum baskısı var mı? Bazı yerlerde yaşayamıyorsun ama yaptığını kötüler sadece neyse ama bir de üstünde baskı kurmaya çalışıyorlar. Ben bu yerlere hiç gelemiyorum. Çünkü ha tamam öyleyse ben de öyle yaşarım diyebilecek bir insan değilim benim için özgürlüğüm gerçekten çok önemli. Toplum rahatlığı iyi o açıdan İzmir'de. İnsanlar anlayışlı her yerinde olmasa da. Sen bunu niye böyle yapıyorsun bu yanlış şöyle yap demiyor.

(46)Bir sabit kimliğe inanmıyorum, çünkü sürekli değişiyor, dönüşüyor ve tam da değişmesi gereken çağda. Bu aslında ölene kadar süren bir şey bence ama

dediğim gibi insanın en çok kimlik aradığı zamanlar bence. Lisede ben daha stabildim, o kadar bir kimlik peşinde değildim. Kendi içimde yaşıyordum Nirvana dinledim grunge olayım, bunu dinledim şu olayım bu olayım. Bu seferki çok etkileşimli bir şey, insanların bana kattığı şeylerden dolayı değişiyorum. Birebir konuşup değişiyorum, çok etkileniyorum.

(47)Sana zıt gelebilecek iki kelimeyi bir arada söyleyeceğim şimdi; ben hem özgürlüğüme düşkünümdür ama bunu muhafazakar bir şekilde yaparım, yapabiliyorum. Eğlence anlayışımı buna göre düzenlediğim için gerçekten eğlenebiliyorum. Bir arkadaşım var oturuyoruz bir gün onla dedi ki 'Fatma hiç içmedin mi', alkol kullanma muhabbeti. Yok dedim. 'Nasıl eğleniyorsun yaa' dedi, dedim 'sen sadece içince mi eğleniyorsun?'. Kendine uyarladığın zaman bazı şeyleri oluyor bence.

(48)Kıbrıs'ta genelde aşırı bir milliyetçilik var, Türkiye'den gelen Türklere karşı. Ben orada doğduğum için ve arkadaş çevremden dolayı beni benimsiyorlar ama Türkiyelileri benimsemiyorlar. Orada ben kendimi yine bir Türkiyeli hissediyorum. Hani allah razı olsun benimsemişsin beni falan oluyorum ama onlar işte engel oluyor tam full Kıbrıslı gibi hissetmeme. Burada da şey sıkıntısı oluyor; orada Kıbrıslı mı Türkiyeli mi sıkıntısı var, Türk Kürt, Müslüman Hristiyan ona bakmıyorlar. Ama burada daha çok ayırım var. Türk müsün bakıyor, Kürt müsün bakıyor alevi misin bakıyor yani Kıbrıs'tan mı geldin yurtdışından mı ona bakıyor. Burada Kıbrıslıyım diyorum ama Kıbrıs doğumlu bir Dersimliyim. Onlar anlıyor zaten direkt alevi kürdü falan diye. Dersimliyim deyince zaten nesin diyorlar, ben de alevi kürdüyüm diyorum.

(49)Lisede kendine yakın olan bulmaya çalışırsın ya, benim üniversitede daha şey oldu farklılıklara daha çok alıştım ve onlarla olmak istedim. Ya da lisede herkes kendini aynı mı göstermeye çalışıyordu acaba düşünüyorum şuan. Kimse o ortamdan dışlanmak istemeyeceği için. Çünkü lise ortamı daha farklı üniversiteye göre.

(50)Ben farklı olan insanları seviyorum. Hani şey psikolojisi vardır ya o da benim gibi onun için yakınız. Ben buna inanmıyorum. Hadi tamam eyvallah yakınlık olabilir ama ben hep farklı insanları seviyorum çünkü bana çok farklı şeyler

katıyorlar. Kendimi daha iyi hissediyorum yeni şeyler görünce. Tecrübeli oldukları şeylerde onların deneyimlerinden öğreniyorum.

(51)Türk olmak kısmını(ın içine doğduğumu ve üzerime yapılandırıldığını) son zamanlarda çok hissediyorum. Yeni yeni erasmuslu (erasmus programı ile ülke dışından gelen) çok arkadaşım oldu. Ben daha önce yurtdışına hiç çıkmadım. Onlarla konuşmaya başlıyorum, baya bir muhabbet ilerliyor, İspanyol musun diyorlar? Değilim diyorum. E İngilizcen çok iyi diyorlar, olamaz mı diyorum. Bir türk olamayacak kadar farklı bir kafan var diyorlar bana. Ama ben de o zaman bir türk kafası ne, ne düşünüyorsun bu konuda diye çok sordum. Yaşadıkları her şeyden örnek vermeye başladılar, bahsettiğim balkona şortla çıkmama bilmem ne bunları saymaya başladılar. Onların kafasında da belli bir Türk nedir tanımını asla yok ama benim gibi bir türk ile tanışınca da çok şaşırıyorlar. Bana hatta isimle hitap etmiyorlar başka bir yabancı isim taktılar onu söylüyorlar.

