

INDIVIDUALISM AND DEMOCRACY
IN TURKEY

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2010

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Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

In Sociology

By

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Boğaziçi University

2010

Thesis Abstract

Nurten Özkoray, "Individualism and Democracy in Turkey"

"Individualism and Democracy in Turkey" is a study that tries to capture the dynamic relationship between individualism and superstructure (the culture, institutions, power structures) in Turkey as well as a critique of the direction of this influence and its consequences, with the outlook and methodology of the "Critical Theory". Individualism here is not used in the economic sense endorsed by liberalism, but in social, political and psychological sense with clearly defined parameters, verified by worldwide research on the values. The definition of individualism in modern democracy embodies pluralism, a precious element of contemporary democracy, which is described as "Aesthetic Individualism", that ensures the protection of individual differences in ethnic, racial, sexual, political and religious sense. We will try to analyse the nature of the political regime and its ideological devices like education through their impact on the development of individualism in Turkey.

The political, cultural and economic factors present in the country only partially define the way an individual interacts with the superstructure in a quest to pursue hi/her own vision of life. It is mainly the way state organizes its ideology that makes the main impact. The hypothesis here is that the lack of liberal democracy and its institutions to ensure freedom and rights hinder individual development, which is essential for the welfare and dignity of the people. The outlook of individualism upon the foundation of the Turkish Republic was not inclusive of pluralist principles, which did not change since. Coupled with formal rationalism, this leaves the political system vulnerable to the dangers of authoritarianism, which was closely examined by social scientists of the Frankfurt School after the Second World War and the Holocaust.

The research conducted for this study demonstrated the importance of superstructure in the growth of individualism. The ideology of the state with all its boundaries and limitations towards creating a monotype and submissive citizenship model exerts a considerable pressure against opposing ideologies, identities, behaviour, life-style and diversification which inevitably takes its toll on individualism by limiting freedom of expression and choice.

The effects of this are evident in the expression of identity where the survey shows nationality and religion top the list for 47 % of the population, which alone indicates the inaccessibility, and limitation of diverse identity characteristics. This means nearly half the population define themselves with the "ready made, dominant ideology-imposed" identity pattern. It seems that dominant ideology doesn't allow much room for versatile and unique identity expressions, which are viewed as a threat for the order and unity by spoiling the 'safe' citizenship model. One of the most important findings of the Survey is that 37.5 % of the people are ready to abandon one of the collective identity elements in order to pursue their dreams. This is an indication for the involuntary acceptance of identity elements, which can be translated into a potential for the development of individualism for these people.

Tez Özeti

Nurten Özkoray, “Türkiye’de Bireyselleşme ve Demokrasi”

“Türkiye’de Bireysellik ve Demokrasi” üst yapı kurumları (kültür, kurumlar, güç yapıları) ile bireysellik arasındaki dinamik ilişkiyi anlamayı ve bu etkinin sonuçlarını “Eleştirel Teori” (Frankfurt Okulu) ışığında ve metoduyla değerlendirmeyi hedefleyen bir çalışmadır. Burada bireysellik ekonomik liberalizmin ön plana çıkardığı bireysellik anlamında değil, dünya çapında yapılan değerler araştırmalarının doğrulanmış ve kabul edilmiş parametrelerle belirlenen siyasi, sosyolojik ve psikolojik bir tanımdan yola çıkmaktadır. Bireysellik referansında çağdaş demokrasilerin çok değerli bir özelliği olan çoğulculuğu ve bireysel farklılıkları da içeren “Estetik bireysellik” esas alınmaktadır. Bu çalışma Türkiye’de siyasi rejimin niteliğini ve eğitim gibi üst yapı kurumlarını bireyin üzerinde yaptıkları etki yoluyla inceliyor. Bunun uygulama metodolojisini de Louis Althusser’in “Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları” aracılığı ile anlatıyor.

Ülkedeki siyasi, kültürel ve ekonomik faktörler bireyin hayatına yön verme çabasında üst yapı kurumlarıyla girdiği ilişkileri kısmen belirliyor. Asıl etkili olan devletin ideolojisini nasıl organize ettiği. Buradaki sav, liberal demokrasinin ve bireyin özgürlüklerini ve haklarını güvence altına alacak kurumların eksikliğinin insanların onur ve refahı için gerekli bireysel gelişmeyi engellediğidir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin temelindeki bakış, bireysel farklılıklara ve çoğulculuğa yer veren bir bakış değildir ve baştan beri bu konuda değişen fazla bir şey olmamıştır. Formel rasyonalizmle birleştiğinde bu durum tehlike yaratmaktadır ve geçmişte yaşanan benzer tehlikeler Frankfurt Ekolü tarafından Musevi Soykırımını sonrasında yakından incelenmiştir.

Bu çalışma için yapılan araştırma, bireyselliğin gelişmesinde üst yapının önemini ortaya koymuştur. Devletin tek tip ve itaatkar vatandaş modeli için koyduğu sınırlamalar, muhalif ideolojiler, davranış, hayat tarzı ve farklılıklar için ciddi anlamda baskı yaratmakta ve bireyselleşme üzerinde olumsuz etki yapmaktadır.

Kentli nüfusun % 47’sinin kimliğini milliyet ve din üzerinden tanımlaması, kimlik unsurlarında bireyselliği vurgulayan çeşitlenmenin hayata geçemediğini göstermektedir. Nüfusun yarısına yakını kendilerine sunulan hazır ve devlet ideolojisi tarafından empoze edilen bir kimlikle özdeşleşmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, hakim ideoloji güvenli bulunduğu vatandaş modelini tehdit edebilecek farklılıklara izin vermemektedir Araştırmadan çıkan en önemli sonuçlardan biri de % 37.5 gibi yüksek bir oranda kişilerin hayallerine kavuşmak için gerektiğinde kendilerine empoze edilen kimlik unsurlarını feda etmeye razı olmalarıdır. Bu durum kolektif kimlik unsurlarının önemli bölümünün üst yapı tarafından kabul ettirildiğini ve bireyler tarafından tam anlamıyla içselleştirilmediğini, Türkiye’de bireyin ancak demokratik bir ortamda kendini geliştirebileceğini göstermektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude for the encouragement and guidance of Prof. Dr. Faruk Birtek from the moment he kindly accepted to be the advisor for my project to the completion. The teaching of my school years with faculty members including Prof. Birtek helped shape my outlook in life. Accumulation of experience with the awareness of social sciences assisted me in analysing social problems and motivated me to go back to complete my masters after three decades.

I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Işık Aytaç for her patience and feedback on the methodology of the project. I would also like to thank Dr. Esra Mungan for her guidance on the psychological dimension of my work.

The democracy struggle of my husband Erol Özkoray inspired me a great deal and helped me to grasp the contemporary political theories. I wish to thank my son Gökşin for his critical contributions as a young adult, who is also doing his masters studies at the Sorbonne University and my daughter İmre for her support and understanding.

For the fieldwork of the countrywide survey, I received the help of Bülent Gündoğmuş of Yöntem Araştırma and his team. I am thankful for their assistance.

I am also grateful to Canan Danışman for editing and Aylin Yılmaz for her assistance in the format of the thesis.

I would like to express my deep admiration for Boğaziçi University as an institution of education that equipped me with the knowledge and consciousness to succeed in my career and life in general.

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PREFACE

This study aims to analyse the relationship between the superstructure and development of individualism in Turkey. Individualism is a pivotal concept that exposes the nature of political regimes. In this respect, it can be viewed as a political concept with social and psychological dimensions. The positioning of the individual with regards to legislative, executive and juridical powers, its relationship with the public realm, whether it can form a civilian counter-power all are factors that determine the real features of a rule. The most important characteristic of a regime for the fate of the people, are whether it recognizes rights and freedoms of individuals over their duties and obligations, with freedom of expression being the most vital. This is what constitutes the importance of individualism.

We will try to obtain some information to the following questions:

- What is the impact of superstructure elements as education, culture and political institutions on the welfare of the individual?
- What are the mechanisms of this impact?

The study will also include a criticism of this relationship depending on its direction and essence. Studying the individual will provide us valuable information on the nature of the regime in Turkey. The tools for this task will be a countrywide survey tested by a control group and a theoretical study as the framework for the approach and evaluation, as well as the critique. We will take up the concept of individualism along with its retrospective development, which was brought about by philosophers and examined later on by sociologists and psychologists in cross-disciplinary studies to formulate theories on the relationship of the individual with agency. Liberal democracy, communism and fascism could be defined by how

they treat the concept of individualism which made enormous difference in shaping political history.

On a macro scale, the state and social organizations can impact the entire population and directly influence individuals with their ideology and means of transfer. A serious exchange takes place within the network of macro and micro forces. These different levels, which have traditionally been treated quite separately by sociologists, are in fact revealed as having significant influence upon each other and could not be understood if studied in isolation. This study is based on this fact and examines the ways state and culture influences the process of individualization, taking a cross section at a certain time.

We will try to take a close look at Turkish society with regards to the positioning of the individual. Prof. Faruk Birttek asserts that the positioning of private and public realms with respect to each other reveals the nature of the political regime and its distance to democracy.¹ When we look at the relationship between the individual and the agency in this light, we can see clearly how the private realm of the individual with respect to its own freedoms and rights, interacts with the boundaries, duties and obligations of the public realm.

Naturally, there is a tension between the two realms both trying to expand at the expense of the other. In authoritarian regimes, the public sphere surrounds and invades the private sphere.

It is difficult to take a snapshot of a dynamic social and psychological formation as individualization. There were two main challenges facing this study at the beginning. First was the theoretical problem of analysing the relationship between the state ideology and individualism. Another challenge was finding the right methodology to understand the impact

¹ Birttek, Faruk, "*Aydınlanma, Vatandaşlık ve Siyasi Rejimler*" (Enlightenment, Citizenship and Political Regimes), ed. Fuat Keyman, Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, Istanbul, 2008, pp. 18-26.

of this ideology on the concept of individualism. Our survey functioned as a closer and focused observation of this impact. The hypothesis was that the state ideology in Turkey hinders the development of individualism. We will take up these challenges in Chapter Four which aims to relate the surveys of this study with the theory.

The data and evaluations in this work are based on its own exclusive surveys, large and periodically repeated international surveys and literature across social sciences and humanities as well as observations of today's cultural and political developments in Turkey and the rest of the world.

We will try to see the impact of the superstructure on the individual in Turkish society with observations and surveys and compare them with similar works both here and in other countries.

We looked for the impact of the superstructure on the development of individualization (the process of becoming an individual); therefore we compared the Boğaziçi students with the general population because it is very different superstructure that impacts these two samples.

This study underlines the vitality of liberal democracy with its positive freedoms for the human welfare and criticizes the regime-state and system in Turkey for hindering individual development. We will analyse the nature of the regime through its impact on the individual. More democracy, more freedom will mean highly developed individuals who would lead progress with their creativity and motivation, which would in turn serve the interests of the society. It will also build a barrier to the destructive actions that rationalism might lead in order to destroy differences that it views as a threat to national unity and solidarity as the Europe experienced not very long ago.

Individualism is one of the important subjects of cultural studies and research on values made it easy to work on. In Turkey, many studies were done on values, but not so much on the ones focused on individualism and its relationship with other social phenomena. We hope our study contributes to the literature on this subject, increases awareness on its importance and inspires others to examine the relationship of the individual with the society in Turkey. I also would be happy if it helps to form a social and political framework to view the relationship between the individual and the dominant ideology in Turkey as well as exposing the nature of the regime in the light of the modern democratic criteria.

Since we adhered to the Critical Theory, we should not finish this rather personal space without making our own criticism. We had shortcomings in our project arising from limitations of time and resources. The survey questions could be more in number to elaborate the values in more detail and qualitative research could be conducted in more locations for better comparison. There could also be group discussions between people who are close to individualist or collective values to observe the interaction, responses and behaviour. These could also be augmented with in-depth interviews of opinion leaders and decision-making authorities who have the potential to influence masses. Considering the vast amount of the literature on the subject, I would have liked to read and examine more material produced in countries other than in Europe and the United States. I must add my rustiness for the academic work on this score having been away from the university for three decades. Further studies can be done on individualism with respect to important variables such as religion, education, socio-economic status, gender and age. The impact of globalisation, employment and unemployment on the individualism can also be examined. Theoretical studies can be done on the conceptual variations of individualism with its political, economic, psychological and cultural dimensions.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Understanding the forces unleashed by modernity is one of the *raison d'être* (reason for being) of sociology, social scientists tell us. Individualism as an important phenomenon of modernity and its relationship with politics, economics and the welfare of people are one of the important areas to study in order to try to decipher the relationship between man and society.

The etymological origin of individualism is traced to Latin, which is *individus*, meaning a body that constitutes a whole, undivided and indivisible part of society in its entirety. This term was used in the dictionary Cicero wrote as the Latin translation of the Greek word *atomos*, the smallest part of matter. In this logic, one can say that individuals are the atoms of the society; however individualism doesn't mean atomization, because it also has a social dimension.

Individualism has been partially supported by some cultures and some religious philosophies in their primordial forms, which exalt the individual such as in ancient Rome, even if they were very different from the concept of individualism as we know today. In religious philosophy, Sufi mysticism values the individual as a reflection of the Supreme Being whereas ancient Romans treasure its creativity. The facts that the artists enjoyed great prestige not only in the eyes of the emperors, but people in general, and

that the first patron of arts, Gaius Maecenas (70 – 8 BC) took poets Virgil and Horace under his protection in Rome were evidence for this support.¹

Individual autonomy has been viewed as dangerous until the modern ages and managing human defiance has always been an important task for political and religious authorities throughout history. For the sake of order, people have been terrorized, tamed, inhibited, manipulated, threatened to obey authority and accept their role and position in society as was deemed appropriate by a superior authority. Demand for rights, freedom, better share of wealth, etc. were usually confronted with brutal response. Religion was the best non-violent weapon to manipulate people, joined by rigid ideologies in modern times to mobilize people around an ideology. To ensure this control at the personal level, laws, regulations and cultural codes of behaviour were imposed on people in order to grant them social acceptance and occasional rewards. Violating these norms was sanctioned either through legal means or social means by alienating the defying person, leaving him without social recognition, status and work.

Theorists such as Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Talcot Parsons, Michel Foucault, Norbert Elias, Niklas Luhmann and Jürgen Habermas agree that individualism is a structural characteristic of highly differentiated societies and does not endanger their integration but actually makes it possible. The individual creativity it releases unleashes forces for the renewal of the society under change.

¹ Political advisor to Emperor Octavian who was to become the first Emperor of Rome as Caesar Augustus, as well as an important patron for the new generation of Augustan poets. During the reign of Augustus, Maecenas served as a quasi-culture minister to the Emperor. His name has become a byword for a wealthy, generous and enlightened patron of the arts.

As a philosopher and sociologist, Georg Simmel (1858-1918) reasoned, the conception that society consists of a web of patterned interactions, and that it is the task of sociology to study the forms of these interactions as they occur and reoccur in diverse periods and cultural settings.²

The idea that individuals possess inalienable rights goes back in English social thought to the Magna Carta (1215) of the thirteenth century as its roots. The result of these developments was that individual human beings, not kings or the government came to be regarded as the most valuable.

We can also see in the literature a parade of non-conformist heroes. Great writers and thinkers like Miguel de Cervantes, Evliya Çelebi, Fuzûli, William Shakespeare, Daniel Defoe, Oscar Wilde, Albert Camus, Henrik Ibsen, Ernest Hemingway, J. D. Salinger, and Oğuz Atay all eloquently pictured unique characters, probably as part of their own personalities struggling with nature and society in order to exist in their uniqueness, often meeting with reactions, misunderstandings and suffering social isolation. Peter Holbrook argues that Shakespeare is not far from modern notions as individuality, freedom, self-realization and authenticity.³ According to him, these expressive values make Shakespeare's own writing vivid; they also form a continuous part of the Shakespearean tradition. Engaging with the theme of the individual will in specific plays and poems, and examining a range of libertarian-minded scholarly and literary responses to Shakespeare

² Georg Simmel talks about "Symbolic Interactionism" which is one of the major theoretical perspectives in sociology. This perspective has a long intellectual history, beginning with Max Weber (1864-1920) and the American philosopher, George H. Mead (1863-1931), both of whom emphasized the subjective meaning of human behavior, the social process, and pragmatism. See Blumer, Herbert, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

³ Holbrook, Peter, "Shakespearean Immoral Individualism: the Example of Gide", *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 106 (2006), pp. 149-163

over time, Shakespeare's Individualism advances the proposition that one of the key reasons for reading Shakespeare today is his commitment to individual liberty.

During the Sixteenth Century, Europe was experiencing a transformation in philosophy with thinkers paving the way to the Age of Enlightenment, amid the turmoil of religious struggle between Protestants and Catholics. Among them, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) can be considered the father of modern individualism in his attribution of natural liberty to all individuals in his monumental work *Leviathan*:⁴

So when we speak freely, it is not the liberty of voice, or pronunciation, but of the man, whom no law hath obliged to speak otherwise than he did. Lastly, from the use of the word *free-will*, no liberty can be inferred of the will, desire or inclination, but the liberty of the man; which consisteth in this, that he finds no stop, in doing he has the will, desire or inclination to do?

For Hobbes, civil and natural laws were not different kinds, but different parts of law; whereas the written part was civil, the unwritten part would be the natural laws. He asserts that the rights of man granted by natural law can be limited for the sake of safety of the others: "But the right of nature, that is, the natural liberty of man, may by the civil law, be abridged, and restrained; nay, the end of making laws, is no other but such restraint without which there cannot be any peace". The natural limits of liberties were set forth by Hobbes in these formulations and enjoyed a universal acceptance.

John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* published in 1689 represented a direct theoretical challenge to the idea that kings ruled others by divine right.⁵ According to monarchist theory, the king and the land are one, and no one has any rights not granted

⁴ Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, ed. John Charles Addison Gaskin, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp.178.

⁵ Dunn, John, *The Political Thought of John Locke*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

by the king. Since the king is the personification of the social order, no one can dissent from the social order without affronting the king, and therefore the land itself.

Locke's early individualism defended the personal sovereignty of each over his own life, liberty, and property. In Locke this personal sovereignty is based on the idea that the rights of the people are of divine origin, but not all individualist theories are based on this premise.

Along with the rise of industrial revolution, discovery of the new lands, inventions of new technology and products helped entrepreneurs to have an immense accumulation of capital in rewarding and making individual initiative an important element of progress. People who make history have changed from rulers and the aristocracy to genius inventors, entrepreneurs, adventurers and patrons⁶. In the world of opportunities, bravery for new endeavours paid off in material richness and power. The new hero could be anyone who was confident and intelligent enough to utilize opportunities the world offered. Adventurers who went overseas to discover new continents risked their lives for unknown dangers but were also the first to grab the wealth of these lands with no rule of law binding them until, Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms settled their own colonies with their appointed governors. Lutheran and Calvinist movements in Christianity spread of Protestantism later on and Secularism starting with England were factors that helped individual emancipation from the pressure of religious dogma that prevented them from deviating those norms and pursuing different ideas and life styles

⁶ Medicis family deserves a mention here as patrons of the arts that lasted nearly five centuries until 1730, supporting artists like Donatello, Ucello, Brunelleschi, Botlicelli, Leonardo Da Vinci, Rafael and Michelangelo.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW ON INDIVIDUALISM IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Main Thinkers and Definitions

Philosophy, sociology, psychology and political science studied individualism as it developed with the changing social, political and cultural environment. In this chapter we chose thinkers who made a significant contribution to the understanding of individualism and the evolution of the ways of defining this complicated and evasive concept.

Kant's "Moral Individualism"

As the philosopher who built his thinking upon the acquisitions of the Enlightenment and opened a new era in philosophy, Immanuel Kant, underlines the importance of personal autonomy and individual self-determination. He has brought ethical dimension to individualism which has evolved into democratic individualism of the modern times. This is the great significance of Kant's "Moral Individualism"⁷.

Kant defined enlightenment through the individual as "the man's release from self-incurred tutelage." This is explained as leaving behind one's childhood and dependency, towards becoming a self-reliant and responsible adult. At the point of reaching adulthood, a person has to come to terms with outside guidance. "Passively accepting the rules and norms of one's life imposed by others" according to Kant would amount to remaining a

⁷ Seidler, Victor, *Kant, Respect and Injustice*, London: Routledge, 1986.

mental minor. A mature individual has to critically reflect on what is presented to him as moral, and decide on the basis of his or her own analysis whether an established morality is actually valid or not. Only people who have failed to inform themselves and critically think about relevant pros and cons—would leave such important decisions to others or to chance.”⁸ This is the “Moral philosophy” of Kant which is both individualistic and communitarian. It is individualistic because it falls on the individual to decide what is right and wrong. It is communitarian in the manner that decisions are made by way of rational thinking which involves consideration of others, not by one’s own interests alone.

Kant presumed all human beings are endowed by reason to guide them. It is an individualism that is integrated in a community of other individuals who are all equally autonomous and consider the interests of others. Through the definition of the self as reason, and the installation of the Categorical Imperatives in the operation of this reason, Kant insures that there is no contradiction between individual liberty and social responsibility and the common good of humanity⁹. In a community of reason, the two are complementary. Kant also developed deontology of the professions that started with Hippocrates into ethical codes to be followed by each professional in order to ensure just and peaceful exchange between people. Kant’s immense contribution to social sciences extend to today’s thinkers and his notion of moral autonomy as central to humanity established the basis for critical theory and aesthetic individualism as *sine qua non* (must

⁸ Seidler, Ibid p. 129.

⁹ Kant defined actions necessitated by reason as moral, a central element from which all duties and obligations are derived. This was where deontological ethics originated.

have) condition for contemporary democracy. Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls are two thinkers whose works were strongly influenced by Kant's moral philosophy. They both have argued that universality is essential to any viable moral philosophy.

Rousseau's theory of freedom defends that individual freedom is achieved through participation in the process of collective control by the community over its own affairs in accordance with the 'general will'. Rousseau said, "The mere impulse to appetite is slavery, while obedience to law *we prescribe ourselves* is liberty."¹⁰ For him, freedom can be attained through conformity to the laws and rules of the society. The task that Rousseau gives 'The Lawgiver' in the Social Contract is that of deciphering the General Will from the mass of particular wills. If The Lawgiver, whatever form this may take, is able to do so, then the individuals who comprise a society have truly participated (via their real, reasoned and tempered will) in the collective control of their own affairs. As the extract above says, government by the 'Will of All' is slavery. Rousseau's usual solution to how the Lawgiver may be able to do this is cultural homogeneity on the one hand and physically small states on the other. These two themes recur within Rousseau's works often with the view to homogenizing inharmonious particular wills. The fact that Rousseau balances autonomy of the individual with the authority of the community, in practise worked more for the favour of the community as seen in the French Revolution, influenced by these ideas. Later on Jacobins exploited his teachings to justify their authoritarian practices, which had far-reaching influences even on the republican philosophy in Turkey.

¹⁰ Cole, G.D. Howard, *Social Contract and Discourses by Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, USA: BN Publishing, 2007.

Alexis de Tocqueville, French political thinker, politician and historian, one of the first writers to mention the term 'Individualism' in social sciences, was fascinated by this phenomenon when he visited United States in 1830¹¹. Nevertheless, he regarded it as a threat for citizenship. The critics of individualism think that the other side of the coin is the corrosion and slow disintegration of citizenship and an aggressive and frightened individual in search of love and help at the cost of social norms.