(52)O İzmir’de oldu. Arkadaş çevresi. Orada tek Kürt tanımım var çünkü annemi babamı görmüşüm. Ya da işte orada da Türkiye’den gelmiş çevrem var alevi kültür derneği var orada da kürtçe konuşan Diyarbakırlı falan insanlar var. Kürtçe konuştukları için farklı olduğunu biliyorum ama Kürt ve alevi kürdü arasında kesin çizgiler koymamışım orada. Çünkü Kıbrıs’ta öyle bir yaşayış sıkıntısı yok. Kendi varlıklarını yaşatmak için biz aksanımızı değiştirelim falan gibi Kıbrıslıların bir düşüncesi var ama senin kimliğine bakıp seni rahatsız etmiyorlar yani. Burada ama arkadaşlarım var ya sende kürtsün diyor mesela. Bir de şey de var, İzmirli arkadaşlarım da değiştiriyor onu, ben onlar gibi değilim, onlar gibi düşünmüyorum. O zaman biraz daha karşı tarafa (Kürt olmaya) daha yakınım diye düşünüyorum bu sefer çünkü bu kadar Atatürkçü değilim ben, Osmanlı da değilim.

(53)Biz ilk kendi kürt arkadaşlarımızla konuştuğumuzda dışarıdan bir karışmalar oluyordu ama şimdi daha sempatik yaklaşıyorlar. Öğrenmek isteyen arkadaşlarımız da var onlarla ufak ufak konuşuyoruz, öğretiyoruz. Benim haftalık buluşup kürtçe öğrettiğim arkadaşlar oluyor. Bu biraz da insanın yapısına bağlı bir şey... Çok aşırı olup ben kürdüm kürtçeden başka bir şey konuşmam gibi bir tavır zorlayabilir. İnsanlar seni tanımak istiyorlar, tavrına

göre davranıyorlar aslında. Tanıdıkça seviyorlar ve seninle aynı dili konuşmak istiyorlar aslında.

(54)Benim yaşadığım yerde insanlar belli her şey belli, benim etnik kökenimden, benim dilimi konuşan insanlar. Hiç farklı bir ortama gelmemiştim, farklı bir dil konuşulan bir yer, farklı etnik kökenden insanlar, farklı düşünceden insanlar farklı cinsel yönelimi olan ve bir sürü şey.. Bunların hiç biri yoktu ve hep aynıydı bence. Yine belki çok katı dar düşüncelerim yoktu ama ister istemez bu kadar değildi. Çünkü buraya geldikten sonra farklı insanlar farklı bir kültür farklı bir şehir. Bu bana çok fazla şey kattı hem bakış açısı hem düşünce yapısı olarak. Ben mesela ilk defa yeni fark ediyorum tabi bunu zamanla oturuyor insanda bazı şeyler kendimi kendi ailemi kendi yaşadığım yerdeki insanları buraya geldikten sonra eleştirmeye başladığımı gördüm. Bence bu benim için önemli bir adım oldu. Çünkü benim için o zaman en doğru benim bildiğim veyahut ailemin yaptığı ya da oradaki insanların yaptıklarıydı. Ama buraya geldikten sonra bazı şeyleri daha karşılaştırma, tartıp biçme en azından farklı insanları dinleyip ona göre düşüncelerimi oturtmaya başladım.

(55)Arkadaşlarımı erkek kadın fark etmez ailemle tanıştırmam ayrı tutarım. İkisi de farklı dünyalar ve çarpışmalarını istemem. Ailem arkadaşlarımı görünce tepki vermez yanlarında ama sonrasında söyledikleri şeyler beni çok üzebilir. Arkadaşlarım da ailemi görsün istemem. Aslında ufaktan arkadaşlara derim biz farklıyız ailemle diye sinyalleri veririm ama şuna dayanmam. dışardan birilerinin ailemle yaşamadan yargılaması. o yüzden iki ayrı dünyada. Bursa'da da eve arkadaş getirmem. Ama İzmir'deki yeni arkadaşlarım için toptan bu geçerli.