The foresight of Emile Durkheim regarding individualism and social cohesion proved to be true as recent studies on individualism demonstrated that, as individualism develops, social solidarity increases which make the criticism and fears of anti-individualists unfounded¹². Durkheim was confidently asserting modern society could well be founded on a collective moral unity without disregarding its duty to provide for the maximal expression of the rights and liberties of the individual. Evolution of societies and scientific research demonstrated that development of individualism did not lead societies towards disintegration.

An important definition by Emile Durkheim about individualism is on the transitory conditions. When there is an unsettling of social conditions, from one set of arrangements to another, there is a necessary period of movement, a situation called anomie. Anomic individualism is the definition of individualism at such times. This accounts for societies in rapid transition as was often experienced in Turkey.

The concept of individualism was carried to the extreme by German thinker Max Stirner (1806-1856) who is known as an extreme individualist with his influential work "The

¹¹ His famous memoirs of his visit was first published in 1835.

¹² Seidman, Steven, *Liberalism and the Origins of European Social Theory*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983, p. 174

Ego and Its Own” advocating that there was nothing more important than the individual and his ideas should rule the concepts, not vice versa¹³. He says “I am my own, only when I am a master of myself, instead of being mastered by anything else”. The meaning of “on his own” is a prescription of his own law to live by. He was provocative in questioning the legitimacy of the state, religion, laws, concepts, ideas and believed that one could find everything in himself, by himself, to guide his intellect. He influenced thinkers as Nietzsche and Marx as well as existentialist philosophers.

British writer and thinker Bertrand Russell stressed the importance of having “non-conformist individuals” as avant gardes and pioneers of societies. In his BBC lectures titled “Authority and Individual” (1949), he teaches political leaders an important lesson¹⁴:

A Community needs if it is to prosper, a certain number of individuals who do not conform to the general type. Practically all progress, artistic, moral and intellectual has depended upon such individuals who have been a decisive factor in the transition from barbarism to civilization... We shall not create a good world by trying to make men tame and timid, but by encouraging them to be bold, adventurous and fearless except in inflicting injuries upon other fellow-men.

In these words, Bertrand Russell summarizes the essence of how individualism leads the progress in societies and why it is important in the *épanouissement* (blossoming) of man¹⁵.

¹³ Stirner, Max: *The Ego and its Own*, Edited by David Leopold, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.153.

¹⁴ Russell, Bertrand, *Authority and the Individual*, New York: Simon and Schuster, c1949.

¹⁵ Even a military general-turned politician Charles de Gaulle ordered his police chief not to arrest Jean-Paul Sartre who was provoking action and rebellion during the up rise of Algeria in quest of independence between 1954-1962. While Sartre was selling newspapers in the streets of Paris supporting Algeria’s independence, the police chief asked for the permission of De Gaulle to arrest him. When De Gaulle rejected, the police chief insisted: “But Sir, you are France”. The great leader then replied: “Not me, but Sartre is France”.

Methodological Individualism

“The attempt to explain social phenomena with the individual action is called methodological individualism.”¹⁶ It amounts to the claim that social phenomena must be explained by showing how they result from individual actions, which in turn must be explained through reference to the intentional states that motivate the individual actors.

It refers to the position adopted by those who argue that, in studying society, sociologists must not only study individuals, but also that the explanations of the social phenomena they study must be formulated as, or reducible to, the characteristics of individuals. This position is in contrast to ‘methodological holism’, the theoretical principle that each social entity (group, institution, society) has a totality that is distinct, and cannot be understood by studying merely its individual component elements. Some social scientists asserted that ‘micro’ foundations, ones that specify an action-theoretic mechanism must serve for the explanations of ‘macro’ social phenomena.¹⁷

It originated from the thought of John Locke, but the term is first used by an economist, John Schumpeter. Friedrich Hayek and his friend Karl Popper used the concept in the 1940’s and philosophers picked up from there. Max Weber, Schumpeter’s teacher, used the term in his books after his death. Defenders of methodological individualism generally claim that it is an innocent doctrine, devoid of any political or ideological content. Weber himself cautioned that “it is a tremendous misunderstanding

¹⁶ Hodgson, Geoffrey M., Article published in the *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 14 (2), June, pp. 211-26).

¹⁷ Jeffrey Alexander, *The Micro-Macro Link*, Berkeley:University of California Press, 1987.

to think that an 'individualistic' method should involve what is in any conceivable sense an individualistic system of values."¹⁸ He claimed that social organizations are the resultant phenomena of the individual actions that organize them, reasoning that only action are subjectively understandable. Nevertheless, the doctrine of methodological individualism became the agenda of politicized debates during Twentieth Century, because it was often speculated as a way of discrediting historical materialism.

Institutional(ized) Individualism

A student of Karl Popper, Joseph Agassi invented and advocated the term 'Institutional individualism' as a replacement to methodological individualism, in recognition that institutional structures exist and affect individual choices, while only individuals have aims and responsibilities.¹⁹ This poses a dilemma for the individual making it difficult to master his/her own destiny. There is no self-sufficient individual, a "self-entrepreneur" who alone masters the whole of his life by deriving and renewing his capacity for action from within himself. On the other hand, following the line of thinking of Aristotle and Hobbes in the belief that an individual cannot be self-sufficient without an organized social entity. The critical point here is the balance of this delicate relationship between the individual and society which is regulated by social and political institutions.

It is not freedom of choice, but insight into the fundamental incompleteness of the self, which is at the core of individual and political freedom in the second modernity.

¹⁸ Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenter Roth and Claus Wittich, Berkeley:University of California Press, 1968, p.18

¹⁹ He used this term in an article published in the *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.11, No.3, 1960, pp.224-270.

Social-scientific sense of individualization should be distinguished from the liberal sense which puts individual at the focus of economic activity both as an entrepreneur and consumer as well as a production force own decisions, carry out the responsibility of his own actions and choices.

Psychological Individualism

Alfred Adler (1870-1937), a psychiatrist from Vienna, colleague and later a fierce adversary of Sigmund Freud, developed the concept of “individual psychology” a holistic approach which focused on individual differences and views the personality as an indivisible unity. He was influenced by Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Nietzsche.²⁰ Adler attributes an important role to external factors such as love-related, vocational and societal elements in the formation of the personality. The response of the individual when confronted by these factors takes forms of compensation, resignation and over-compensation according to Adler. Compensation is a response that aims to stop a situation of disadvantage which makes the person to feel inferior, resignation is accepting that disadvantage by giving in, and over-compensation is a neurotic behaviour of over reacting in the effort to compensate for a disadvantage. Adler shifted the focus from libido to social elements in defining personality and its problems. His teachings now are an indispensable part of psychoanalysis and complements Freudian approaches. Especially feminist thinkers applaud his holistic and egalitarian approach to personality formation and psychological problems.

²⁰ Alfred Adler, *The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology*, Trans. P. Radin, London: Routledge, 1924.

We can try to understand the values and behaviour concerning individualism and collectivism to be shaped by external factors while an individual tries to adapt himself. We will take up this subject in Chapter III especially in the writings of Erich Fromm of the Frankfurt School, which was the birthplace of political psychology with revolutionary work on social sciences is made in order to understand the roots of political behaviour.

Aesthetic Individualism

Walt Whitman, American poet whose passion and understanding of democracy was an important part of his art, asserts that popular attachment to democracy requires an aesthetic component. He also aims to create the popular sensibility through a depiction of the people as themselves a world-making power. Through his poetic translation of the voice of the people, Whitman hoped to create a strong democratic consciousness that would in turn impact politics. He found the resources for political regeneration in the democratic potentials of ordinary life.

Following Kant's "Moral Individualism", philosophers, thinkers and writers like Friedrich Nietzsche and Michel Foucault evolved it into "Aesthetic Individualism" where personality is developed into a harmonious whole like a work of art from within himself. We can trace this concept all the way back to Plato, in the passages of *the Republic* where he mentions that in a democracy there will be the greatest variety of human natures and that "they have a complete assortment of constitutions" meaning liberty allows room for diversity.²¹ We can replace "variety of human nature" with the diversity of opinion and faith, gender and ethnic origin. This will be taken throughout this thesis as a central concept forming the nucleus of the modern democracy.

²¹ Plato, *The Republic*, tr. Lee, Desmond, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1974

Religion and Individualism

Religion is the subordination of the individual to a superior being and therefore seems to undermine individuality. However, the diverse approach of religions results in favour of individualism or collectivism accordingly. Central to Catholicism is the notion of altruism, in other words self-sacrifice for the benefit of the others. Evil comes from the vanity, pride and narcissism of the individual and human beings should be controlled and educated to be free of their egoistic pleasure seeking wishes. A similar teaching is seen in Buddhism as well in the form of self-purification towards an exalted being by getting rid of pleasure seeking urges and weaknesses. One important psychological weapon in Christianity was to implant guilt feeling in the psyche. Between 1267 and 1273 the publication of Thomas Aquinas' works argued that the domain of faith was separate from the domain of reason.²² This idea formed the basis of secularism in its long and painful way, which doesn't seem to end yet.

As Max Weber brought to the attention of the world in his great work "The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism", Protestant Ethics were considered as a factor in a number of 'elective affinities' leading toward capitalist modernity in which individual has the most important role. Catholicism with its altruism, promises of rewards for life after death, threats of punishment causing guilty feelings about the enjoyment of worldly pleasures, its intimidation with the imposing authority of the Church all discouraged individual autonomy and entrepreneurship.

Religious individualism describes the attitude of those persons who refuse to subscribe to definite creeds, or to submit to any external religious authority. In a less extreme sense,

²² Davies, Brian, *the Thought of Thomas Aquinas*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

Protestants are individualists in religion, inasmuch as they regard their individual interpretation of the Bible as the final authority.

Sufism is essentially a mystical form of Islam emphasizing the relationship between the individual and God, as James Ferguson argues²³. It emphasizes raising awareness of the real, as distinct from a distorted understanding of what is taken to be real everyday life, through genuine knowledge of the self and the 'veils' which divide it from any experience of the truth. This is also the search for the genuine existence. It can therefore suggest an emphasis on individualism found in the humanitarianism of the west.

Catholics accept the voice of the Church as the supreme authority; therefore reject the notion of religious individualism. Islam encourages trade and individual wealth; on the conditions of sharing with the poor. Apart from some Shiite countries, Islam does not have a cast of clergy as an intermediary authority between God and the people. However, inequality of women and lack of democratic rule in Islamic countries was considered negative consequences for the individual development.

Taking into consideration the high level of individualism in the USA as described by its own social scientists, high commitment to religion may be a conflicting value. The answer lies in the nature of dominant religion in the country, Protestantism (faith of 51 % of the population) that supports freedom of choice and individual enterprise.²⁴

²³ Ferguson, James, *Cosmopolitan Islamic Culture and the Politics of Sufism*, Bond University, Research Paper, 1996.

²⁴ Pew Research Center Survey, 2007

Prof. Yılmaz Esmer made a comparative analysis in 2002 between different religious groups in societies where there were various religious minorities.²⁵ He compared eight countries with Protestant, Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Catholic religious groups in order to see significant differences of values between groups and countries with different religious faiths. His findings indicated that characteristics that define the Islamic culture were consistent. Muslims found their religion important, more than people belonging to other religions. They also did not recognize the equality of women and were highly intolerant of sexual liberation. Of the three indicators of Protestant Ethics that were employed, two (hard work and thrift) turned out to be insignificant for Muslims. Determination and perseverance consistently appeared as values to which Muslims do not attach much importance. Democratic culture variables failed to distinguish Islam from the Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox or Hindu worlds. None of these cultures were found to be related in any significant way to political tolerance, support of freedom, participation or the search for alternatives to the democratic system.

Individualism in Post-Modernity

As a concept of modernity, development of the concept of individualism went through two important stages: a 'First Modernity' that was linked to the effects of the Industrial Revolution, and a 'Second Modernity' that is related to the evolution in the area of information, transport and communication, new production methods, biotechnology and emerging third sector called civil society. While in classical industrial society there were direct interconnections between class, family, marriage, sexual roles and the division of

²⁵ Esmer, Yılmaz, *Is There an Islamic Civilization?* Paper, published at World Values Survey website (<http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org>), June 2002.

labor between men and women, today many more people have the opportunity or are forced to live lives that deviate from this pattern. In this case, the reflexive element consists in the confrontation with the other. First modernity came with nation-state, industrialization, exploitation of nature, full employment, whereas second modernity comes with globalization, individualization, under employment as a structural problem and ecological crisis. It is a different form of capitalism, a new global order, a different type of everyday life where individuals are the basic unit of society and social institutions like family are redefined by negotiations every day. Individualization is not a matter of the rich. There is a great degree of mobilization in and out of poverty amongst a wide range of people and at different periods of people's lives. They are atomized rather than individualized because they are cut-off from their traditional securities while losing access to the basic rights and resources of modernity. Classes disappeared into collective life situations and each has a different political meaning.

Individualism evolved from modern (the emancipation from the bonds) and reflective (I think therefore I am) individualism towards a post-modern and reflexive individualism (I am I). Also, worldwide changes in family patterns that force a reevaluation of the "old individualism" (centred on male prerogatives) and encourage the acceptance of the "new individualism," which respects the developing extra familial prerogatives of females, the young, and the elderly.

According to German sociologist Ulrich Beck, individualization also means the disembedding and then re-embedding of industrial society's ways of life by new ones in which the individuals must produce, stage, and mix together their lives and careers themselves. Ulrich Beck views individualization as an unavoidable and necessary

intermediate phase on the way to new forms of social life²⁶. Ulrich Beck underlines the social characteristics of individualization: “Individualization now is at the same time system destabilization. The contemporary individual is characterized by choice, where previous generations had no such choices. He must make these choices fast. He has neither the time nor the space to reflect. He puts together networks, constructs alliances, and makes deals. He is forced to live in a world of risk”. In his book *Risk Society* Ulrich Beck states that the individual is to blame nobody but himself for the troubles and failures.²⁷ These problems don’t add up to form a common problem to be tackled collectively even though they may be similar to others like unemployment.

Individualization is a concept, which describes structural, sociological transformation of social institutions and the relationship of the individual with society. Therefore it is a process rather than a static concept that helps us to study the social transformation of how institutions control individuals and how individuals emancipate themselves from those bonds and obligations of traditions and institutions. One becomes more individualized with increasing self-sufficiency.

Zygmunt Bauman, Polish philosopher and sociologist asserts that the process of individualization is the transformation of human identity from a ‘given’ to a ‘task’ and modernity makes self-determination an obligation to follow in his book *Individualized Society*:²⁸

²⁶ American abstract painter and art philosopher Peter Halley paints this new form of life in geometric symbols as cells, boxes, separate and isolated but in a close connection with each other in a web of grids that are in constant motion. (N.Ö.)

²⁷ Beck, Ulrich, *The World Risk Society*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

²⁸ Bauman, Zygmunt, *The Individualized Society*, Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2001, pp.144-145.

Casting members as individualists is the trademark of modern society. It is an activity re-enacted daily. Modern society exists in its activities of individuals consist in that daily reshaping and renegotiating of their mutual engagements which is called 'society'. A century ago, individualization meant process of emancipation from the tightly knit web of communal dependency, surveillance and enforcement into growing autonomy and freedom of self assertion.

These reviews criticize post industrial capitalist societies with liberal democracy as leaving individuals too much choice and too much self-determining decisions. As for the controversial arguments that individualism may lead to shallow materialism and hedonistic narcissism, popular French philosopher Michel Onfray who is a champion of atheism and is in the process of writing an alternative history of philosophy with an atheistic outlook, says his individualism is an antidote to egoism. In his "Manifesto of Hedonism"²⁹, in order to build an ideally hedonistic polity, Onfray appeals for the union of egoists in the context of a collective political resistance against global capitalism. He refers to Max Stirner as the inventor of this powerful idea of 'egoists' association' and is also inspired by Henry David Thoreau's Civil Disobedience. Onfray borrows Derrida's neologism of 'egodicy' which affirms that every philosophical discourse proceeds from a self-justification strategy within the soteriological (theological doctrine of salvation) perspective of self-therapy. Rising up against what he calls the 'egotical religion', Onfray emphasizes the necessity of discovering a balanced individuality, which excludes all kinds of dandyish, hysterical, libidinal forms. The required model is the Cartesian metaphysical ego of a heuristic contemplation process.

²⁹ Onfray, Michel, *La Puissance d'exister. Manifeste h doniste (Hedonist Manifesto, Power of existence)*, Paris: Grasset, 2006.

Individualism and Politics

Until the Age of Enlightenment, the idea that the individual had to be subordinated by an unquestionable and unaccountable authority dominated with little challenge in the Aristotelian concept of state, which was supposed to be “prior to all of us.”³⁰ The positioning of the individual with respect to rights, freedom and power is the first step in defining the nature of a political system. The tension which can turn into a conflict between the common interests of the society and the individuals, forces a compromising balance which works differently in democracies and authoritarian regimes.

Philosophers Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and later on Jean-Jacques Rousseau called this process a “Social Contract” where individuals delegate their will to an agency conditionally and temporarily for the sake of order and security through the rule of law. The novelty in “Social Contract” was that the sovereign agent needed the consent of the governed in order to rule. An individual may exist as a citizen at the *cit * (in the sense of autonomous political organization), but he is not only confined to citizenship and is part of humanity and nature; an individualist idea first recognized by Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). He described man as a whole being, a private individual in his relation with God as well as being a member of a commonwealth, a part of a social body. Sociologist Norbert Elias³¹ points that state was considered extra-social and society as something extraneous to the state until modern times.

³⁰ Aristotle, ed. Betty Radice, *The Politics*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962.

³¹ Norbert Elias, *The Society of Individuals*, New York: The Continuum International, 1991, p.235.

Theories and Analysis of the State

As an overall encompassing superstructure, the state, its organization and function was one of the most important philosophical areas of interest since antiquity. As civilizations evolved, authority is increasingly centralized and enforced by a state apparatus existing separately from the society. This state formulates, imposes and enforces laws, levies taxes, mediates in conflicts among the people with its justice arm, also organizes the defence of the territory. Thinkers and social scientists with both liberal and Marxist outlooks have examined modern time nation-states. The main ideas of some important theoreticians are mentioned here as references to help us understand the mechanisms of the state structure that could produce seeds of authoritarianism within a seemingly democratic, secular, constitutional facade in Turkey.

Although Karl Marx did not develop a specific theory of the state, his writings gave important indications of his thoughts. Perry Anderson, one of the important intellectuals of the left, reminds what Karl Marx said in his maturity about how the relationship between society and state should be in his book *Lineages of the Absolutist State*:³² “Freedom is to transform the state into the subordination of the society. Moreover modern formations of states can reach freedom within by limiting the freedom of the state”. Andersen also talks about the eclipse of the state still being the target of revolutionary socialism a century later after the introduction of the idea.

Political sociologist Nicos Poulantzas, fleeing from Greece in the 1960's before the Junta took over, to Paris as a Marxist intellectual and a member of the Communist Party makes the analysis that fascism is not far away from parliamentary democracy, the

³² Perry Anderson, *L'Etat Absolutiste* (Lineages of the Absolutist State), trs. Dominique Niemetz, Paris: Maspero, 1978

bourgeois state and capitalist system which encapsulates it. He cautions regimes which call themselves democracy against its various mutations into non-democratic states by naming them *Forme d'Etat d'Exception* (State of Emergency). Poulantzas claims that they could lead to military dictatorship, Bonapartism and fascism.³³

Nicos Poulantzas conceptualized a state that materializes and concentrates power and displaces the class struggle from the economic to the political arena. However much has changed in the last 30 years. Economic relations have been transformed by economic globalisation, work reorganization, and the compression of space, time, and knowledge transmission through an information and communications revolution. Knowledge is far more central to production and the focus of the relation between power and knowledge has moved out of the nation state that was so fundamental to Poulantzas' analysis.

On Totalitarianism and Democracy, thinkers like Claude Lefort and Cornelius Castoriadis made analysis based on individuals in relation with the state. Especially the political magazine "*Socialisme ou Barbarie*" (Socialism or Barbarianism) developed ideas and theories on this matter. These ideas put the role of the state under spot-lights.

The philosophical movement that started with Antonio Gramsci and later on embodied itself with the Marxist thinker Louis Althusser's "Ideological Apparatus of the State" underlined that the main power lies within the ideologies carried out by the mechanisms of the state machinery. Dominant ideology was being identified with institutions such as church, political parties, unions, schools and universities, media using religion, politics, labour, education and information as the ideological devices (apparatus) of the state.

³³ Nicos Poulantzas, *Fascisme et Dictature*, Paris: Seuil/Maspero, 1974, p. 66.

The extended concept of superstructure by Althusser is used here and the methodology of the study tried to demonstrate the impact and effectiveness of the “ideological apparatus of the state” in Turkey over the individual.

Althusser elaborates the *superstructure*, which itself contains two ‘levels’ or ‘instances’: the politico-legal (law and the State) and ideology (the different ideologies, religious, ethical, legal, political, etc.) He explains that repressive apparatus of the state is the legal system and security forces in the public domain and it represents the visible state power. He then makes his contributions to the interpretation of Marxist theory of state by adding Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA in short) as powerful instruments in imposing the official state ideology.³⁴

They are:

The religious ISA,

The educational ISA (the system of the different public and private ‘schools’),

The family ISA,

The legal ISA,

The political ISA (the political system, including the different parties),

The trade union ISA,

The communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.),

The cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.).

³⁴ Louis Althusser, *Positions*, Paris: Les Éditions Sociales, 1976, p. 172. *Id.*, “Idéologie et *appareils* idéologiques d’état”: notes for a research was first published in the magazine *La Pensée*, no 151, June 1970.

As an element of the private realm, the family becomes an ISA for Althusser as the reproduction of labour power. In different modes of production it is the unit of production and/or the unit of consumption (The majority of small business are family owned in Turkey and in rural areas, family members are the labour power at the same time).

These apparatuses have all been very effectively used by the Turkish state in order to diffuse and strengthen the official ideology as was evident by the surveys of this study and other surveys made on the values and identity elements making Turkish citizens one of the most nationalistic people in the world.

Democracy and Individualism

There is a close association of individualism with political liberalism. Both became prominent in the early nineteenth century. Together, they contributed to a relatively coherent social vision that prioritised individual autonomy in economic and personal life, privileged individual over social welfare, and sought to minimize governmental involvement in those areas.

Liberal democracy is the foremost political system that values individualism over collectivism. As Alexis de Tocqueville put it: “: Individualism is of democratic origin”. It is the simple desire for personal control over one’s social and, especially, economic environment. The defining characteristic of democracy is freedom: To be free is to live as one likes. Versions of that definition are found wherever people are or aspire to be democratic. To live as one likes means that one is allowed to try out various roles in life. Each person is more than any single role, function, or place in society. Individualism consists in that idea. Only democracy inspires it. Each community should leave to its

members the power and freedom of choosing, changing, leaving, rejecting and disobeying regarding personal life. This doesn't mean individuals should be free to do as they like; modernity tries to balance individualism with social solidarity and the welfare of the society as a whole.

Along with numerous thinkers on the same line, George Kateb asserts it is the duty of the governments to treat people in ways to respect their dignity:³⁵

Respect for individual freedom and rights are the best way of honoring the human dignity.... To tie dignity to rights is therefore to say that governments have the absolute duty to treat people (by actions and absentions) in certain ways, in certain ways only. The state's characteristic domination and insolence are to be curbed for the sake of rights.

George Kateb takes Kant's "moral individualism" and extends it to the heart of "democratic individuality" claiming that there lies a certain "moral identity" which individuals acquire by learning particular "moral lessons". These lessons are learnt through constitutional participation in a representative democratic government. The moral attitude of the electorate towards the political authority is that this is a temporary power to be made and unmade, created and removed through the elections³⁶.

Democratically constituted authority is temporary and conditional. Kateb defines positive individuality as beliefs and attitudes endangered by the chastening of authority that may dispose individuals to examine social conventions that partially constitute their personal identities. Negative individuality refers to the disposition to disobey unjustifiable conventions and unjust laws by means of dissent (civil disobedience). These negative and

³⁵ George Kateb, *The Inner Ocean. Individualism and Democratic Culture*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1992.

³⁶ We will refer to this analysis in discussing the power structures in Turkey (p.44).

positive forms of individuality pertain to the democratically learned inclinations to differentiate one's own identity from the ready-made identities available through social conventions. True individualism not only believes in democracy but can claim that democratic ideals spring from the basic principles of individualism. The justification of democracy rests on the fact that in course of time the view of a small minority today may become the majority view; the majority view should not ignore the minority views. There should be a balance and a way of concession to allow the minority to express itself and prevails the majority view if it offers a better way to achieve the profits for the majority.

John Rawls in his important book *A Theory of Justice* lays the basis of individualism on rights and defends personal and political rights with the conditions to secure them. He also states that justice is only possible in democracies.³⁷ But he warns that justice will only be possible if there is a sense of justice in the society and respect for one another. For Nobel Laureate liberal economist and thinker Friedrich Hayek, society is greater than the individuals composing it, only if it is free. This is if it is controlled and directed, it is limited to the powers of the individual minds, which control or direct it. The question is whether man's mind will be allowed to continue to grow or human reason is to place itself in chains of its own making. It is a fact that the individual is the center in the American democracy in which individualism is a democratic political and moral commitment. It is the thinkers and writers like Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman who believe that the highest moral feeling and conscience is above any authority and state and government can be corrupt so their authority and power should be limited to the benefit

³⁷ John Rawls, *a Theory of Justice*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

of the individual. Thoreau says if government commands what is seriously wrong, like war, extermination of a group of people, etc. it must be disobeyed. He invented the concept of “civil disobedience” as a morally legitimate action even if it may be against the law. Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson defend the individual against laws and regulations by any agency or force on moral grounds.

European thinkers and writers have been fascinated by the liberal life style and values of the United States as is exemplified in the novels of Henry James, memoirs of Alexis de Tocqueville not to mention the thinkers and writers who found themselves a home to produce their great works like Hannah Arendt, Theodore Adorno and Edward Said to name just a few. European intellectuals criticized Hannah Arendt when she praised the American Revolution as being more successful than the French Revolution³⁸.

Foucault suggests that individuality is an artificial production undertaken by dominant interests so that people can be more easily controlled in his book *History of Human Sexuality*³⁹. Modern culture encourages learning the secret of one’s self, and it is a trap. Sexuality is one of the important subjects that trap is set upon. Nietzsche also highlights the dangers of finding one’s individuality in one’s deepened consciousness.

Totalitarianism and Individualism

“Fascism is the most important political movement of the twentieth century which is against both left and liberal individualism” says historian Robert Paxton in his book “The

³⁷ Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, New York: Viking Press, 1963.

³⁹ Michel Foucault, *History of Human Sexuality*, tr. Robert Hurley, New York: Vintage, 1978.

Anatomy of Fascism.”⁴⁰ He talks about how the private sphere is invaded by fascism in order to transfer the rights and freedoms of the citizen into affirmation and conformity of the collective values and interests. We can say communism does the same thing, as is the case with all totalitarian regimes.

During and after the second world war, amid the deep trauma of estimated loss of sixty million lives, the studies made on individualism and political systems tried to understand the reasons for totalitarianism to thrive.⁴¹ These thinkers were mostly of Jewish origin and had to flee their country to save their lives through Europe to find a safe haven in the United States. Among them, Raphaël Lemkin who made the definitive description of Genocide to be recognized by the United Nations as a crime against humanity went through the Soviet Union to reach the USA over the Bering Sea. It was through these heroic thinkers and scholars we owe a great deal of work to be able to understand the diabolic nature of totalitarianism and its impact on human psyche and collective memory with lessons for the future. They were not only thinkers and scholars, but individuals who witnessed inhuman atrocities and extermination of their fellow human beings, their friends and relatives. They were also concerned about the future.

Hannah Arendt says in her Preface to the first edition of the “Origins of Totalitarianism”:⁴² “Anti-Semitism (not merely the hatred of Jews), imperialism (not merely conquest), totalitarianism (not merely dictatorship) – one after the other, one more brutally than the other, have demonstrated that human dignity needs a new guarantee which can be found only in a new political principle, in a new law on earth, whose validity this time must comprehend the whole of humanity while its power must remain

⁴⁰ Robert Paxton, *Anatomy of Fascism*, New York: Vintage Books, 2005, p 19.

⁴¹ 20 February 2010, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_casualties.

strictly limited, rooted in and controlled by newly defined territorial entities. In her colossal book covering Anti-Semitism, Imperialism and Totalitarianism, “The Origins of Totalitarianism” (1950) she compared the similarities of left and right totalitarian regimes, namely Stalin’s Soviet Union and Nazi Germany related to anti-Semitism.⁴² The universal philosophical idea of her great work was that the evil is intrinsic in totalitarianism not in the individuals who make decisions. As a system, totalitarianism is able to reach the aims of evil in a more efficient way than individual decisions. She makes connections between public life and moral life of an individual with the politics and reasons that it is the politics that makes goodness and evil possible.

She examined imperialism, anti-Semitism and totalitarianism in her book “The Origins of Totalitarianism” Arendt sheds light on the question as to why and how the ideas and practices of Enlightenment thought produced state structures that could not ensure peoples of those states enjoy a humanitarian rule as idealized by the same philosophy. The political structures which had evolved from the enlightenment thinking could not guarantee the minorities the rights that the idealistic rhetoric promised because the structure of those regimes did not allow minorities to speak in their own voices. The thinkers of Frankfurt School reached similar conclusions trying to understand why Holocaust happened and all similar findings distilled into the concept of “Aesthetic Individualism”. This alone indicated the vitality of individualism in the political philosophy to prevent possible genocides and catastrophes cast upon humanity through the evils of totalitarianism. Hannah Arendt was so sure of her logic in her description of the atrocities of Nazism that in the foreword she wrote after the trials of 1946, where

⁴² Arendt, *the Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt, 1985.

terrible deeds of the Gestapo were exposed in detail and the toll of the genocide was slowly being unfolded, she said she did not need to make any changes in her text because she had foreseen what the Nazis were able to do to her race. According to Hannah Arendt, the state in a totalitarian democracy has the power to intervene in relation to most of the aspects (almost the totality) concerning the life of individuals under its territorial jurisdiction. Her analysis of the masses allows us to make parallels with today's world as a warning for the potential dangers that may lie ahead. The masses are described as people indifferent to politics, having no common interests to be grouped under an organization, too useless or ignorant to be recruited by political organizations are an essential element for totalitarianism to flourish. These masses of people are also were exploited and excluded from decisions, political participation and enjoyment of consumption, and became apathetic. These are the conditions to mobilize them for the purposes of Totalitarianism. They become an easily manipulated weapon and ignited with slight effort, they kill rather than persuade.⁴³

"Totalitarian democracy"

Israeli historian and thinker Jacob Lieb Talmon described the system of government inspired by the philosophy of Rousseau in which liberty is realized "only in the pursuit and attainment of an absolute collective purpose"⁴⁴. Talmon's antonymic term "Totalitarian Democracy" tried to describe the systems relying on the will of the majority by disregarding minorities, nevertheless labelling themselves as "democratic". Talmon

⁴³ Arendt, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-313.

⁴⁴ Talmon,, *op. Cit.*, p. 27

describes communism as totalitarianism of the left, Nazism as totalitarianism of the right. His foresight on the potential totalitarian departments within democratic rules have been taken up two decades later by Nicos Poulantzas who was at the opposite end of the political opinion compared to Talmon, who as a Marxist thinker, theorized on these matters as we mentioned in the section about theories on the state. Talmon's anti-utopian liberalism shares affinities with the political thoughts of Isaiah Berlin, Friedrich August von Hayek and Karl Popper.

Talmon's book did not cause controversy nor attracted much attention. However, his terminology on totalitarian democracy is interesting to think about, especially taking into consideration the authoritarian powers' shrewd exploitation of democratic freedoms in order to destroy them.

CHAPTER III FROM THEORY TO RESEARCH

With the consciousness that social analysis requires universal references, we will try to outsource these references from the theories surrounding them rather than making mechanical comparisons to prove our point. These references will be rationalism of enlightenment, liberal democracy in its modern form, and individualism, as a concept defining nature of political regimes and human development.

The outlook of this work is built on the foundations of “Critical Theory”, theories of Marxist thinkers, namely Nicos Poulanzas and Louis Althusser, conceptualization of individualistic vs. collectivist social and psychological attitudes and value categorization by social scientists of modernity were also instrumental for this study.

Frankfurt School-Critical Theory

Theodor Adorno, the founder of the Frankfurt School, with Max Horkheimer, had to leave Germany after Hitler came to power, because he and his colleagues were Jewish. After the deep trauma of the war and the holocaust, social scientists started to study under which social, historical, economic and psychological conditions such horrible things can happen and how people could be blinded to human drama in such a callous manner. German social scientists focused on studies on individualism once more in the 1990's after the collapse of the wall and the unification of the East and the West because they met with millions of their brothers who lived in a collectivist society for 45 years.

The Frankfurt school reinterpreted Marxism, put it into a more human perspective by placing economic focus with individual as well as enriching it with political psychology (Erich Fromm), sociology and economic philosophy (Marcuse). Most of its members were cross-disciplinary scholars. Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) was a sociologist, philosopher, musicologist and a composer, Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) was a philosopher and sociologist, Erich Fromm (1900-1980) was a social psychologist, philosopher and a psychoanalyst, Jürgen Habermas (1929-....) is a sociologist and a philosopher, Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979) was a philosopher, political theorist and a sociologist. They, and many others, followed by a new generation of scholars made great contributions to social sciences and humanities which created an new area called “Cultural Studies” in the universities after the 1970’s when universities of the free world enjoyed the liberties acquired by the 1968 student revolts supported by the intelligentsia.

The groundbreaking work that attracted the attention and interpretation of social scientists was the joint work of Horkheimer and Adorno, titled ‘Dialectic of Enlightenment’,⁴⁵ where they tried to diagnose the ultimate source of domination produced by the political behaviour. They traced this foundation in the rationalism of enlightenment and asserted that unless protected by pluralist democratic systems, it leads to the devastation of authoritarianism in the case of Nazism, Fascism and Stalinism. An important characteristic of the Critical Theory is its purpose to evaluate, criticise and change society as opposed to traditional social theory that only tries to understand and analyse it. This theory also wanted to reveal oppressive power relations by denying

⁴⁵ Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.

unreflexive and value-free characteristics of positivist social sciences it also carried Marxism into psychological, social and cultural area by “humanizing” it and making its orthodox, rigid, crude materialist and determinist aspects more flexible⁴⁶.

Adorno’s student Jürgen Habermas took the teachings of the Frankfurt School further and adapted them to the problems of modernity. Habermas asserted that crisis of modernity is the inability of the state to meet the needs of the individual for its development and the manipulation of social institutions of the individual speaks for some major social problems in today’s Turkey. However, Habermas talks about this crisis in the European society which is democratic and has regimes and systems that aim to serve the individuals, with liberal economic principles based on individual initiatives. With this outlook we can say the crisis in question is more acute in Turkey because the system is not designed to serve the interests of the individuals and ‘communicative action’ that Habermas mentions as the democratic form of negotiations to overcome the crisis cannot be allowed to take place freely, which leads to frustration.

Theodor Adorno had the idea of identities based on difference without confronting contradictions and obstacles. If and when individual differences are not at the heart of the concept of individualism in a given society, then the formal reason brought about by enlightenment leads to the erasing of the differences which may even lead to genocide. This is in line with Erich Fromm’s assertion that fascism is against individual freedom. Erich Fromm tried to illuminate the dark spots of the human soul that would be permissive to authoritarian rule. In his famous book “Escape from Freedom”, he makes a famous remark full of teachings learned the most painful way: “Fertile soil for the rise of

⁴⁶ Introduction of Jon Simons to *Contemporary Critical Theorists*, Edinburg University Pres, 2004, p.2

Fascism anywhere is the insignificance and powerlessness of the individual”.⁴⁷ He described how submission to the authority of a higher power to escape the complexities of personal freedom would lead not to order and harmony but ultimately to destruction. Emancipation of the individual from external restraints is the achievement of the modern democracy. However, Fromm describes individualism as inner independence. The right to express our thoughts can only be meaningful if we are able to have thoughts of our own. The economic conditions of the modern man as Erich Fromm claims, creates the fear of isolation combined with weakness and leads the person to be either an authoritarian or compulsively conforming “automaton” by losing his own self. In his Freudian analysis: “Poverty, intimidation, isolation are directed against life whereas everything that serves freedom and furthers the courage and strength to be oneself is for life.”⁴⁸ The dangers with threat of isolation Fromm describes causes people to have the survival behaviour rather than self-expression as described in the studies made on World Values Surveys. What Fromm indicates as the forces that scare people off from freedom are in fact verified in these value surveys that when people have scarcity of means for their living, or feel insecure, they are ready to trade-off their freedom of expression with group values. Fromm explains “Religion and nationalism as well as any custom and any belief however absurd and degrading, if it only connects the individual with others, are refuges from what man most dreads: ‘isolation’. One side of the growing process of individualization is the growth of self-strength.” We can see that with prosperity comes increased self-sufficiency and feeling of security, which elevate these fears so that individual becomes conscious of his freedom and rights to seek ways to protect them.

⁴⁷ Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom*, London: Rutledge, 2001 p. 207

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 233

Following the track of thought of Horkheimer and Adorno, political scientist Morton Schoolman interpreted and enriched their ideas. He describes autonomy as: “The positive expression of independence in the face of personal and impersonal authority” in his book “Reason and Horror”⁴⁹. For him, autonomy is acting on one’s own life, freely making commitments, accepting conventions and straining to construct the architecture of one’s own soul”. Morton Schoolman describes this as a kind of individualism that views difference with equality, which is a precondition for a contemporary democracy, closing all the routes and tendencies to the effacement of differences. Aesthetic individualism succeeds most when the culture it produces appears least homogenous, with no universalising tendency. This is the most advanced concept of individualism (in the sense it insures the survival of differences against any kind of limitation or danger of extermination, not as a form of extreme individualism) for democratic rule as one of the vital criteria for contemporary democracies.

For totalitarian regimes, collective values are always above individualism and it is shunned as betrayal to their high missions and ideals. In National Socialism for example, nation is everything, where individuals count for nil.

We used the interventionist nature of the Critical Theory in our aim to understand the relationship between democracy and individualism in Turkey. Critical theory revolved around the efforts to understand the reasons for the rise of Nazism and Fascism. Because this theory owes much of its origin to the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research and

⁴⁹ Morton Schoolman, *Reason and Horror*, New York: Rutledge, 2000, p. 302.

many of its members did much cited research projects before establishing main axis of this theory, it seemed to be the best match for our study which carries the task of examining an authoritarian state ideology through its impact on the individuals.

Critical Theory with these qualities helped us to understand Turkish society pressed into rigid boundaries of an authoritarian regime, which is difficult to see behind its parliamentarian-democratic package, once again took grips of all aspects of life after 1980 Military Coup. We call it authoritarian because the priority is on the omnipotence of the state over the individual, which found its roots in the foundation of the nation state. For the purposes of this study we preferred to use individualism instead of citizenship, because of the political, social and psychological aspects of the concept and information resources in its measurement. We can say an individual is more than a citizen; it has an existence outside the citizenship. Citizenship is the official identity of an individual, which regulates his/her relationship with the state. However, it was the most important status throughout history that helped individuals gain rights, freedom and prosperity.

In our effort to bridge theory with our research, one of the most important instruments has been the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) defined by Louis Althusser that we mentioned in Chapter II.

This is especially very functional when applied to the legal, political and cultural framework set forth by the 1980 Coup d'Etat. The ISA was in operation before 1980, but it reached an almost perfect all-encompassing and exhaustive meaning after 1980 with the Constitution of 1982. This Constitution aimed to create a conservative and authoritarian regime and these objectives seem to be accomplished after educating and forming a new generation during the three decades since.

A new generation was raised in an artificially constructed aquarium-like environment where democracy, the parliamentary system, elections, political parties and the media are illusions of the real ones. The political concepts became shallow through education, media, legal and political framework of this authoritarian system. This is the main reason we focused on young people below 30 years of age. We surveyed Boğaziçi Students as a control group because it was culturally and historically protected from the influence of the state apparatuses and had an autonomous and liberal philosophy from the foundation in 1863. The school was founded by American educators and philanthropists for all students regardless of race, ethnicity and religion. It was the United States of America presented to Europe by Alexis de Tocqueville, the country founded on human rights, where individualism was sacred and people of different origin, belief and race co-existed after struggles, clashes and bitter events such as the Civil War (1861-1865) corresponding to the founding years of the school (Robert College). This culture of freedom and tolerance survived in the cultural territory of the school no matter what kind of political turbulence Turkey went through (we will discuss further the reasons that filter dominant ideology into this institution in the results and discussion).

If we try to adapt the “Ideological Apparatuses of the State” (ISA) of Louis Althusser to Turkey, we can see the corresponding apparatuses in the form of constitutional bodies, institutions as well as civil society organizations supported by the State:

- The religious ISA – “Department of Religious Affairs” regulates and supervises religious activity in the country, appoints the imams for the mosques. This bureaucratic body within the Ministry of State controls the religious activity for all

the Muslims in the name of secularism. The budget is spent for the Sunni sect of Muslims, whereas the taxpayers of other faiths are denied any of their services.

- The educational ISA - (The system of the different public and private 'schools') "The Council of Higher Education" (YÖK) was one of the most instrumental institutions of the 1982 Constitution. The purpose of establishing a strict control of the opposition movements springing from the universities, especially the left movements and organizations was successful and the new post-coups generation was de-politicized to a great extent. This ideological apparatus was more effective in some universities than others, the ones close to the capital and the ones whose rectors were committed to the official ideology.
- The family ISA - It is an institution where customs and traditions reign. However, the values of the state ideology are diffused through education, especially regarding the gender roles and equality. Civil code also determines the legal framework of the family. For example political rhetoric of the head of the executive power on how many children a family should have is an ideological intervention seen in totalitarian regimes. The head of the Vichy Government (1940-1944), Marshal Pétain stressed the motto of "family, work and the country". Family is where the ideology will bear fruit.
- The legal ISA – The National Security Council, the Supreme Board of Judges and Attorneys, the Board of State Supervision and the Constitutional Court are the legal bodies that guard the authoritarian regime. Legal ISA is one of the most important elements to ensure the power of the state and its ideology. Especially the National Security Council is an instrumental body as a bridge of the state bureaucracy into the

executive power in dealing with every important issue concerning the state ideology beyond the area of security.

- The political ISA - The political system, the governance that makes room for the priorities and privileges of the bureaucracy over elected politicians, the legal framework of political parties and election law have all been adjusted to ensure opposition and parties viewed to be threatening for the authoritarian system are marginalized.
- The trade-union ISA- Unions opposing the establishment and demanding rights for their members were neutralized by the 1980 Military Coup. Pro-establishment unions were encouraged. The Labour Laws were changed in a way as to limit their ability for striking and protesting much below ILO standards.
- The communications ISA (press, radio and television, etc.) – “Radio-TV Supreme Board” (RTÜK), some TV channels and TV personalities and columnists that are trained to exclusively endorse state ideology form the Communications ISA.
- The cultural ISA (literature, the arts, sports, etc.) - Placement of pro-state, nationalist writers, intellectuals, academics, media personalities in press and TV companies, establishment of ‘state artists’ as well as formation of pseudo-civil society organizations are part of the cultural ISA that send powerful messages every second we breathe.

There are also practical tools the state uses apart from the ideological ones formulated by Althusser; the use of police force to suppress the opposition rallies and protests, mobs that are easily provoked and resort to violence, economic sanctions and pressures on the opposition, using illegal organizations as we observe in the Turkish political landscape.

The presence of the state and nationalism, religion and tradition in a combination, engulf the social and political sphere in an imposing and threatening manner so that people are intimidated to feel and act differently.

The idea we are defending here is that the impact of this powerful ideological mechanism is negative for the development of individualism. Both structural formation and ideological operation of the Turkish state is not in favour of individualism. The ISA works towards forming a homogenous identity, behaviour and submission because the origins of Turkish Republic exclude pluralism, individual differences and limits freedom and rights of the individual for the sake of its unity and power. However, prioritizing the welfare of the state machinery with its attached bureaucracy and curbing individual differences is not necessary for unity in modern times. Just the opposite is true. Exertion of this unifying power causes fault lines in the politico-cultural area which finds its expression in the criticism of Prof. Faruk Birtek⁵⁰ on the homogenizing pressure of the republic's discourse over the multicultural structure of the identities in Turkey.

If we go back to Kant's *Moral Individualism* that proposes emancipation from self-incurred tutelage and its evolution into *Aesthetic Individualism* that ensures the protection of individual differences, we will be able to reach an important prerequisite of the modern democracy which will be safe from the perils of totalitarianism, fascism, communist dictatorship and genocide. This evolutionary process of individualism is through constitutional participation in a representative democratic government. Electorate delegate their power to political authority for a period of time in a temporary condition. This power is constructed after an election and is due to be deconstructed in a new

⁵⁰ See p.54

through appointed posts by the elected power, as the administration of the temporary authority. However, there is an autonomous authority in Turkey, which extends its power in the political area that does not change by the democratic election process. It is the power of the military and civilian bureaucracy protected by the constitution and other laws and regulations, which form the authoritarian structure of the state. This schizophrenic duality with the elected government causes tensions because the authority overlaps and conflict continues until it is resolved. Three declared military coups, one post-modern coup and another in the form of electronic coup resolved this conflict. The legal actions against the coup attempts do not change the structure of this authority framework. For a structural change, there needs to be a democratic revolution with a new constitution. When we talk about the use of ISA in Turkey, it is this structure that masterminds most of it in order to continue its reign. Elections not only can not touch this authority, they also have little meaning in a political environment where the political demands of the people can not find its reflection in the political party formation and participation. Hegel says:” The freedom is the fundamental character of the will, as weight is of matter. That which is free is the will. Will without freedom is an empty word” which seems to explain the situation of the Turkish electorate whose will can only be expressed when asked in an obligatory process, not through free speech, free organization and demonstration.

Theorists on the state indicate there can be concealed totalitarian islands within the state structure and states use excuses of security threats to extent their authority in the exceptional forms (Poulantzas) bypassing democracy. We observe an abundance of these security threats in Turkey whether they are true or synthetically produced. The nature of

the political regime in Turkey is puzzling for any western observer with his references on political theory. It is a republic governed by parliamentary democracy from the outset.

The difficulty of the country to evolve into a true democracy might lie in its positioning of the individual. The nature of the regime was closed for individual differences, what is described as “Aesthetic Individualism” from the beginning and it still is in today’s post-modern world. This explains the situation of ethnic and religious minorities (Kurds, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Syriacs, Yezidis, Alevites, and Romans) as well as leftist ideologies, not to mention culturally marginal groups (Homosexuals, transvestites).

The data we collected in our research demonstrate the impact of the state ideology on the development of individualism with its dimensions most evident in the identity expressions, freedom of choice and control, defending rights and confronting authority.

CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY OF MEASURING INDIVIDUALISM

Major objective of our statistical investigation is to obtain data and interpret it according to the defined value categories by testing our hypothesis that the independent variable of the non-democratic state ideology has a negative impact on the dependent variable of the phenomena of individualism which needs freedom of expression and human rights in order to flourish. The strategy developed to study individualism in its relationship with the regime-system and the state in Turkey, consisted of a methodology based on the theory that was founded to decipher political behavior and its impact. We adopted the approaches of the Critical Theory in trying to investigate the individual behavior in relation with other social phenomena, namely state ideology.

Research Design

In order to measure the impact of an abstract concept like ideology on the values of the people and interpret those values with respect to individualist or collectivist characteristics, we needed a large sample representative of the general population and a comparison sample to test our dependant variable. We used an intervening variable which was the cultural philosophy of Boğaziçi University as was manifested on its students, to be able to test the impact of the state ideology with the assumption that Boğaziçi University students feel this impact less than the others. We took cross tables from the general population sample to test whether some groups differed significantly from the others and to be able to make comparisons between groups with similar demographic and social characteristics. They were the 20-24 age groups, group with higher education

within the general population sample and Boğaziçi Students between ages of 18-26 separate from this sample. In order to define the direction of values, we used criteria of value categorizations distilled from the largest sociological survey repeated every year since 1981, World Values Survey.

We made a cross-sectional study between October-December 2009. We used both quantitative and qualitative methods with different sample groups. Individual was the unit of analysis in an aggregate form.

Sampling

The sampling of the general population was done with proportional stratified sampling method. 11 cities are taken to represent urban population according to geographical distribution and their populations (Table 1). 2007 Census results are used to make proportions of gender and age groups as well as the populations of the cities. Another variable was the income distribution data of the State Statistical Institute (Table 2). Using these data, cities are divided into parts according to the unit cost of housing, which is adjusted yearly. The survey was conducted on the sample size of 1000 representing urban population. A research company did the fieldwork.

Previous Research

The difficult task of measuring individualism was mostly overcome with the categorization and conceptualization of values indicative of individualism vs. collectivism by the studies done on the World Values Survey (WVS) which is the largest social scientific survey -conducted worldwide since 1981; expanding the geographical

area every year.⁵¹ This survey is a set of representative surveys from all over the world, covering 90 % of the world population, to measure values of people on various areas including attitudes for work, equality, freedom, family, environment, racism, nationalism, outlook of life etc. The Survey has won the “Most Valuable Data” award from the American Association of Political Scientists with 356,000 people interviewed so far from 90 countries.

Academicians as Harry Triandis, Geert Hofstede, Ulrich and Elizabeth Beck, Andrew Payton, Stephen Vaisey, Ronald Inglehart and Daphne Oyserman made extensive studies on the survey data. In a factor analysis of national-level data from the 43 societies included in the 1990 World Values Survey, Inglehart found that two main dimensions accounted for over 70 percent of the cross-national variance in a pool of variables tapping basic values in a wide range of domains ranging from politics to economic life and sexual behaviour.⁵² He termed these “Traditional vs. Secular-rational values” and “Survival vs. Self-expression values”. Together, these axes explain most of the cross-national variance in a factor analysis of ten indicators—and each of these dimensions is strongly correlated with scores of other important orientations, reflecting a common underlying dimension focusing on human emancipation and choice. Values in the collective societies were grouped under the main headings as “traditional, survival, embedded ness” as opposed to “secular-rational, self-expression and autonomy” values. WVS helped social scientists to develop an “Attitude Scale of Individualism”.

⁵¹ The Study first started as European Values Survey (EVS) in 1981. EVS was conducted under the aegis of Jan Kerkhofs and Ruud de Moor and continues to be based in the Netherlands at the Tilburg University. The secretariat of the organization is in Switzerland. The member of the WVS Steering Committee from Turkey is Yılmaz Esmer who supervised participation of Turkey since 1990.

⁵² Ronald Inglehart, *Authority and Value Systems Modernization and Post modernization*, Princeton, 1997

There are certain attitudes that indicate the level of individualism:

1. Power of control on destiny: Power of decision-making concerning personal life,
2. Self-confidence in values: Detachment from outside influence,
3. Ability to act alone,
4. Ability to construct a unique personality.

To become an individual, one must develop a unique personality who can use her/his potential and means to pursue her/his own objectives. An individual may have a close attachment to family, take part in organizations, have close friends, can be in solidarity with his/her fellows. These do not hinder her/his independence. He/she forms these attachments with his own will. He/she has both his public and private identities. He/she can face up to authority for his/her beliefs and principles. He/she is autonomous, can put forth his/her action against forcing and pressure.

Harry Triandis, an American sociologist, started to investigate the conditions that caused such differentiation in societies between individualistic and collectivistic poles. Triandis made many studies to find out the answers and tried to measure individualism with some parameters like the moral appreciation of individualism, opportunity and capability to choose.

Harry Triandis argued that four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism are:

1. Definition of the self which can emphasize personal or collective aspects,
2. Priority of personal goals or collective goals,
3. Emphasis on communal relationships or on exchange

4. The importance of attitudes or norms as determinants of social behaviour.⁵³

The individualism and collectivism have different versions within themselves: vertical and horizontal.

Jüri Allik Anu Realo from the University of Tartu, Estonia explains the findings on the studies of this rich data:

Many social scientists have predicted that one inevitable consequence of modernization is the unlimited growth of individualism, which poses serious threats to the organic unity of society. Others have argued that autonomy and independence are necessary conditions for the development of interpersonal cooperation and social solidarity. We reanalyzed available data on the relationship between individualism-collectivism and social capital within one country (the United States) and across 42 countries. In America, the states with a high level of social capital (higher degree of civic engagement in political activity, where people spend more time with their friends and believe that most people can be trusted) were found to be more individualistic. A correspondingly strong association between individualism and social capital was observed in the comparison of different countries. These results support Durkheim's view that when individuals become more autonomous and seemingly liberated from social bonds, they actually become even more dependent on society.⁵⁴

This analysis shows how the results of value studies helped social scientists to categorize individual and collectivist behaviour and how individualism helps social solidarity.

Correlation of Individualism with Democracy

Researchers found individualism and democracy are highly correlated in their studies on World Values Survey, as expressed by Ronald Inglehart and Daphna Oyserman from University of Michigan in 2003:⁵⁵

The dimension of cross-cultural variation tapped by Individualism-Collectivism, Autonomy/Embeddedness and Survival/Self-expression values has a common theme,

⁵³ Triandis Harry Charalambos, *Individualism & Collectivism*, Boulder: West view Press, 1995.

⁵⁴ *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2004, pp. 29-49.

⁵⁵ January 10, 2010, Inglehart, Oyserman, <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

emphasizing freedom of choice. Consequently, the presence and strength of this emphasis represents an emancipative social force that acts powerfully on the emergence and strengthening of democracy. The levels of democracy in the countries analyzed here are closely linked with their scores on the Survival/Self-expression dimension. A number of societies are in a transition zone, including Turkey, the Philippines, Slovenia, South Korea, Taiwan, Poland, Peru, Chile and South Africa. Authoritarian rulers of some Asian societies have argued that the distinctive 'Asian values' of these societies make them unsuitable for democracy. All of the Islamic societies rank below the midpoint on the Survival/Self-expression dimension. But we do not find an unbridgeable chasm between Islamic societies and the rest of the world. The belief systems of these Islamic countries fall roughly where one would expect them to be on the basis of their level of economic development. The most developed of them, Turkey, is now in the transition zone along with such countries as South Africa and Slovenia; and the public of the second richest of these Islamic countries, Iran, shows a surprisingly pro-democratic political culture: in the last two national elections, overwhelming majorities of the Iranian public voted for reform-oriented governments—only to have their aspirations thwarted by a theocracy that controls the army and secret police.

It is noteworthy that Turkey is viewed as an “Islamic Society” and classified in the transition zone with countries which had no democratic experience until 1990'sies.

WVS in Turkey

The findings of the WVS for Turkey point to a collective type of society rather than an individualistic one according to the value identification of the academicians. The evaluation on the study places Turkey among the “transitional” societies. This vague and in-between position enforces the need for further study and clarification on the concept of individualization in Turkey.

WVS in Turkey was conducted by a team headed by Prof. Yılmaz Esmer, on a random sample of 1,579 people representing the general population from 41 cities aged over 15 and we analysed the latest results available from 2007. The results painted an introverted, highly nationalist and conservative society with low social capital and little tolerance for

others however, happiness and satisfaction from life was high and this was more of a trait for individualist societies.

In the survey, as an indicator of tolerance, the answer to the question “I wouldn’t want them as my neighbour” was as follows:

88 % gays, 78 % people with Aids, 65 % unmarried couples, 63 % Atheists, 55 % Jews, and 44% named Christians as unwanted neighbours.

Responding to the question “How important is religion in your life?”

92 % said important. Responding to the question of “Are you proud to be a Turk?” 91 % said yes. These are some of the highest scores in the entire world. When compared with other countries, Turkey ranks first in the number of responses who don’t want a neighbour from another religion, second in the importance of religion after Malaysia, and first in national pride. The findings concerning religion and nationalism are also verified by our survey with the general population (Graph 4 A).

Internalization of Values

The ideas perceived in learning through formal education and mass media, and social interactions accumulate in certain compositions to become values to be internalized by the mind. If there is a dominant democratic culture, the necessity for personal freedom and autonomy for self-actualization and growth is articulated strongly. For example in Sweden, the concept of “Swedishness” is built upon equality while nationalism is undermined by successive governments in their discourse and educational policies.⁵⁶ The rejection of nationalism became a unifying national value, and values like gender equality

⁵⁶ Johanson, Andreas Heinö, *De-nationalization and Individualization in Swedish National Identity*, University of Gotenburg, *International Review of Sociology*, Volume 19, Issue 2, July 2009.

became a priority. Distilled after surveys with hundreds of thousands of people, social scientists discovered repeated pattern of values with individualist and collective traits.

Main Characteristics of Collectivist and Individualistic Societies can be listed as follows:

<i>Collectivist societies</i>	<i>Individualist Societies</i>
Values	
Traditional-religious Survival needs are important	Secular-rational Self-expression needs are important
Close family ties Nationalistic Intolerance for diversity Adherence and conformity to group values Embeddedness Focus on duties and responsibilities Unsatisfied Suspicious of others	Loose family ties Global Tolerance for diversity Individual choice over group values Autonomy Focus on rights and dreams Satisfied Trusting others
Sociological implications	
Low social capital	High social capital
Political implications	
Conducive for the emergence of Totalitarianism Low civic participation	Conducive for the emergence of democratic institutions High civic participation
Economic status	
Middle and poor income countries	Developed economies
Geographic distribution	
Asia, Africa, South America	Europe and North America

Definitions

We will take the most basic definition of Individualism as a social psychological term that refers to the ways in which people identify themselves, focus on their goals and act in an autonomous manner making their own decisions. This definition is away from any political and cultural subjectivity. Harry Triandis argued that four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism are:

- Definition of the self which can emphasize personal or collective aspects,
- Priority of personal goals or collective goals,
- Emphasis on communal relationships or on exchange,
- The importance of attitudes or norms as determinants of social behaviour.

Measurement of individualization is therefore focused on:

- The moral appreciation of individualism,
- The opportunity to choose,
- The capability to choose.

Communitarian conception of a “socially embedded self” is a personality whose identity is formed by his or her community. The academicians also pointed to the correlation between satisfaction and happiness in life and individualization. Individualists are more satisfied and happy in life than the people in collectivist societies. Same positive correlation is also found between trust for others and individualization when brought together with high civic and political participation, this becomes an indicator for social capital. Another indication of individualism is the claim by individuals of the power to

decide for them what is good or bad for them. Societies near the traditional pole emphasize the importance of parent-child ties and deference to authority, along with absolute standards and traditional family values, rejection of divorce, abortion, euthanasia, and suicide as possible personal choices. These societies have high levels of national pride, and a nationalistic outlook. Societies with secular-rational values have the opposite preferences on all of these topics. Similarly, societies that differ in Survival vs. Self-expression values also differ in a range of values that can be seen as Materialist vs. Post-materialist values. That is, those endorsing self-expression values also give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of diversity (including gender equality, and tolerance of out groups – foreigners.

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba studied correlation between the concepts of trust and social capital in their five-nation study *The Civic Culture* that emphasized the importance of interpersonal trust in a society as one of the forming blocks of “the civic culture”⁵⁷. Since then, and particularly in the 1990’s, trust has received a great deal of attention. Interpersonal trust, respect and civic participation are indicators of social capital. It is argued to be a significant independent variable for sustainable economic growth and the consolidation of democracy.

The Survey including these questions as well as many other value variants on a wide area of subjects was conducted in Turkey since 1990 by Boğaziçi University until 2007. The survey concerning this thesis will only focus on the values indicating the level of individualization by looking closely to “survival/ self-expression, traditional/secular, embedded ness/autonomy” values by both quantitative and qualitative research.

⁵⁷ Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, California: Sage Publications, 1989, p.239.

The purpose and conduct of the surveys

In order to understand the impact of the authoritarian system and Althusser's "Ideological Apparatus of the State" on the individualization in Turkish society, we tried to study and analyse the level of individualization among urban youth at the age of early adulthood upon taking responsibility for an independent life along with the general population. In order to make a comparison with the general population where we believe the suppressive forces of the super structure are at work, we also studied Boğaziçi University students who live in a much more liberal atmosphere than the rest of the people in their secluded island of freedom. This study is an attempt for a sociological interpretation of the impact of political regime on individualization.

The questionnaire on the sample representing general urban population is designed to search for identity elements and relations with the authority. Same questionnaire is applied for the survey with Boğaziçi Students. The additional qualitative questionnaire for Boğaziçi Students is composed of questions picked from the WVS among values which reveal individualistic or collectivistic tendencies.

Quantitative Survey for General Population in Turkey

To prepare the questionnaire (Table 3) for the quantitative survey with the sample representing general urban population, we tried to move from the concepts indicative of collectivism and individualism to the questions. Questions of surveys are designed in order to measure values pertaining individualism vs. collectivism by using pivotal concepts that functions as a catalyst.

Relationship with the authority figure → an indication of independent behaviour → Questions 1 and 10 of quantitative survey, submission indicates collectivism, defiance indicates individualism. This is a pivotal question that provides us the response with clues on individualist or collectivist values.

Identification → Collective values like nationality and religion vs. abstract and personal values indicate corresponding qualities → Questions 4, 5, 8 of quantitative survey. These are the most important questions of the quantitative survey in their power to reveal the values that people identify their own personality with. The nature of these values function as a Litmus test on whether the person has individualist or collective values. If a person identifies himself/herself with abstract character traits like talents, intelligence, beauty, these responses will indicate individualistic values as opposed to identification with collective labels.

Power and control to decide and choose → a 10-point scale is used to measure efficacy, that is, how much freedom and control individuals think they have over their lives. At the lower end are those respondents who believe “what they do has no real effect on what happens to them” and at the higher end are those who think they have complete freedom over their lives. → Degree of control over one’s life is an indication of individualism → Question 2 of quantitative survey show whether they have the power to choose.

Self Expression vs. Survival values → in order to have the confidence and security to be able to express one’s opinion or to have the right to be different is an important aspect of an open society. These values flourish in democracy. Question 6 will try to reveal the

degree of peer pressure an individual feels which would translate into social pressure. On a complementary area, Question 7 will try to receive response on the freedom and ability of expressing oneself. This can also be read as the degree of tolerance in the social environment. Survival concerns for the reasons of protecting individual from the risks he/she may face for differing will be tested here.

Satisfaction and happiness in life → Individualism has a close correlation with satisfaction from life. Therefore happiness and expected happiness in the future are indicators of individualism → Question 3 in the quantitative survey.

Qualitative Survey with Boğaziçi University Students

Unit of analysis: Boğaziçi University students.

Sample type: Convenience.

Fieldwork methods: In-depth interviews at the Boğaziçi University North and South Campus.

Sample size: 40

This survey was conducted with 40 individual in-depth interviews with the conveniently chosen Boğaziçi University students. Samples will reflect the part of population where we can see the highest level of individualization this society allows. The findings are analyzed as indications to the state of socio-economic development and level of democratization in Turkey.

Choice of Questions: We applied the same questionnaire as the one we used for the quantitative survey with the general population for Boğaziçi students for comparison and an additional 20-question survey for and in-depth interview.

We borrowed the additional questions for a qualitative survey with Boğaziçi students from the Questionnaire of World Values Survey. We chose 20 questions from the survey that indicated values on individualism and collectivism. The questions regarding the

importance of family, friends, work, religion, leisure time, service to others, politics and questions relating to satisfaction, happiness, expectations, tolerance, important child qualities, loneliness, trust, freedom of choice and control were instrumental in triggering the expression of the opinions and feelings in our sample group.

Conducting In-depth Interviews with Boğaziçi Students

In-depth interviews were conducted with the consciousness to overcome biased answers, hidden meanings behind concepts, context contamination and social desirability effects especially with terms like “democracy”, “tolerance”, “respect”, “nationalism”, “attachment and distance to family, country, home, religion, and nationality”. These challenges were important because the general tendency for the misuse of concepts by emptying them out and making use of them in disinformation campaigns were some of the communications attacks these young people have been exposed continuously in their lives.

Number of Interviews: 40

Female : 21 Male: 19

Ages:		Departments:
18-2	Political sciences: 4	Philosophy: 2
19-4	Sociology: 2	Int. Trades: 4
20-5	Economics: 2	Prep: 2
21-6	Psychology: 2	Turkish Lit: 1
22-13	History: 4	Engineering: 6
23-5	Business Adm: 3	Tourism: 1
24-4	Chemistry Teach : 2	Physics grad.: 1
25-0	Molecular Biology	Mathematics: 1
26-1	and genetics: 1	Physics Teach. : 1
	English Literature 1	

City of Birth: İstanbul (14), Tekirdağ, İzmit, Kocaeli, Bursa, Adapazarı, Samsun, Ankara (3), İzmir (2), Aydın, Manisa, Denizli, Sinop, Afyon, Kayseri, Mersin (2), Antalya (2), Diyarbakır, Münih, Yozgat, Üsküp.

Distribution of classes: Prep: 2, Freshmen: 6, Sophomore: 6, Junior: 12, Senior: 9, Grade 5: 1, Masters: 1

The Method of Comparison between General Population and Boğaziçi Surveys

The main emphasis of this study was to be able to see the differing impact of the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) on the general population and Boğaziçi Students. We claim Boğaziçi students had the opportunity to be protected from the impact of ISA that had a unifying and standardizing effect on values that hinder the development of individualism. For the purpose of this comparison, we used the same questionnaire on both samples. However, we wanted to have a deeper understanding of the values of Boğaziçi students. Therefore we furthered our research by doing an in-depth survey on this sample. In other words, we did both quantitative and qualitative surveys with Boğaziçi sample group.

The Compatibility of Compared Samples

It was important to have a random sample for the general population in order to have a representative data for the values. However we didn't need to have a random sampling for Boğaziçi students, because we did not look for the representative overall value structure, therefore we had a sampling of convenience. We just wanted to see the values, feelings and opinions of students studying at Boğaziçi University. In order to cover different faculties and different ages in the campus, we tried to include students from different departments and classes with male and female numbers near equal (19 and 21). Another reason why the sample did not need to be random for effective representation is that students go thorough a filtering mechanism entering Boğaziçi University and the ones with certain qualities attain the status of being a student in Boğaziçi. It is one of the top universities in the country and the students who have succeeded to be at the top few thousand in the entry exams are accepted. Most of them have similar qualities of high

academic success and intelligence. In-depth interviews showed that they see themselves as successful individuals and the way they identify with their school is an indication that it provides them a heaven of tolerance, versatility, social participation, acceptance besides academic education. It is also a small universe to sample from. Even if we may face the question whether the findings of Boğaziçi students were biased, they show a consistency of behaviour and value traits to prove the opposite. This consistency and difference from the general population shows that there are characteristic qualities shared by most of the Boğaziçi Students. These qualities inevitably affect the self-confidence and values of the students.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Evaluation the data of the survey on the sample representing general urban population with respect to the attitude scale on individualism vs. collectivism, some striking findings stand out to provide us with clues on the state of individualism through indicative values. The value data of the general population show similarity with the 20-24 age group despite some variations. However, Boğaziçi students show a distinctively different profile of values similar to European countries where secularism, democracy and individualism is developed.

Results and Discussion of the Survey on the General Population

Some findings that point to collective values as opposed to individualist ones can be listed as follows:

- * 47.7 % of the people express their personal identity with nationalism and religion (Graph 4).
- * 38.6 % say they never objected to an authority that has a direct influence in their lives (Figure 1).
- * 33.5 % of the people studied in schools they did not choose (Figure 2).
- * 28.8 % do not find their lives promising for their objectives and dreams (Figure 3).
- * 71 % identify themselves with family, nationalism and religion (Figure 5).
- * 18.6 % don't agree to abandon any collective attachment to pursue his/her dreams in life.

These findings point to traditional, collectivist values with survival concerns, weak independence and high attachment to nationalistic and religious values. This should be a

concern for the future of democracy. It is also difficult to find a democratic consciousness, especially tolerance for otherness in such a value structure.

When compared with other countries, importance on nationality is among the highest in the world, importance on religion is parallel with Iran, only surpassed by Malaysia among the available data of the World Values Survey. (WVS 1)

If we look for relatively neutral and positive findings to encourage individualism, we can list these:

- 53.7 % objected to a higher authority from time to time (Figure 1)
- 83.1 % resist peer-pressure (Figure 6)
- 40 % risk isolation for defending their principles (Figure 7)
- 41 % ready to abandon their homes to pursue their dreams in life (Figure 8)
- 42.9 % describe their political tendency on the left (Of which 6 % is radical left) (Figure 9)
- 26.1 % describe their political tendency as liberal (Figure 9).

If we look closer at these findings, we will see that the most likely authority to be defied is parents. Risking isolation to defend values might be related to the attachment to religion and nationalism, whereas leaving home for a heavily migrating society can not be considered as a sign of mobility or independence.

The hypothesis to be verified by research in this study is that there is an ideological force exerted on the society by the state which has a negative impact on individualism.

Relationship with the Authority

The response to the first question on whether the subject was obedient to an authority that had power over him/her was an indication of independence and democratic demand for rights.

- 38.6 % say they never disobeyed an authority that has a direct influence in their lives (Figure 1)
- 53.7 % disobeyed a higher authority from time to time (Figure 1)
- (Figure 10)

Rate of obedience increased with age. (Data of the Quantitative Survey T1)

When an individual gets free of family authority, he/she immediately faces multiple social authorities in education, military service (for males), work place and bureaucracy.

As a person ages he/she may not wish to take risks, as the stakes get high.

The percentage of the respondents who never disobeyed an authority figure seems high but this alone does not indicate a submissive behaviour. The detailed elaboration of this question was made at Question 10 (Figure 10) on how the subject would respond when wronged by an authority figure. Here we see that most defied authority is the police followed by boss and parents. We may infer from this response that people believe they are or can often be treated unfairly by police, their bosses and their parents, who are targets for objection. When we take out parents as an exception, this may also indicate level of trust for different authority figures. Relationship with parents is more emotional and objections may arise more often than other authority figures most probably on a higher number of issues including trivial ones.

Power and Control to Decide and Choose

* 33.5 % of the people with higher education studied in schools they did not choose (Figure 2). This is a very important measure of what a country offers to her people. Other reasons may be speculated to be family pressure etc., but it is clear that one third of the population with higher education studied something outside of their choice. This can be considered as a drawback in the way of self-actualization.

Happiness and Satisfaction

* 28.8 % do not find their lives promising for their objectives and dreams (Figure 3)

* 67.7 % think it rarely provides them with the opportunities to fulfil their objectives and dreams.

* 3.5 % believe life often presents them such opportunities.

This is not a gloomy picture. Other researches on happiness also find that Turkish people don't seem to be unhappy. WVS Turkish Survey showed happiness declined in 2001 during the time of economic crisis, but was steadily high at other times (WVS 1)

For some people this can be attributed to their faith to be thankful for what life offers them. However, this is a positive sign for hope, welfare and individual development.

The Identity Question

This is the most revealing finding we had in our survey, which shows the highest difference with the Boğaziçi sample group. (Figure 4)

Here is the breakdown:

- 26.2 % believe the most powerful element to identify with is their religion,
- 21.5% think nationality is what defines their identity,

- 15.5 % find their gender defines their identity
- 15.3% identify themselves with their family
- 10.7 % identify with their profession
- 4.7 % identify with their birth city
- 2.6 % believe his/her self-confidence constitutes his/her identity
- 1.4 % identify themselves with their school
- 1.4 % have no reply
- 0.4 % think their motherhood is their identity
- 0.2 % identify with their intelligence
- 0.1 % other.

The data that 47.7 % of the subjects express their personal identity with nationalism and religion demonstrates the powerful impact of the state ideology. Religious attachment is usually believed to be in the private realm than the public. The way the 1980 Military Administration used religion as a shield against the left and opposition in their rhetoric; the opening of high schools with religious education far more than the demands for Imams; the establishment of compulsory religious lessons in the primary education all prove this area to be a strong tool for ideological purposes. Extreme fundamentalism is believed to be under control. Religious activity is run and managed by the civil servants.

We believe public education has an important role in the formation of identity.

An average Turkish student attending public or private schools that are under the authority of the Ministry of Education attends flag ceremonies every Monday for 11-12 years of his/her life. An elementary school student recites the same ultra nationalist, discriminatory and extremely altruistic lines every morning before lessons start repeating

he/she is a Turk, a righteous and hard working person and his sole being should be sacrificed for the well being of his country. Everybody hears calls to prayer at least 1000 times a year. The schoolbooks are designed to diffuse state ideology through the most nationalistic and conservative values surrounding all aspects of life.

Higher education took a new form after the 1980 Military Coup. It has lost its autonomous status and became an important part of the Education ISA through the institution of Higher Education Council.

Data indicates that only 1.4 % of the population find personal characteristics (as profession, intelligence, self-confidence, school) as defining traits of their identity .This is the sign of individualism whereas the rest of the population use collective elements such as nationality, religion, family, birth city and their gender.

We took up the identity factor again in question 5. This time we wanted subjects to rank some given identity elements in terms of priority. Similarly, 71 % in general population identified themselves with family, nationalism and religion as their top priority elements (Figure 5).

We will evaluate this data in relation with the “Attitude Scale of Individualism” developed within WVS studies. Self-confidence in values develops as the individual detaches from outside influence. If the definition of the self is through collective aspects and priority is on the collective goals rather than personal ones, we can consider this value to be on the collectivist side.

Majority of the people identify with the nationality based on a certain ethnicity and religion with no other major element constructing their identity. This is in fact a ready-made identity imposed on them upon their birth. This creates a danger of alienation for

minorities who don't belong to the same religion or ethnicity. We can refer to Erich Fromm here to discuss the responses of an individual at the times of social, economic or political crisis. Escaping from freedom according to Erich Fromm had three mechanisms; the automaton conformity authoritarianism and destructiveness. Automaton conformity is losing one's true self by becoming someone who is believed to win the preference of the society. Authoritarianism is to voluntarily get into the control of an authority in an attempt to eliminate others or the world as a whole through destruction.

There are evident facts that can merely be gathered just by observation. The constructed identity that was imposed on people through education and the media excludes certain elements, which embody difference from the normative ethnocentric identity. These exclusions are inherent in the construction of national identity; tolerance for otherness within the nation is very scarce and projected as intolerance for strangers. Julia Kristeva believes social intolerance offers an ethical challenge to violence against the other⁵⁸. Nationalist hatred is explained as a way societies or social groups attempt to deal with their lack of enjoyment, attributing this lack, this structural impossibility to the action of an external force, the national enemy or the general "other" who is fantasized as enjoying more and having already stolen what is thought of as 'essentially theirs'. Degrading and hate provoking stories about Jews, gypsies, Alevites and the term used to label non-Muslims, *gâvur*, meaning infidel, merciless, unbeliever, cruel (Dictionary of Oxford) in Turkish culture are all indications of this intolerance.

⁵⁸ Simons, Jon, (ed.) *Contemporary Critical Theorists-From Lacan to Said*, Edinburgh University Press, 2004, p. 149

Self-Expression vs. Survival Values

Whether the subject would do some undesirable act to please friends was tested in question 6 and 83.1% responded negatively (Figure 6). This is highly positive for resistance to peer pressure and sign of a strong personality as well as high self-confidence. However this concerned friends only. We furthered this in question 7 and asked whether they would risk isolation and humiliation to defend their opinion. The rate of risk takers was down to 40% (Figure 7). This is a more accurate data for self-expression vs. survival values. This response is indicative for the determination of self-expression in the face of social pressure.

Focus on Rights and Dreams

Question 8 of the quantitative survey aimed to test the level of attachment to collective values such as country, home, family, religious belief and citizenship. This is a pivotal question to test whether the attachment to collective elements are sincere and real or out of conformity and need for security. Here is the response of the general population on what they would abandon if they had to, in order to reach their dreams (Figure 8).

41 % home

18.6 % none

16.6 % religious belief

10.7 % country

10.2 % citizenship

2.9 % family.

These responses may be read as opportunism. But if a considerable total of 37.5 % is ready to leave their country, religious belief and citizenship in return of their personal dreams and expectations, we can argue that the superstructure imposes these attachments and not totally internalised. The 18.6 % of the population who refuse to abandon any of these attachments for their dreams are either very happy with their achievements or highly devoted to these concepts.

This data strengthens our thesis that superstructure, culture, state, education imposes collectivist values that obstruct self-actualisation. Individualism would easily flourish in the absence of this pressure.

Political Tendencies

- 6 % of the sample group see themselves as radical leftist
- 31.1 % describe their political tendency on the left
- 26.1 % describe their political tendency as liberal
- 23.1% describe their political tendency as conservative
- 6.2 % describe themselves as fundamentalist
- 7.5 gave no reply.

The declared tendencies of the political spectrum in the quantitative research (Figure 9) do not support the attachment to religion and nationalism (Figure 4) because majority of the people describe themselves to be at the left of the political spectrum. How can they be nationalistic at the same time? We have hint of the same distortion in the Boğaziçi survey. We can trace this to the idea of independence in the nationalistic discourse at the foundation of the republic. People who identified their views with the state party (CHP) think they belong to the left because the party was declared to be at the left by İsmet

İnönü in 60's just to compete with his rival Ecevit and the Labour Party (TİP) which was strong at the time.

As a proof of the effectiveness of the educational and media ISA, this concept is highly distorted and supporters of CHP are not aware that they follow a party in the lines of Mussolini's fascist party. They too had seven arrows as pillars of their ideology, which includes nationalism and statism. Young generation in the age group 20-24 does not significantly differ from the rest, except their nationalism is less important than their religious affiliation.

It is noteworthy here that in the southeast of Turkey, 26.7% of the respondents did not reply to this question. This may be due to the distrust and fear they have in expressing their political opinion. 31.7 % of them placed themselves at the left, which we may understand to be the supporters of the Peace and Democracy Party since the support for the CHP is very low in the region. The conservatism is also equally high (31,7%) in the region which we can attribute as an escape to safety to be the supporter of the governing party in the face of survival concerns .It is natural that the political tendency of this region should be different than the rest because of the high Kurdish population and more importantly, because of the long period of "exceptional state" application made its impact as an important ISA.

Results and Discussion for Age Group 20-24

We used this group in order to make comparison with Boğaziçi sample with similar ages. As would be observed from the figures, this age group rarely differs in a significant manner from the general population.

We can say that they had been slightly more defiant towards authority (Figure 1), a significantly higher percentage of this age group (72% as compared to 66.5% of general population-Graph 2) study in the area of their choice, their identification with religion is significantly higher than their nationalism when compared to the general population (25.2 % and 16.8 % respectively as opposed to 26.2 % and 21.5 % of the general population, Figure 4) and they are slightly more eager to abandon collective attachments to pursue their dreams because of their age and higher expectations (4.2 % family, 11.8 % country, 20.2 % religion, 42.9 % home, 10.9 % citizenship, 10.1 % none, Figure 8). The findings demonstrate that this age group is likely to profit more from the fertile conditions towards individualization compared to the general population. Only 10% cannot give-up collective elements of their identity. Leaving home to follow one's dreams can be an average response and it is the highest one for all ages. However, attachments to other identity elements might be more difficult to abandon. The question uses the term "to abandon", not leave temporarily. Therefore it is a difficult choice. 30% of this group is ready to abandon their religion and citizenship to pursue their dreams in life. If fulfilling one's potential and pursuing dreams is an individualist act, then leaving collective elements of identity for the sake of it can tell us that these are the imposition and hindrance of the society they live in. They identify with these concepts because diversity is discouraged, even demonized by the social and political environment.

Results of the Group With Higher Education

We took the cross table of the university educated group out of our sample representing general population to see the impact of the general education on individualism. This

group showed value patterns in close affinity with the general population, however more obedient in its relationship with the authority than other sample groups. The identity patterns seemed to reflect the general mood prevailing in the country with nationality and religion in nearly equal weight. Gender stood out to be more defining characteristics of their identity. They are the least attached group to family and country in case of catching the opportunities in life. These results support the hypothesis that the state ideology uses education heavily as an ideological apparatus as this group seems the perfect reflection of the achievement of the state ideology in a homogenous set of values and responses. The deviation of Boğaziçi Group is even clearer from this group than the others.

Results of the Qualitative Survey with Boğaziçi Sample

We will discuss the results of the Qualitative Survey with Boğaziçi Sample of forty students in general and elaborate four selected transcripts of the in-depth interviews.

These are a female student whose parents are divorced, a male student who earns money by his own efforts, a male student who had his childhood in England and another male student with a highly religious and nationalistic world-view. They expressed the characteristics of their own special groups.

Student 1

20 years old, female, junior year Turkish Literature student, born and living in Istanbul. Parents are business consultants and divorced. She lives with her mother. She looks confident, speaks and answers with ease. She was with her boyfriend when I asked her to answer my questions. She seemed to be highly individualized. I believe it is because she

had to support her mother through the divorce period. She was 15 when this happened. She told me she had to act older and more mature to help her mother through a difficult period. Her identity elements are personal rather than collective ones. She identifies herself with her parents even though they are divorced; she says she is close with both. She also has confidence in her intelligence and talents. She says she doesn't take her mother as her role model, she feels stronger than her mother. She seems detached from nationalism and religion. She also wishes to live abroad when she graduates. She was obviously wounded by her parents' divorce and expressed some bitterness but this seemed to make her stronger and determinate. She was disappointed by her parents' weaknesses and felt insecure but she found strength in herself and her friends. She is a highly individualized and resolute young girl, a mature person for her age.

Student 2

21 years old male, senior year history student, born in Istanbul. His parents are business consultants. He finished high school in England when parents worked there. Looks confident, speaks and answers with ease. He lives with his family. He seems to have highly developed individuality. I believe it is because he lived his teenager years in England and his parents are liberal and intellectual people. His identity elements are personal rather than collective ones. He identifies himself with his family, intelligence and talents. He seems distant from nationalism and religion. His childhood was in England where his father was working and those years seemed to define his outlook in life, which is marked by tolerance.

This is an independent young man in his attachments and decisions, feels responsibility for his fellow-men and is interested in helping others, participates in civic activities. His individualism does not keep him from feeling solidarity and interested in social commitments. He has realistic expectations in life, is confident in his qualities to be successful. However, he doesn't feel free and happy outside the university and wants to leave for Europe after he graduates. He feels he is not going to have a happy and satisfying private and work life in this country.

Student 3

Male, 23 years old, a student at the Chemistry teaching department, his parents were middle managers, now retired. He is born and lives in Istanbul with parents and a sister.

Some observations: He was having lunch alone when I interviewed him. He said he was born in "Üsküdar" instead of Istanbul. This was part of his description of himself in specific personal terms rather than general ones. He was very comfortable with himself; polite, had a pleasant and positive personality which gave me the impression that he was content with his image and life. The important thing that distinguishes him was that he earned his pocket money giving lessons to high school students. This helped him to feel and act independent. His values, opinions are closer to individualist than collectivist values.

Student 4

Male, 20 years old, studies History, in his sophomore year. He is from Kocaeli, lives with his friends in a flat at Hisarüstü. His father is a retired factory worker, mother a house wife. He has three siblings. He is a devoted Muslim and a nationalist at the same time.

His girlfriend wears a scarf. She refused to be interviewed. This is a rare profile for Boğaziçi University according to the qualitative survey, closer to the values of the general population. I saw him twice. He was with a close circle of friends each time. He is nice and friendly but more serious than other young people I met. His profile is closer to the collectivist values. Following are the results of students on important pivotal values with details from these four students.

Authority

Only 7.5% of B.Ü. students said they never disobeyed an authority that has a power of sanction in their lives. 55% disobeyed from time to time, 35% often.

The complementary question 10 (Graph 10-B) shows the ranking of the authority to be disobeyed when treated unfairly as parents, teacher, boss, police, and journalist. This is a theoretical question; we discussed their relation with the authority in the in-depth interviews (p 42). They seem to act independent and ready to demand their rights when treated unfairly as exemplified in the selected transcripts on this subject:

Student 1: “As long as I do not harm anyone, I’d never accept any interference into my life. I detest authority”.

Student 2: “I objected my parents mostly on anything when I was a teenager. But as I grew older, we became more like friends. I don’t like policemen. If they interfere with something I do (I don’t mean illegal things of course) I will react. When I start to work somewhere, I believe I will also be defiant against some stupid rules and object to my boss too.”

Student 3: “I was a little rebel and defied my parents and teachers in high school but I still liked them. In England I learned that the police protects people, but here I saw the police beating up protesters on May first last year because they were not even allowed to hold a rally at Taksim. What kind of freedom is this? There is no freedom here for people to make their voices heard. When they tried to use freedoms they don’t have, they are punished. This annoys me very much.”

Student 4: “We need leaders in every area where our knowledge and experience is insufficient. But when obeying, I first obey the creator. In life, there will be chaos without authority”.

Choice and Control

They show a similar response with 20-24 age groups in studying the area of their choice (Figures 2, 6). However the peer pressure question (Graph 6) indicates Boğaziçi students as more willing to please their friends than countrywide 20-24 age group. This may be the sign of a high group attachment among B.Ü. students. This response is in line with B.Ü. students’ high attachment to their school as part of their identity (14.2%). However, risking isolation and humiliation to defend one’s opinion (Figure 7) shows a confident and independent behavior with a 75% saying they would defend their opinion regardless of the consequences.

Happiness and Satisfaction

B.Ü. students are generally happy and satisfied with their lives (Figure 3). Only 5 % think life doesn’t offer them enough opportunities.

Identity

Boğaziçi students almost predominantly identify themselves with individual characteristics than collective ones (Figures 4, 5 and 8). The ratio is 75% to 25%. On the attitude scale of individualism vs. collectivism, this is a strong indication of individualism.

As for the question of what they could abandon if they had to in order to seek their future dreams, the highest response was the country (37.5 %) followed by home and religion. In depth interviews also demonstrated their eagerness to live abroad where they could have more freedom and choice to fulfill their potential.

Political tendency

Their political tendency was predominantly left and liberal. Only 5 % were conservative. However during the interviews, most of the students who declared themselves at the left of the political spectrum said they would vote for CHP. This was the impact of a general misunderstanding lead by misleading conceptual confusion and propaganda as explained in page 53. No matter how protected, they cannot be totally immune from the general misconceptions pumped by the media through opinion leaders.

Qualitative Survey with Boğaziçi Students

Findings of the in-depth interviews with Boğaziçi University students revealed generally highly developed individualistic characteristics. They identified themselves with abstract personality traits, with their unique personality, they expressed high self-assessment, showed high confidence and satisfaction with their lives, were comfortable in their skins, had high hopes for the future, showed high social participation, all indicators of individualization. However, there were signs that they were living in the same country as

the other sample group representing the general population. They had low trust on others and confused about their political orientation. Low trust is a characteristic of societies where people do not have confidence in the justice and welfare system, where there is instability and precarious living conditions. It is natural that students, no matter how much they are individualized do not trust others, probably as part of teachings in their family. This low trust value is also seen in the countries where corruption is high (WVS statistics) Political orientations demonstrate confusion because they are disillusioned with the lack of choice that would mirror their opinions and they are exposed to the disinformation and distortion in public opinion formation. Most could not find a corresponding part with their thoughts and the parties some said they would vote for did not reflect their political opinion, but they were not aware of it.

Family

They respect the concept of family and it is a positive concept for the attitude scale although it is a collective concept (Figures for Qualitative Survey B1). 7.5% said family was not important. One was a female student whose parents are separate; other two students were against almost anything to the point of nihilism throughout their interviews. They mostly expressed their families were happy and proud of them. Family is a positive value for individualism according to the attitude scale.

Student 1: “When I realized my mother was not as strong as I would like her to be and my father not as honest, I understood that parents were not perfect. I was relying on them but the wall I was leaning was not so strong. I still like them but I must rely on myself more.”

Student 2: "I like my parents because they don't limit my freedom. I used to find them boring and straight. But as I age, I understand what they tell me was right. I still think my sister is a shallow girl and I pick on her, but she will mature and understand life. I will live away from my family after I find a job; I will visit them on holidays. I want to live abroad."

Student 3: "My parents always trusted me and did not interfere much in my private affairs. I think I was a good son to them too. I did not cause any stress for them. I was a good student and did not do anything to get myself into trouble. I live with them. After I start working, I will have my own apartment."

Student 4: "I want to support my family when I earn my living. I have a fiancé and we will work together after we marry. We will both be teachers. Family is a sacred value for me."

Friends

They all think friends are important as was verified by their responses on their identity. During the interviews most of them said their friendships were not deep attachments however. It is in line with post-modern individualism (pp 15-16) where individual is the basic unit of society and social institutions are redefined by negotiations every day.

Student 1: "They sometimes become my family. My boyfriend is my soul mate and he makes me happy. I am happier with my friends than anyone else."

Student 2: "I have a girlfriend and I share most of my thoughts and ideas with her. We have a few friends we both like. Besides them, I have two friends back in Nottingham

where we went to school together. We are like brothers with them. I want to live in the same city as them and we will talk about what we want to do in life.”

Student 3: “I like my friends, but they are not indispensable. I date girls but I am not committed to anyone. I am like a butterfly with girls. I have fun with my friends. But I study alone. I have my own life.”

Student 4: “I have friends whom I can agree. I don’t want to tell people what is right anymore. I am tired of it. I don’t also like the way most people hang out. I am content to have few friends in harmony”.

Leisure

90% think it is important. They mostly use their leisure time with activities to enrich their talents and personality. They are involved in club activities in music, sports, dancing, theatre and cinema. They are members of social associations like Rotary and Lions. They form discussion groups, help charities and advocacy groups like Greenpeace. Two students were members of a political party (Freedom and Democracy Party) these activities contribute to their life experience and they seem to enjoy them very much.

Student 1: “I like to act and maybe I will write plays and film scenarios. I am good at writing. The fantasy world is so nice to bury myself.”

Student 2: “I write poetry and short stories. Writing takes all my leisure time. I started to publish my poems in some magazines and on my blog.”

Student 3: “I watch movies and work in my free time. I go to movies mostly with friends, sometimes alone. I like cinema because it takes me to the worlds I don’t know. My

friends usually do silly things chasing girls, drinking in their leisure time. I use my time smartly”.

Student 4: “I study and visit historical places in the city with my fiancée during my free time. Partying and drinking leads to degeneration and waste of brain power. I go to movies for fun and talk with my friends. I am not a nerd but I don’t like the way many people have fun. It is full of silly things.”

Politics

Half the group I interviewed expressed their disappointment with politics. They complained that there is no political party to match their opinion and expectations. They repeated the same thing one after the other that there is no political leader to gain their respect and admiration. I asked these students whether they would consider entering politics in the future; they said they have no hope for better political scenery than today.

Most of these students qualified themselves as liberals. Two of them were indifferent to politics completely. The other half believed politics was important. Two of them were of nationalist male students who also had high religious devotion. Two others were party members (Freedom and Democracy Party). Politics is part of civic participation in attitude scale and important part of social capital together with trust and happiness.

However, disarray of the political landscape in Turkey is unusual as there is no left and right party duality as seen in democracies because of the political disarray caused by military coups. The distrust and disappointment of the students for political organizations might be the result of de-polarization of the last 30 years.

The responses to question 20 (B.20) on political behaviour revealed that regardless of the party commitment, the opinions of the students pointed to liberal values.

Student 1: "Most my friends don't like politics but it's not a reason to keep away from it. Even if you dislike it, it follows you. For example I don't want to go to the military service, but there is no freedom of choice there. Politicians should listen to people and make it voluntary. My friends, especially girls do not understand its importance. I am at the left but there is no party here that suits my views. It is something that annoys me a lot".

Student 2: "I don't like politics. I would like to see a political party matching my opinion, but there is none. I used an empty vote before. Next time it will be the same.

I am a liberal but I like social democracy too. I like what Ufuk Uras is saying but he is all by himself. I have friends who are in political groups but they are very marginal and cannot be strong enough to be elected."

Student 3: "I am not very much interested in politics. The ideal of politics should be to provide a good life for the people but today politicians everywhere work for their own interests. I see no meaning in involving in politics. But I like Obama. He seems more sincere than most other politicians."

Student 4: Politics is important because it affects people's lives. Politics is important for the defence of the country, for the order and security in the country. It is also important to be a strong nation."

Work

They mostly think work is important as students motivated for success (B-5). This is an individualistic value.

Student 1: "It is an obligation to earn money. After I secure my life, I will do things I enjoy. I don't want to serve anyone."

Student 2: "I have not yet decided if I should continue with post-graduate work or start to work in a literary magazine in England. I guess I will continue writing. I like history but I don't like economic history, I like political and social history more because they feed my imagination. I believe too much work and ambition on material things is wrong. Work is not important for me, doing what I like is important. I will have enough money to keep me and then I want to do things I like such as travelling and writing. I don't think I can make Money on my writing but who knows? I may be a writer one day people like and my books will be sold."

Student 3: "I give science lessons to high school students in my neighbourhood. I cannot finance myself completely and my parents provide my needs, but I am happy with this work. I like teaching young kids and feel happy when they get good grades. I like being a teacher. "

Student 4: "Work is sacred because you serve others and your family. You must take care of your family. I don't have the ambition to be very rich. You must be corrupt to be too rich anyway! I will share my earning in line with my belief. The most important function of working is to be self-sufficient and not need anyone else to support you".

Religion

Religion was not an important value for the large majority of students except for five of them. Two were highly devoted. This was close to a profile of a secular democratic country like France⁵⁹ Religion is one of the most important collective values. However the nature of the religion makes a difference in its impact on individualism (P.14).

Service to others, feeling of accomplishment, control and satisfaction in life and social participation are all values most students exhibited individualistic attitudes (B-7, B-9, B10, B-17, B-18, B-12, and B-14)

Control

Students were realistic in their assessment of the power of control on their lives.

Student 1: "I am the boss of my life, yes, that is for sure."

Student 2: "At the moment, I am not in full control of my life, maybe a little more than half. This will change when I start to make my own living. I am quite ok at the time, happy with my school, friends and mostly about myself. I believe good things in life will happen if I try to make them happen. It all depends on you, your future. If you are silly about the opportunities and miss them, you will have a dull life."

Student 3: "I have nothing to complain about. I like my school and my circle of friends and family. I am in control of my own life."

Student 4: "Who is in control of his life? No one. How can you claim you can control your life while the creator determines your destiny? I just try to do the right things. You

⁵⁹ Jan 10, 2010, WVS statistics in <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

can control your actions. I am content with my life thank God. I study in a good university and I have good friends. I have good grades. I like Ottoman history.”

Independence

Almost all stressed how they valued their independence.

Student 1: “It is very important for me. I would like to live on an island full of my friends and declare our own republic. I will use my t-shirt as a flag!”

Student 2: “I like being independent. I noticed that people stick their nose in others businesses a lot here. It was not so in England. You had your own space. It is almost impossible to have your own space here. People don’t understand the meaning of privacy. Sometimes I want to be alone and reflect. Even my girlfriend doesn’t understand this. She thinks I am bored with her. This is a different mentality.

Student 3: “Because I earn some money of my own and let no one to interfere with my life, I feel quite independent. Of course I am not saying I am in full command. But I will get there soon.”

Student 4: “You can chose where you want to be attached. Independence and to be free are some Western crap that are presented to us as something to be envied. This leads one towards an emptiness in which one can lose himself. I prefer to be devoted to beliefs, a superior being rather than to be loose!”

Child qualities

This was the kind of conversation topic that triggered childhood memories with some students (B-11). They mentioned about their happy childhood. However some of them

complained their imagination was not encouraged, as it should be. Two conservative students stressed self-control, religious faith, patience and honesty as important child qualities. One of them mentioned obedience as important. One fourth of the students cited imagination as the most important quality. These values give clues about one's outlook in life. Obedience, good manners, religious faith, self-control, patience, responsibility are collective values such as tolerance and respect, independence, imagination, politeness, leadership are individualistic ones.

Student 1: "I was telling stories when I was a child that looked like tales but I believed they were true. If I have a child, I want him or her to be an artist. I will never tell my child his/her stories are absurd and have nothing to do with real life. I think tolerance is more needed by people with a difficult life".

Student 2: "Imagination is my best feature in life. I admire people with high imagination. My hero is Aldous Huxley. I also like Robert Frost. His poetry is a mixture of real and imaginary worlds.

Tolerance is accepting other people for who they are. I have a friend who is gay and its ok with me. In England we had Indian and Jewish neighbours. You have to look inside of people, not their cover."

Student 3: "I don't care if a person is black or gay, his character is more important for me. But I do not tolerate liars and people who betray me. I don't forgive them. Tolerance for me is not to discriminate anyone for his or her beliefs or nationality. I must admit I can not tolerate stupid people who think they know something and insist they are right"

Student 4: “Imagination is good for escaping the reality which I don’t do. Dreaming is for romantics and artists. But if you are gifted, you don’t need to imagine. Tolerance is in our belief. We tolerate others who are different because the same God created them. But I don’t tolerate people who try to insult my religion and my country in the name of humour. Insult can not be accepted.”

Trust

This was a problematic issue that reflected the general mood in the society as half the students expressed distrust for other people. Nearly one third believed most people could be trusted. Lack of trust is the illness of societies where corruption is high and sense of justice is low as verified by WVS surveys. This has a negative impact on social capital, which is a desired component of developed society where the civil society is strong; participation in social and political life is high coupled with trust. Low trust is a characteristic of societies where corruption is high in comparison of WVS value surveys with the data of Transparency International, which ranks countries according to their transparency criteria.

Comparison of Boğaziçi with General Data

It would not be wrong to say the findings of the qualitative survey for Boğaziçi Students looked like a reverse copy of the general population and 20-24 age groups. It is evident especially in the comparative graphs 1, 3 and 7. As we anticipated, considerable difference detected between the general population and highly individualized Boğaziçi students at the same age group proves that super structure elements like education, socio-cultural atmosphere and the attitude of the authority figures play a vital role in the

development of individualism. While individualism is encouraged at the Boğaziçi University which is founded on the principles of liberal freedom and advancement of the individual, it could not find a fertile ground in general which trouble Boğaziçi students who would like to leave for places where they would feel free to be themselves. This is not to say the microenvironment of the Boğaziçi is the only place where people can manifest their individualism, but it differs from the rest in its social environment regarding individual freedoms and tolerance for diversity.

There is a clear distinction of Boğaziçi students on their attitudes, beliefs and values with regard to individualism vs. collectivism. They identify themselves with their personal abstract traits rather than collective ones (Figures 4 and 5). They are mostly distant from nationalistic and religious identity and value codes. The majority of them have civic participation and seem to be satisfied with their lives. They feel accomplished and have high expectations. However, the difficulties of adaptation, the anxiety of accepting dominant social norms seem evident and after they graduate the university, most of them dream of living abroad.

Considering the difference of individualist/collectivist attitudes between the general population and B.Ü. students, we can say once more that individualization is a product of super structure. It is also the incarceration of the state, regime and the system that hinders the individuals rather than helping them to actualize themselves.

The differences between the students seemed to come from family values and socio-economic status, rather than age. I did not divide students into two age groups because there was not much difference according to that variable. The data on the identity question reveals traditional-religious values for the general population and 20-24 age

group of the Turkey sample, secular-rational values for Boğaziçi students. There is a stark difference on this value matrix. This value also indicates adherence and conformity to group values for the general population and Boğaziçi students. Where ready-made collective values dominated the identity characteristics of the general population and 20-24 age groups, almost all Boğaziçi Group had personal abstract identity components in describing themselves.

The Significance of the Boğaziçi Sample for Comparison

Boğaziçi University was founded in 1863 as a higher education institution for the Christian minorities in Turkey by an American philanthropist Christopher Rhineland Robert and an American Congregationalist Missionary Cyrus Hamlin. However, religious teachings did not dominate the nature of the education. A faculty member and chairman of the Humanities department until 1971, Maurice Greenwood tells the foundation story of the school in his Ph. D. Dissertation.⁶⁰ The most striking feature of Robert College during the first period upon its foundation was the treatment of the students in the most individualistic manner as Greenwood writes: “Every student was treated as though he were the only one and given such studies as was adapted to his capacities”. The reason may be the lack of structured academic curriculum at the time, but the founding philosophy built the cultural structure cultural tradition of the school with such steps. The location of the school positioned Robert College as a unique educational institution from the beginning. Cyrus Hamlin had to wait for seven years to receive the permission from the Ottoman Vizier Ali Pasha because he refused to place the school in the Christian

⁶⁰ Maurice, Greenwood, *Robert College: The American Founders*, Ph.D. dissertation, the Johns Hopkins University, Modern History 1965. p 131.

Pera-Galata quarter at the time. This location on the hill of Bebek provided Robert College a unique geo-cultural privilege with its natural habitat, view of the Bosphorus and seclusion from the city life, an autonomous territory with a life in itself. Boğaziçi University today carries on the same tradition with a Code of Ethics that starts with these self evident three articles for the respect of individual rights and liberties: “Respect human rights and liberties. Allow no discrimination or prejudice on the basis of religion, languages, race, ethnic origin, opinion, gender, sexual orientation, age, physical disability or the like. Create and maintain at the University an atmosphere that nurtures free discussion”.

This is not a formal document serving a bureaucratic obligation, but a genuine manifestation of its liberal tradition. Faculty members come from the same tradition that preserves the founding philosophy. I experienced this island of freedom myself as a student in the turbulent years ending with the 1980 military coup. No matter what happened in the country, Boğaziçi kept its own identity based on the principles of liberal freedom and rights. It is not insulated completely but the school provides a filter against the official ideology, which is clearly observed in our research. The impact of the state ideology on Boğaziçi students stayed at minimum and majority of the students wish to live and work abroad. Some feel like ‘misfits’, as if they are a marginal minority with their freely formed opinion and life styles. This is inevitable in the face of the immense mechanism that creates nationalistic rhetoric everyday that takes the grip of every aspect of the daily life in the country.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

We studied the impact of the superstructure in Turkey on its individuals. This dynamic relationship revealed information on the nature of the political regime no matter what it is called or pretends to be.

The findings of this study demonstrate that Turkish society is eager and open for more individual freedoms and could flourish in a pluralistic, democratic environment. Boğaziçi students form an example of how self-confident and highly individualistic people can exist in this country when there is a favourable environment.

The surveys found out that there is not much space for diversity and people are pressed to adapt uniform identity values. This shows that individual rights and freedom are very limited. This is not very natural in a country where the cultural history is the richest of the world, where many civilizations lived together with their cultural values. A recent documentary named “The Hidden Songs of Anatolia” by Nezi̇h Ünen exhibits an enormous cultural diversity, accumulated since the beginning of civilization. How can these people identify themselves with a few collective elements? Why are they afraid to qualify themselves with their cultural roots and characteristics? They have been punished for being different and they hide their real identities. This is not how people should live in the Twenty-First Century. Can we call this regime democracy? Not in the sense of modern democracies built on Aesthetic Individualism after painful lessons of history.

A Critique on the Concept of Individualism at the Nation-Building

When analysing the adaptation of the Enlightenment Philosophy in the citizenship practise of the Turkish Republic, Prof. Faruk Birttek asserts that the domination of the public realm upon the private resulted in an unbalanced and asymmetric citizenship.⁶¹ He says “Along with the emergence of an inflated public realm, demands of individual identities are viewed as threats to disintegrate public realm or weaken the republic”.

We believe what we reached through our survey data confirmed this analysis. An imposing emphasis on nationalism, supremacy of the nation over individual, limitations on diversity of identities, monotype citizen model resulted in infertile environment for the development of the individual. Readiness of the individuals to abandon some of the collective identity elements to reach their goals in life confirms that they are not truly internalized characteristics.

Our comparison group, Boğaziçi Students were privileged in being partly protected in a liberal environment to actualise themselves by developing their individualistic traits. It is evident that if pluralism had been at the core of the political philosophy, the peoples of this land would be far more creative and happy as well as prosperous.

Ernest Renan, the French Philosopher and political theorist gave the prescription of a democratic nation-building back in 1882. It is interesting to compare this understanding with the founding principles of the Turkish Republic. In his famous lecture at Sorbonne

⁶¹ Ibid, p.24

University in 1882, titled “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” (What is a nation?) he describes the ideal foundations of a nation, which more or less evolved into today’s France:⁶²

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which, in truth, are really one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is the present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to value the undivided heritage one has received.... To have the glory of the past in common, a shared will in the present; to have done great deeds together, and want to do more of them, are the essential conditions for the constitution of a people.... One loves the house which one has built and passes on.

He believes it is not necessary to build a nation around a common race, a common language nor a common religion even though he was educated by Catholic priests and devoted much of his life to the history of Christians. Renan warns that the race and nation should not be identified or confused with each other. What he tries to do is to make the nation independent from race, ethnic, linguistic, religious, economic and territorial and describes with a liberal content as a common past and interests. The main characteristic of a modern nation is a free and voluntary participation. An individual should be born free and then decide to be a member of that nation or leave that membership. This should be a continuous negotiation and a renewable contract.

The foundation principle of the Turkish Republic however is based on a single ethnicity Turkish ness- rather than pluralism even though it is claimed to be an umbrella concept. It could be argued that the collapse of an empire left the new republic vulnerable for disintegration. In practice, Turkish ness and Sunni Islam were the dominant identity pattern into which others were either assimilated or punished in many different ways.

⁶² Renan, Ernest, *Qu’est-Ce Qu’une Nation?* Paris: Mille-Et-Une-Nuits, 1997.

This nationalist ideology started to dominate the politics at the beginning of the Twentieth Century by *Young Turks* as a defensive and retaliatory response in the wake of the demise of the Ottoman Empire turning minorities into a scapegoat. Domination of his uniform identity made tolerance for the minorities, especially Greeks very difficult because they were the first to declare independence from the Empire in 1832 to establish their own state, which caused a domino effect for the other minorities. Later on Armenians were blamed for conspiring against the government. The process of the purification was too painful and its repercussions are still felt today.

Religious and ethnic minorities are dealt as threats to be assimilated. This mentality did not change much during the 86 years since the beginning of the republic. They are still discriminated against and seen as “foreigners” even in the decisions of the appeals court. The liberal idea that the state is an organization to serve people, make their lives easy by prioritizing them is not part of the political culture here. The individual is seen as an obedient element of the state no matter how arbitrary rules can be. Changing economic laws, confiscation or nationalization of private property are a few examples of this.

As a result of this authoritarian foundation, the military adapted the belief that they were the paternalistic guardians of the country. As a result of this, regime was interrupted by military coups, which resulted in the execution of the Prime Minister and two cabinet members in 1961, closed down all political parties in 1980. This upset the natural two wing democratic structure of political spectrum and new political parties accumulated on the right and tried to compete with each other. It is difficult to imagine a parliamentary democracy without a social-democratic and a liberal party, but this is the situation in Turkey now as a catastrophic result of this political engineering.

As Robert Paxton said, Fascism is the only modern ideology that is the enemy of both liberalism and the left.⁶³ The absence of these political movements and their organizations leave Turkey vulnerable for the advancement of Fascism. When the choice for the electorate becomes a choice between the party with religious ideology and the party with military ideology, it becomes no choice at all. The parties exploiting religious faith can be interpreted as civilian reaction to the state dominance over the spiritual realm through the organization of the religious activity, making the imams public officials.

The regime feeds itself on the vigilance for internal and external threats which gives the security issues a priority. This leads to a state of administration similar to the “state of emergency” of Nicos Poulantzas. The labeling of the internal enemy is a known practice and declaration of state of emergency has been the mode of administration in southeast for many years.

Jürgen Habermas criticizes nation states as “generally formed at the cost of suppressed, assimilated or marginalized ‘sub-peoples’.”⁶⁴ New nation-states with ethno-nationalist understanding have been almost all the time established with the bloody purification process and always took new minorities under control.” In his book “After the Nation-State”, he recommends that the minorities should be given cultural autonomy and the co-existence of these ethnic, religious groups with equal rights will not be at the cost of disintegration of the society but with the cohesion of common political culture.

⁶³ See p. 22.

⁶⁴ Habermas, Jürgen, *Öteki Olmak, Ötekiyle Yaşamak*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002. p14.

There is more negative freedom than positive freedom in Turkey meaning there is restraint from preventing individuals from achieving his objectives, but empowering and equipping them with means, ways and tools to actualize themselves is missing such as availability of good education, jobs, incentives for creativity, welfare etc. Lack of freedom for individual enhancement can be attributed to two sources, one political, and the other cultural namely state and religion. The regime is authoritarian and the religion has its influence on the personal consciousness. The development of the individualization in France, a country with a major catholic population was made possible by the secularization of the people at the level of individual consciousness. The research shows that religion has an important impact on Turks as part of their identity. We cannot say secularization worked at the individual level in Turkey. The second modernity of the developed world replaces religion-tradition and state with job market and welfare institutions.

Reproduction of Authoritarian Structures

This authoritarian, hierarchical system reproduces itself in political and social organizations. Political parties, civil society organizations, foundations, political movements organize in similar ways. This is what the society learns and reproduces. Governments, which should be considered as a part of the state mechanism, envy the power of the state and in their often clashing and competitive relationship with the state authority, they try to grasp the non-democratic authority of the state for their own interests.

Despite the existence of isolated patches of freedom like Boğaziçi University, which is relatively free and autonomous (we can not say it is completely autonomous of course, as it is part of the Higher Education System), or the art circles, especially plastic arts, the organizational structures mostly recreate the authoritarian model and the islands of freedom are rather isolated. This is evident in the organization and functioning of political parties, which is important for the translation of the will of the people to governance. However, after military coups, closure of dozens of parties, political parties became organizations with limitations and framework filtered by the priorities of the state ideology rather than institutions reflecting political tendencies of people and diversification of the society. This is why many people feel distant from politics complaining there is no political party mirroring their opinions.

The selection of candidates and local organization of the political parties are mostly detached from the grassroots. The parties, which challenge the dominant ideology, are tried at the constitutional court and closed down. It is very hard to say that election process reflects the political ideas, wishes and demands of the people. They are forced to choose a very narrow range of parties and candidates after this long filtering process. Political parties have a tightly hierarchical structure with the chairman having absolute power. The leader, not the party organization or party members, chooses the candidates presented to electorate. The leader can abolish regional party organizations and can deport opposing members as he wishes. This destroys the representative power of the candidates as they only represent the wishes and whims of their leaders. Election becomes a process of approval for the favorite men of the leaders. The election legislature also prevents people to elect parties and candidates closest to them because of

its restrictions. The “borrowed votes” are a fact of political life when they have to vote for the second best because voting is obligatory this causes the electorate to lose faith in politics. A 10% vote barrier prevents representation of many political movements that have the potential to grow.

The scarcity of worldwide artists, actors, writers, scientists, philosophers, and academicians might be attributed to the waste of creativity and a “de-individualization” starting with childhood. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, İlkay Sunar and Sevda Bekman conducted an applied research in low-income areas of Istanbul in 1988 on the child-rearing values of mothers.⁶⁵ A randomly selected group of mothers received an education programmed for two years introducing new values encouraging autonomy. After the intervention, it was found that the subjects in the experimental group valued autonomous behaviour in their children more than the ones in the control group. This demonstrates the role of education on the value formation and change of behaviour accordingly.

When individuals cannot find means to realize themselves, society loses valuable human resources; one is waste of talent and creativity, which effects the economic, artistic, technological development. The lack of freedom of expression limits circulation of ideas and social and political opposition, civil society and also development in social sciences and literature. This also limits free press, which helps shapes public opinion and cultural values.

It is not within the academic framework of this study to devise a prescription for solutions even though it embraces critical theory. But it is very obvious that the situation calls for a new civilian constitution with a constituent assembly for a pluralistic

⁶⁵ Kağıtçıbaşı; Bekman; Sunar, *Başarı Ailede Başlar*, İstanbul: Ya-Pa, 1993.

democracy with real freedom of expression and insure *Aesthetic Individualism* for a dignified, prosperous future away from dangers of authoritarianism. Ernest Renan's tiny booklet from his speech at the inauguration ceremony of school year at Sorbonne in October of 1883 on the meaning and prerequisites of a modern nation should be revisited 127 years later. Social change is imminent but if we do not set the dynamics right, it will be for the worse.

Futurologists and trend analysts like the economist and technocrat Jacques Attali, who was chosen as advisor for both socialist and conservative presidents of France foresees three possible scenarios for Turkey in his book *Dictionnaire du XXI. Siècle* (The Dictionary of XXI. Century):⁶⁶ The first is the accession of the country to the European Union if democratisation is achieved and structural problems solved. Second is detachment from Europe as a Eurasian player and a watch-guard of US interests in the Middle East. Third is the worst scenario in case none of the problems are solved, a country divided into three parts: An Anatolian Islamic State, A Kurdish State and a Western State with the Marmara and Aegean regions as part of the EU. Authoritarianism creates the tensions and threatens the Unitarian structure itself.

As we tried to look out from the window of a vehicle on the move and caught a glimpse on the human landscape with individualism in our focus, we discovered that the drying land needed a substantial overhaul and that would be the construction of a true democracy for a peaceful and prosperous future. Individualism is only possible with pluralism and freedom of expression and democracy is the only form of governance that provides it.

⁶⁶ Attali, Jacques, *Dictionnaire du XXI. Siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 1998.

This study tried to analyse individualism as a determining factor of a political regime as well as develop arguments to support the possibility that individualism and collectivism can co-exist in harmony where *Aesthetic Individualism* as part of the modern democracy is present. The line of thought coming from Aristotle and strengthened by Kant and Durkheim predicts development in individualism strengthens social solidarity. Development of individualism does not lead to disintegration, atomization or hedonist anarchism when pluralism is secured in a political system.

Studying individualism in relation with the other political and social phenomena, we can say that the state-regime and system in Turkey needs an extensive overhaul to place individual welfare, pluralism, *Aesthetic Individualism* at its core in order to reach modern democracy to serve its citizens. This should not stay as a wish in a world where thinkers of post-modernity try to fine tune ways of expanding areas of individual rights and nation states voluntarily transform some of their powers to international organizations. Functions and importance of the states are rapidly changing under globalization. Globally efficient civil society institutions like the Open Society, Oxfam, Greenpeace, cross-national patches of authorities that have sovereignty once held by the nation-states, like courts of Human Rights and International Court of Justice, EU Commission and its legislation, all share the powers and authorities once exclusively owned by nation-states. Sovereignty of the nation-states is being transformed gradually into these international organizations, which can impose executive and juridical powers on their members to the point of military intervention in case of genocide. Coupled with crisis in financial and environmental areas, changes that endanger the livelihood of the people and other species, this shift of power might be faster and we might have weaker states, stronger

global organizations in the near future. Compared with these global trends, Turkey stands as a stubborn authoritarian state that denies its citizens the civilization of a modern democracy.

APPENDIX A. TABLES

TABLE 1. Urban Population Sample: Age, SES and Gender Distribution

Cities	AGE										Total	SES					Gender	
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55+	A	B	C1		C2	DE	Female	Male			
	İstanbul	23	25	27	30	40	30	25	15	25		60	60	40	100	100		
Bursa	10	10	13	13	17	12	10	5	12	25	25	18	42	43				
İzmir	14	15	19	18	25	18	16	8	15	38	38	26	63	62				
Ankara	17	17	23	23	30	22	18	8	19	45	45	33	75	75				
Konya	9	10	10	15	15	11	10	5	10	24	24	17	40	40				
Adana	9	10	10	15	15	8	8	5	10	23	23	14	42	43				
Antalya	7	8	8	10	10	9	8	4	8	17	17	14	30	30				
Samsun	7	7	10	10	10	9	7	4	8	17	17	14	30	30				
Zonguldak	7	7	9	9	10	9	9	4	8	17	17	14	30	30				
Diyarbakır	7	7	9	9	10	10	8	4	8	17	17	14	30	30				
Erzurum	5	5	7	8	8	7	5	5	7	13	13	7	22	23				
Total	115	121	145	160	190	145	124	1000	67	130	296	211	500	500				

TABLE 2. Distribution of Household Income

Distribution of household annual disposable income by quintiles, 2004-2005

Quintiles	Turkey		Urban		Rural	
	2004	2005	2004	2005	2004	2005
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
First quintile ⁽¹⁾	6.0	6.1	6.4	6.4	6.3	6.1
Second quintile	10.7	11.1	10.8	11.5	11.2	11.3
Third quintile	15.2	15.8	15.2	16.0	15.8	15.9
Fourth quintile	21.9	22.6	21.4	22.6	22.7	22.6
Fifth quintile ⁽²⁾	46.2	44.4	46.1	43.5	43.9	44.2
Gini Coefficient	0.40	0.38	0.39	0.37	0.37	0.38

⁽¹⁾ It has lowest share of total income

⁽²⁾ It has highest share of total income

Source:

www.tuik.gov.tr (Government Statistics Institute) census data as of 31 Dec 2007
Unweighted data

Composition of the population

Gender	Age Groups
Female % 49.88	20-29 % 27.85
Male % 50.12	20-29 % 27.85
	30-39 % 23.58
	40-49 % 19.24
	50-59 % 13.88
	60+ % 15.44

TABLE 3. Data of the Quantitative Survey Turkey, Sample Size:1000

T1. Have you ever challenged a superior authority in your life?

	AGE												SES					DISTRICT																																		
	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		TOP LAM		A		B		C1		C2		DE		Total		Marriage		Age		Cent. Anat.		Blac Sea		East An.		S-East					
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%		
No, never	38,6	38,4	38,6	31,0	34,5	32,9	40,4	44,3	39,9	40,7	57,1	38,6	37,2	26,5	35,3	44,0	47,2	38,6	30,4	22,0	41,2	50,7	39,5	72,9	43,3	48,3	53,7	54,3	53,1	53,7	50,9	51,6	55,1	52,2	42,9	0	7,7	5,1	7,3	9,9	7,5	5,6	7,7	13,9	5,5	4,1	5,3	4,4	8,3	8,3		
Sometimes	7,7	7,4	8,0	7,7	13,3	10,9	8,4	8,7	4,2	5,1	7,1	0	7,7	5,1	7,3	9,9	7,5	5,6	7,7	13,9	5,5	4,1	5,3	4,4	8,3	8,3	53,7	54,3	53,1	53,7	50,9	51,6	55,1	52,2	42,9	0	7,7	5,1	7,3	9,9	7,5	5,6	7,7	13,9	5,5	4,1	5,3	4,4	8,3	8,3		
Often	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total %	1000	503	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60	1000	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60	
Total Answers	1,69	1,69	1,69	1,82	1,76	1,76	1,68	1,6	1,65	1,66	1,43	1,69	1,68	1,81	1,75	1,63	1,58	1,69	1,84	1,83	1,63	1,55	1,65	1,35	1,65	1,69	1,69	1,69	1,82	1,76	1,76	1,68	1,6	1,65	1,66	1,43	1,69	1,68	1,81	1,75	1,63	1,58	1,69	1,84	1,83	1,63	1,55	1,65	1,35	1,65		

T2. Do you/did you study the area of your deliberate choice? (Asked to University graduates and students)

	AGE												SES					DISTRICT																																			
	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		TOP LAM		A		B		C1		C2		DE		Total		Marriage		Age		Cent. Anat.		Blac Sea		East An.		S-East						
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%			
Yes	66,5	77,3	58,9	66,5	72,7	46,4	59,1	47,4	83,3	80,0	100	66,5	73,7	80,6	66,7	71,1	36,0	66,5	67,7	58,6	68,6	77,8	50,0	33,3	66,7	33,5	22,7	41,1	33,5	27,3	22,8	53,6	40,9	52,6	16,7	20,0	0	33,5	26,3	19,4	33,3	28,9	64,0	33,5	32,3	41,4	31,4	22,2	33,3	50,0	66,7		
No	33,5	22,7	41,1	33,5	27,3	22,8	53,6	40,9	52,6	16,7	20,0	0	33,5	26,3	19,4	33,3	28,9	64,0	33,5	32,3	41,4	31,4	22,2	33,3	50,0	66,7	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total Answers	182	75	107	182	44	57	28	22	19	6	5	1	182	19	31	69	38	25	182	62	29	51	18	4	3	182	75	107	182	44	57	28	22	19	6	5	1	182	19	31	69	38	25	182	62	29	51	18	15	4	3		
Base	182	75	107	182	44	57	28	22	19	6	5	1	182	19	31	69	38	25	182	62	29	51	18	4	3	182	75	107	182	44	57	28	22	19	6	5	1	182	19	31	69	38	25	182	62	29	51	18	15	4	3		

T5. Rank three elements to identify yourself

	Total %	1° %	2° %	3° %	Weighed Total %
Family	83,8	60,0	14,4	9,4	36
Nationality	58,1	14,5	29,1	14,5	19
Religion	50,3	12,9	21,0	16,4	16
School	12,4	3,3	4,7	4,4	4
Profession	21,3	1,8	9,1	10,4	6
Hobby	7,9	7	1,9	5,3	2
Gender	12,8	1,6	3,7	7,5	3
Intelligence	15,6	1,6	4,3	9,7	4
Talents	14,2	1,8	3,6	8,8	4
Friends	20,9	1,5	7,0	12,4	5
Organization/Group	2,7	,3	1,2	1,2	1
Total %	300,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100
Total Answers AP	3000	1000	1000	1000	
Base	1000	1000	1000	1000	

T6. Do you feel obliged to join a group to please your friends?

	GENDER			AGE												SES					DISTRICT												
	Total %	F %	M %	Total %	15-19 %	20-24 %	25-29 %	30-34 %	35-39 %	40-44 %	45-49 %	50-54 %	55-59 %	60-64 %	65+ %	Total %	A %	B %	C1 %	C2 %	DE %	Total %	Married %	Age group %	Cent. An. %	Med. %	Blacks %	S. An. %	S. East %				
Yes I do	16.9	14.3	19.5	16.9	14.2	14.3	30.1	14.9	16.7	12.3	13.3	23.8	16.9	20.5	17.9	19.8	16.4	10.0	16.9	21.4	16.5	17.6	12.7	14.0	14.6	11.7							
No I don't	83.1	85.7	80.5	83.1	85.8	85.7	69.9	85.1	83.3	87.7	86.7	76.2	83.1	79.5	82.1	83.6	90.0	83.1	78.6	83.5	82.4	87.3	86.0	85.4	88.3								
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total/Answers	1000	503	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60							
Base	1000	503	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60							

T7. Can you risk isolation and humiliation to defend your opinion?

	GENDER			AGE												SES					DISTRICT												
	Total %	F %	M %	Total %	15-19 %	20-24 %	25-29 %	30-34 %	35-39 %	40-44 %	45-49 %	50-54 %	55-59 %	60-64 %	65+ %	Total %	A %	B %	C1 %	C2 %	DE %	Total %	Married %	Age group %	Cent. An. %	Med. %	Blacks %	S. An. %	S. East %				
Absolutely no	12.5	12.1	12.9	12.5	9.7	7.6	16.1	8.7	13.0	18.8	12.4	14.3	12.5	14.1	4.6	14.2	13.4	13.9	12.5	11.1	11.1	12.5	11.1	7.9	14.0	12.7	12.3	14.6	21.7				
No	19.8	21.5	18.7	19.8	21.2	15.1	14.7	16.1	24.5	18.1	25.7	38.1	19.8	19.2	19.2	18.0	23.5	23.3	19.8	15.4	16.5	16.7	26.7	21.9	27.1	31.7							
Neither nor	27.2	27.6	26.8	27.2	27.4	32.8	27.3	29.2	23.4	28.3	26.5	9.5	27.2	34.6	19.9	29.4	26.9	26.7	27.2	27.5	27.2	24.4	27.1	24.6	15.0	23.1	13.3	24.6	6.3	10.0			
I can	27.1	26.4	27.8	27.1	31.9	31.1	28.7	31.7	23.4	21.0	23.0	28.6	27.1	29.5	39.7	24.8	23.9	24.4	27.1	24.6	15.0	23.1	38.0	30.7	39.6	35.0							
I absolutely can	12.9	11.9	13.9	12.9	9.7	12.6	13.3	13.7	15.1	13.8	10.6	9.5	12.9	14.1	15.9	13.0	11.9	11.1	12.9	21.1	12.9	11.1	12.9	11.1	8.0	17.6	8.0	9.6	12.5	1.7			
No reply	5.1	4.6	5.6	5.1	5.0	8.0	5.0	6.5	5.0	5.0	1.8	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	4.0	5.0	6.0	5.0	0.0	5.0	1.3	9.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total/Answers	1000	503	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60							
Base	1000	503	497	1000	113	119	143	161	192	138	113	21	1000	78	151	323	268	180	1000	280	127	221	150	114	48	60							
Weighted Average	3.07	3.03	3.1	3.07	3.11	3.24	3.08	3.24	3.02	2.93	2.88	2.81	3.07	3.22	3.41	3.02	2.95	2.94	3.07	3.28	2.84	3.12	2.98	3.01	3.08	2.63							

T10. When you feel you were treated unfairly, which of the following would you confront ? Please rank.

	Total %	1° %	2° %	3° %	Weighted Total %
Parents	33,2	19,8	4,1	11,2	13
Police	44,2	15,7	17,0	14,7	16
Military	20,4	4,7	10,2	7,2	7
Teacher	35,2	10,6	14,8	12,4	12
Imam	19,6	7,7	8,2	4,9	7
Courts	16,5	3,7	6,2	8,2	5
Journalist	31,0	9,0	10,0	14,8	10
Boss	42,3	14,7	15,5	15,3	15
Group leader	13,6	3,5	4,2	7,2	4
All of them	5,1	5,0	,0	,1	3
No reply	18,4	5,6	9,9	4,1	7
Total %	279,5	100,0	100,0	100,0	100
Total Answers	2795	1000	943	852	
Base	1000	1000	943	852	

APPENDIX B: FIGURES

Quantitative Survey

Comperative Figures of four sample groups: Turkey general population, Turkey ages 20-24 group, Turkey higher education group and Boğaziçi students.

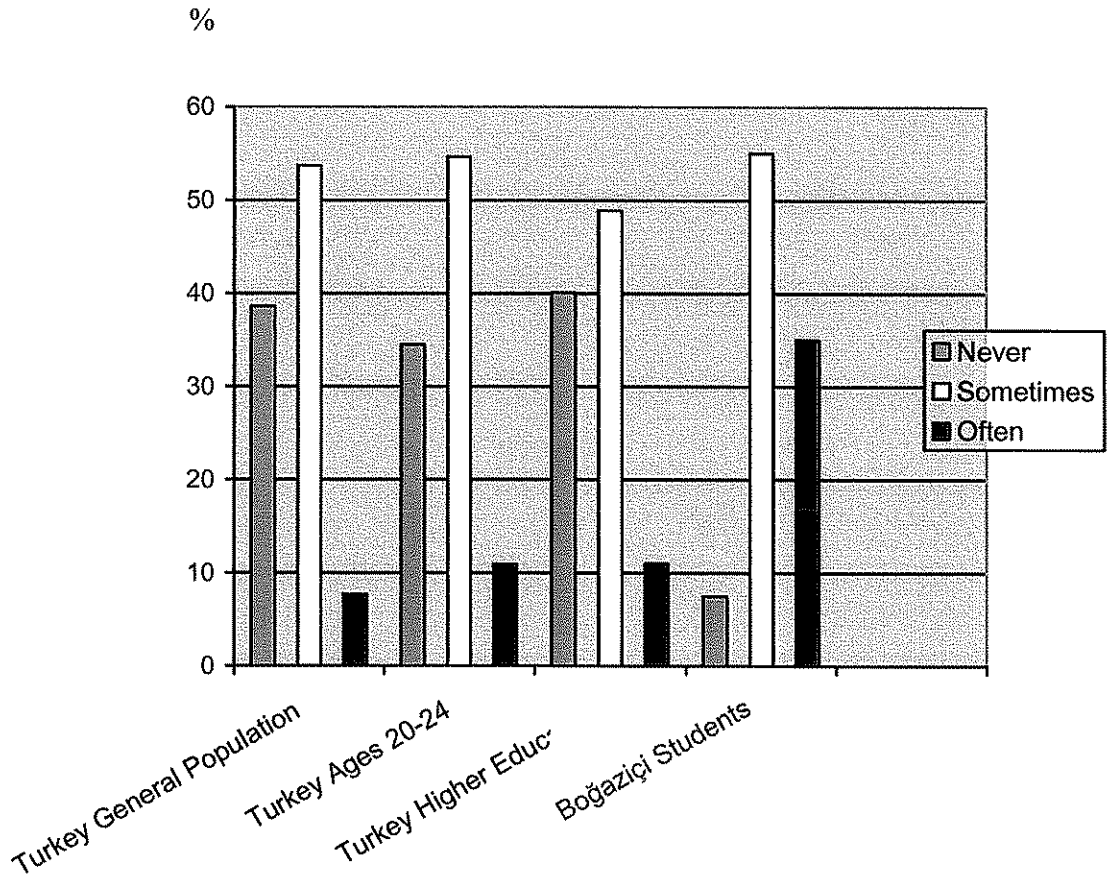


Fig. 1. Have you ever challenged a superior authority in your life?

Samples Sizes:

Turkey general population: 1000
 Turkey ages 20-24 : 119
 Turkey higher education : 182
 Boğaziçi Students : 40

%

Yes

No

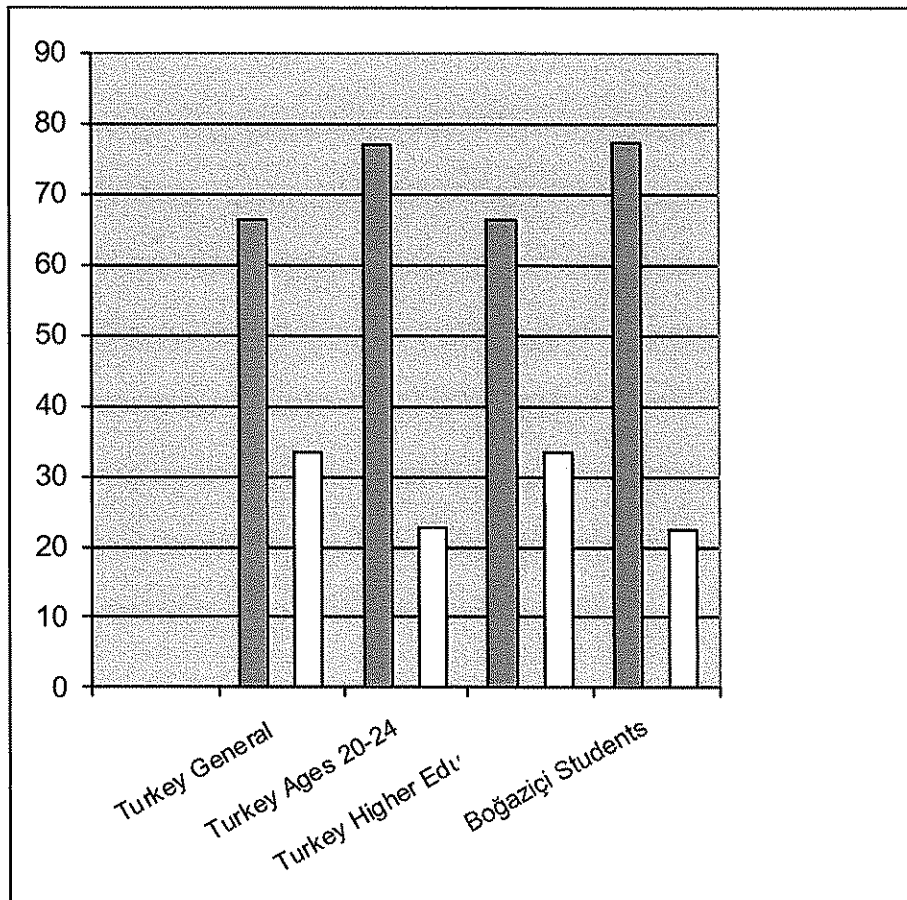


Fig. 2. Do you/did you study the area of your deliberate choice?

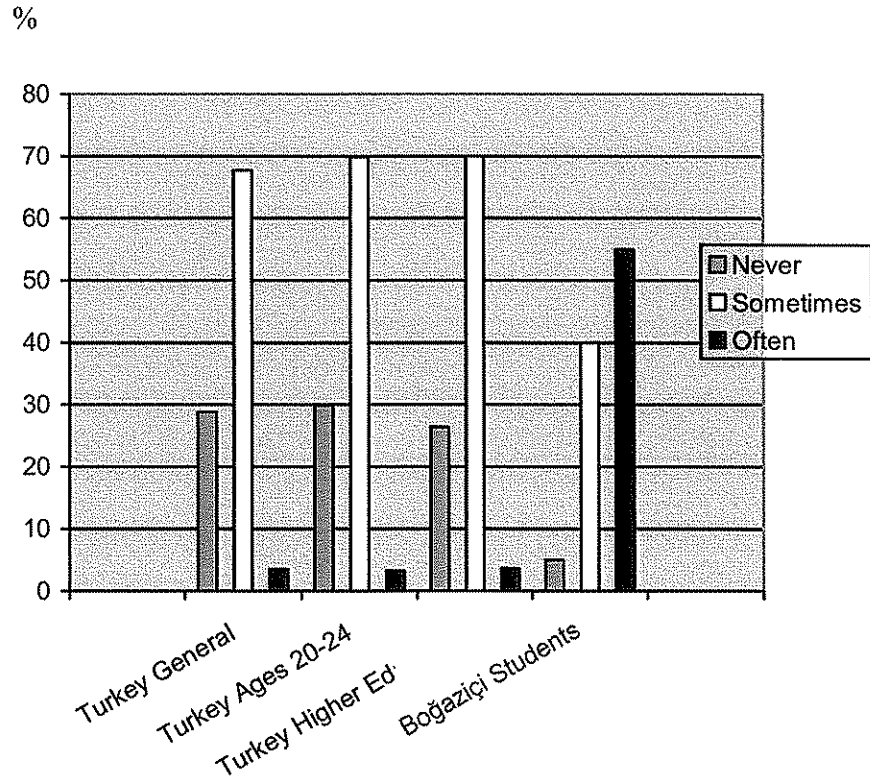


Fig. 3. Do you think your life provides you the opportunities to attain your goals?

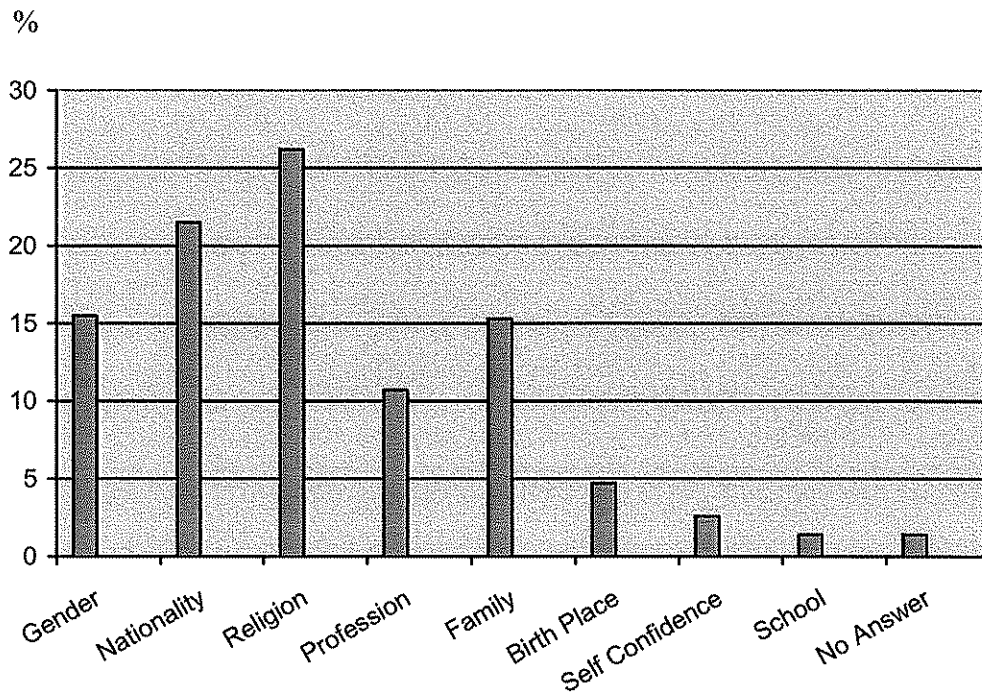


Fig 4-A. What is the foremost element that describes your identity?
A. Turkey General Population

B. %

Turkey Ages 20-24

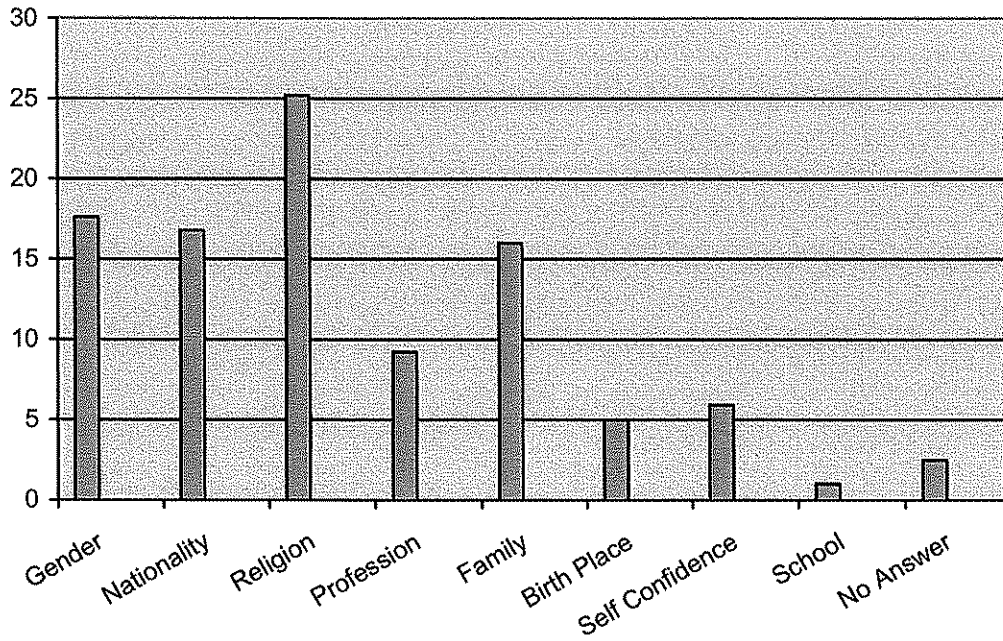


Fig. 4-B. What is the foremost element that describes your identity?

% Turkey Higher Education

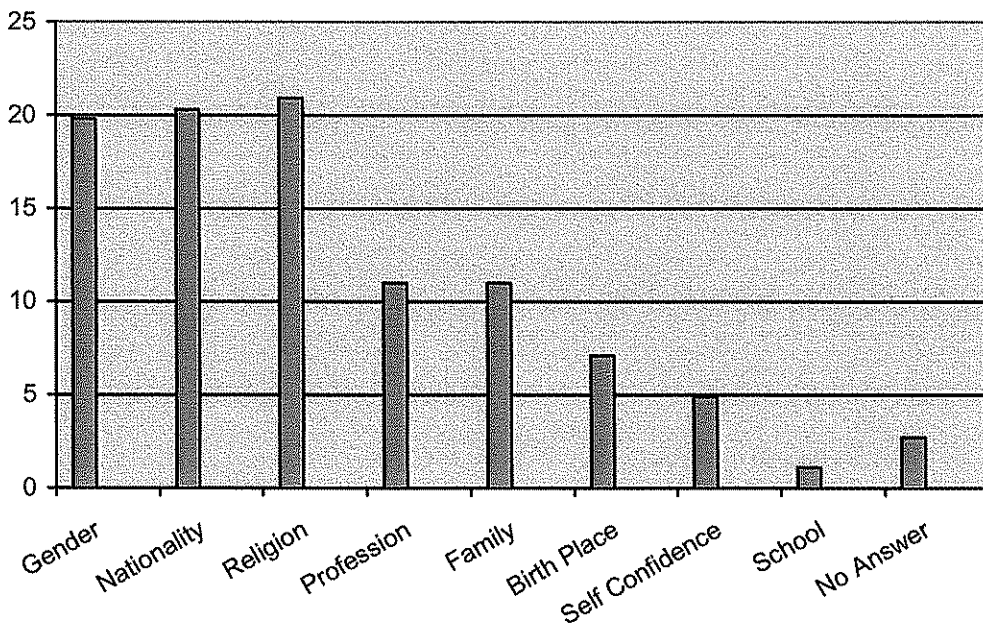


Fig. 4 C. What is the foremost element that describes your identity?

% Boğaziçi Students

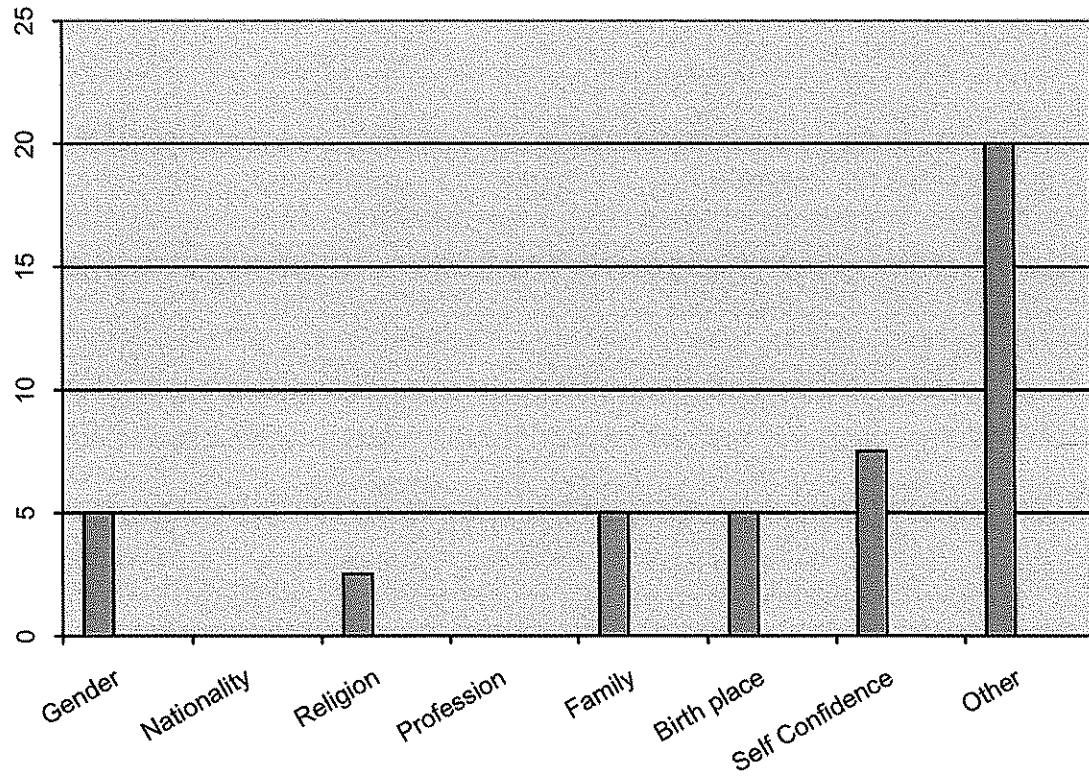


Fig. 4 D. What is the foremost element that describes your identity?

Details of response 'other' for Boğaziçi Group:

- Will,
- İstanbul,
- Political opinion,
- Friends,
- Ideals,
- Ideas,
- Music,
- Ethics

Turkey General Weighted average
%

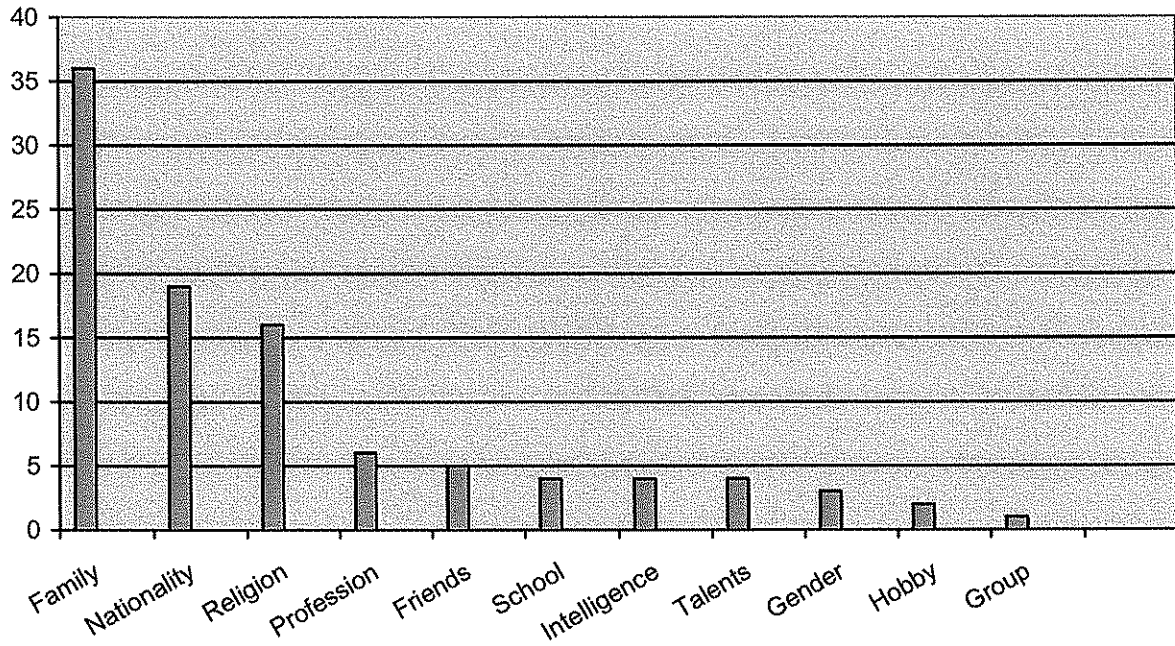
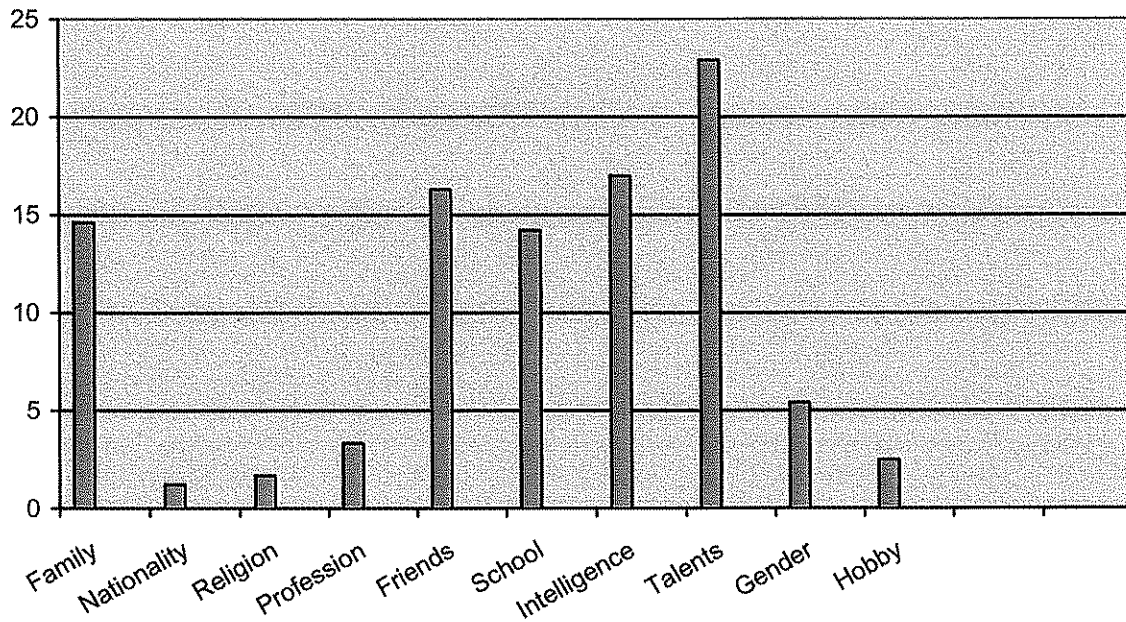


Fig. 5.-A Rank three elements to identify yourself

Boğaziçi Students Weighted Average
%



5. B. Rank three elements to identify yourself

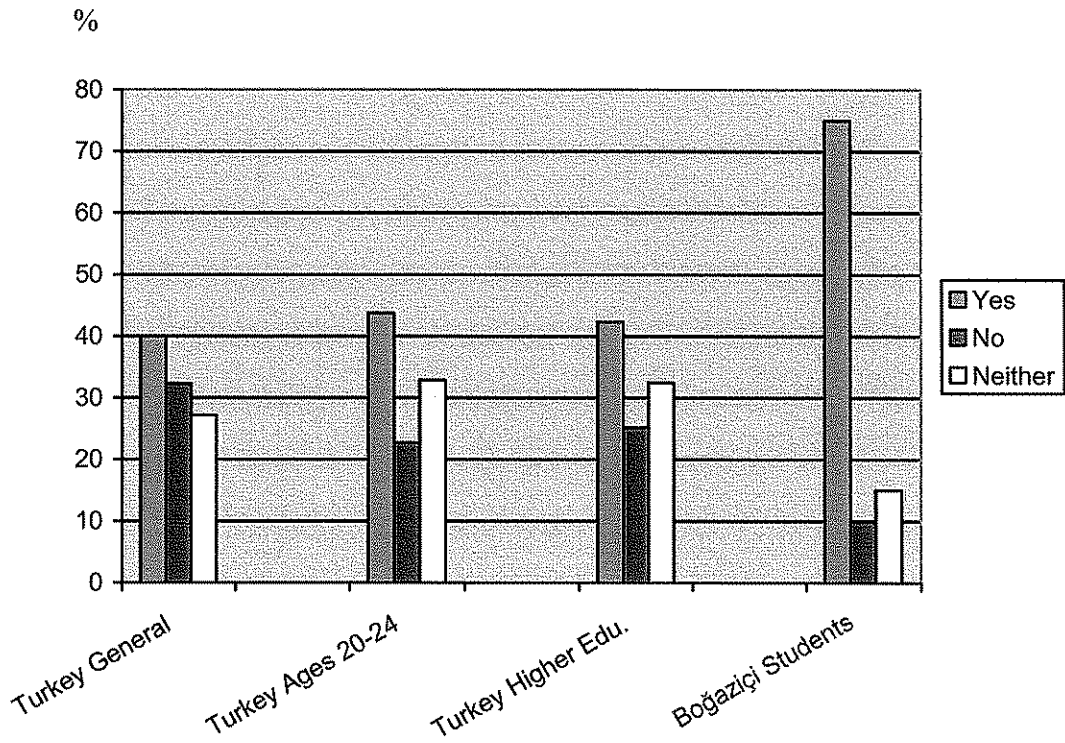


Fig. 6. Do you feel obliged to join a group to please your friends? Yes No

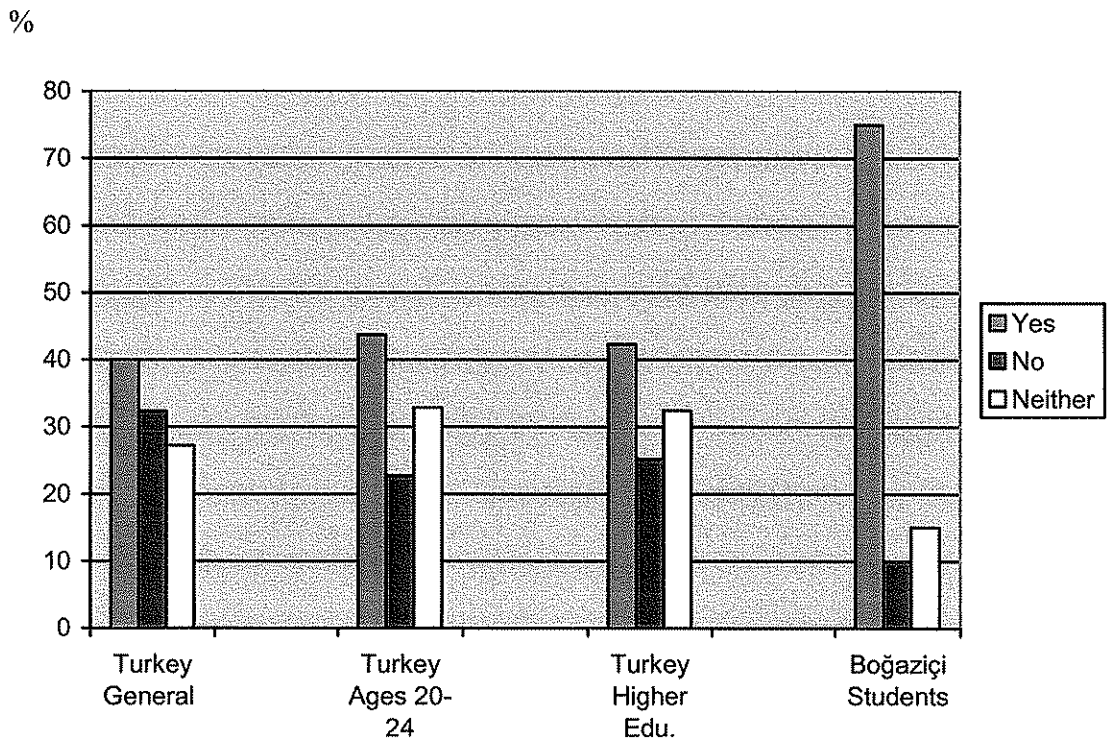


Fig. 7. Can you risk isolation and humiliation to defend your opinion?

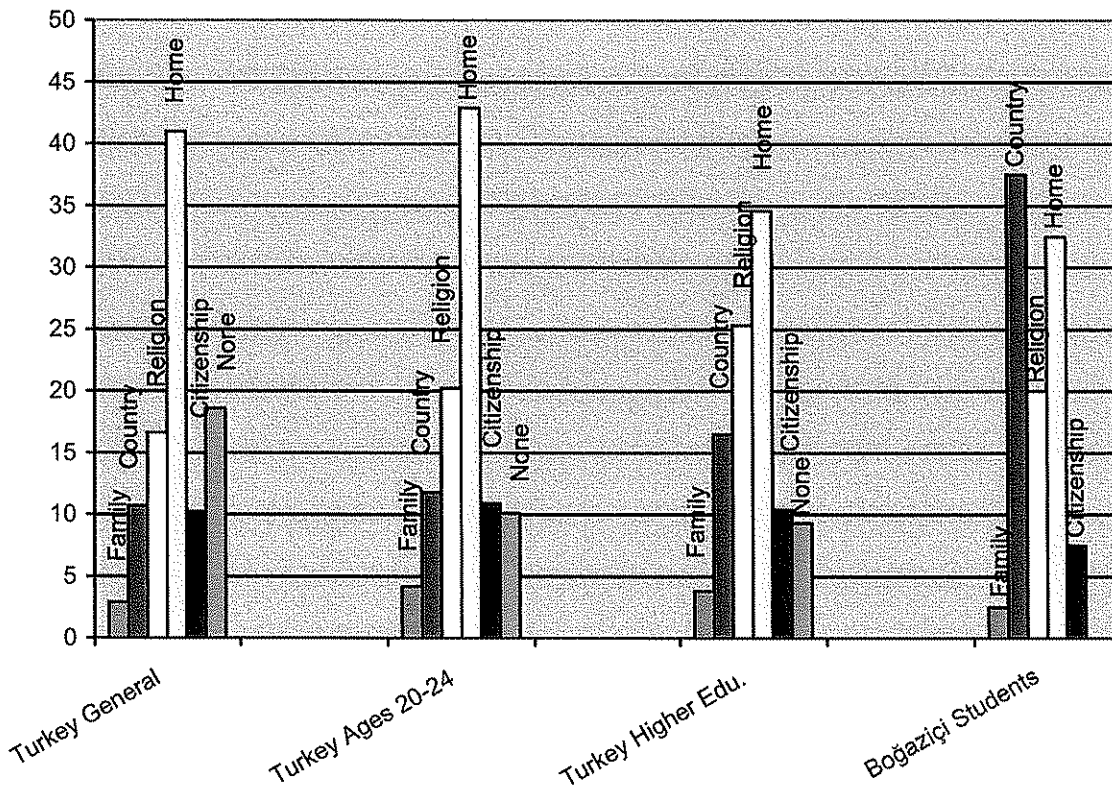


Fig. 8. If you had to abandon one of the following for your dreams, which one would you choose?

%

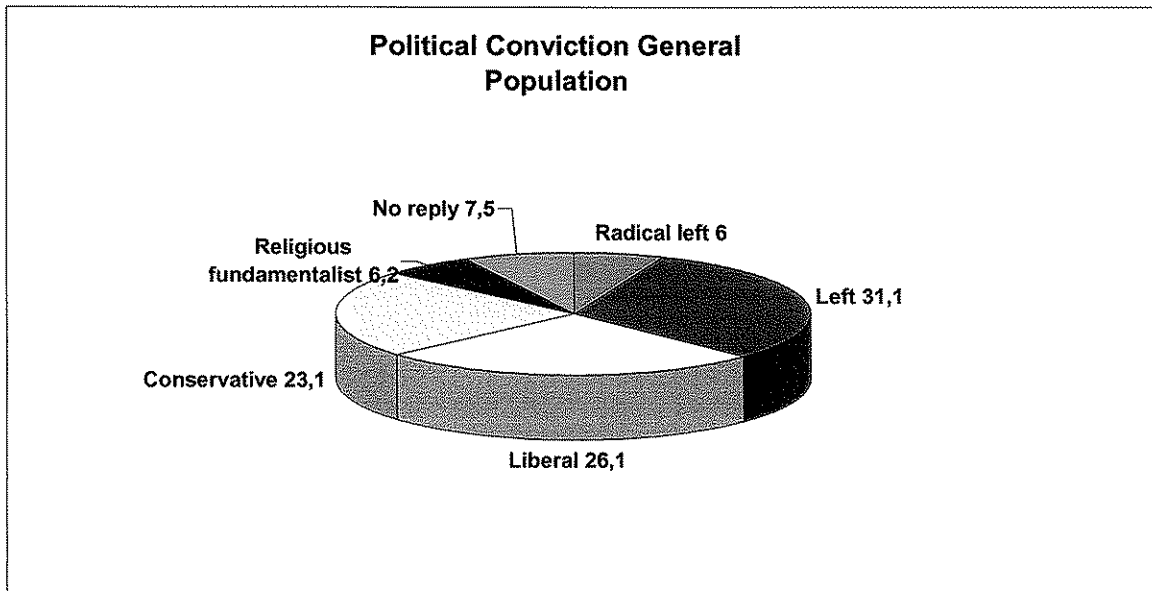


Fig. 9. A. Where in the political spectrum do you belong?

%

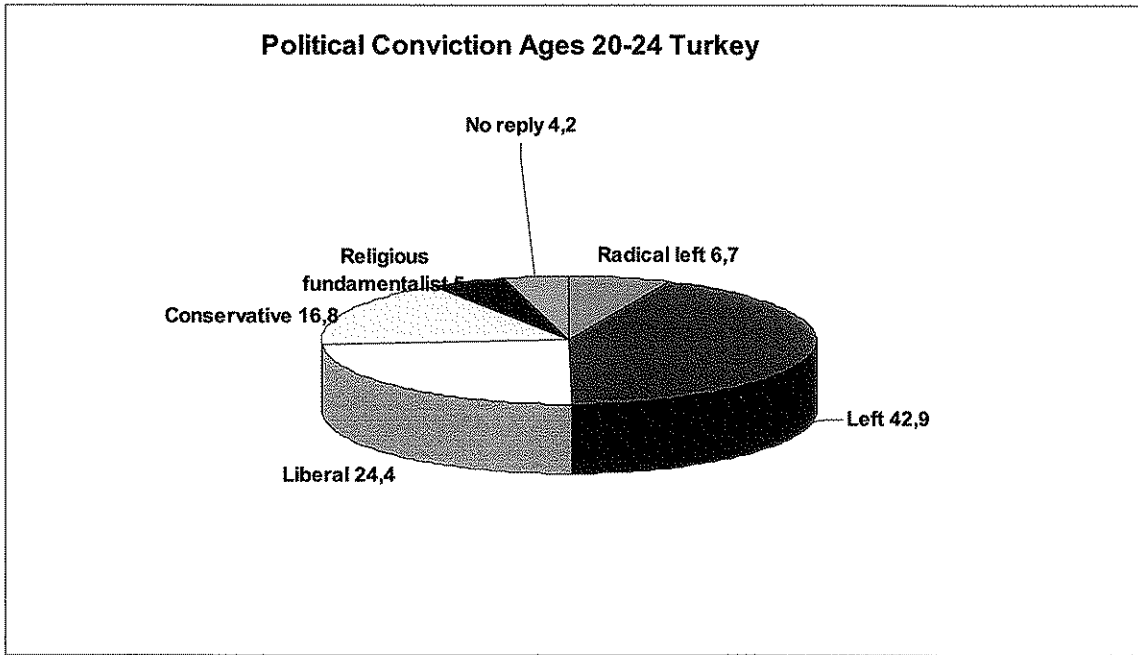


Fig. 9-B. Where in the political spectrum do you belong? Ages 20-24 Turkey

%

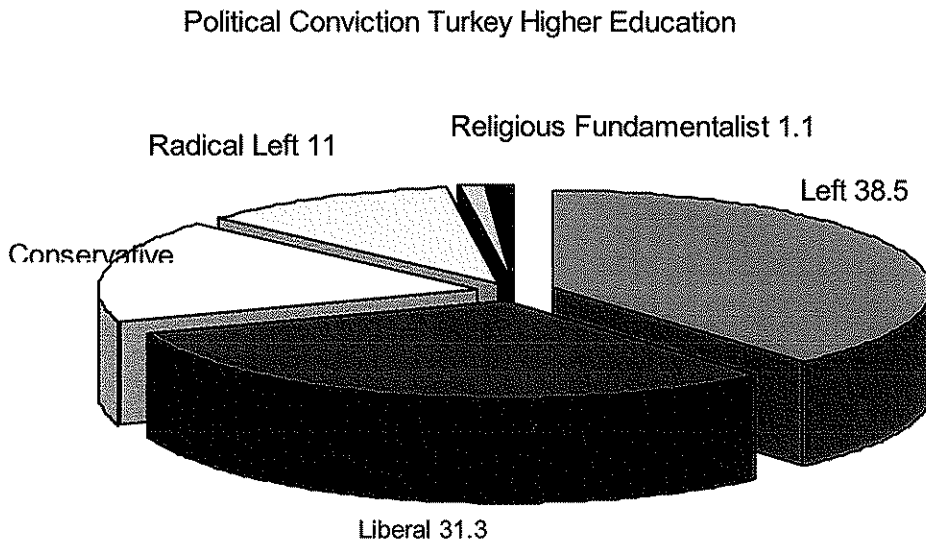


Fig. 9-C. Where in the political spectrum do you belong? Turkey Higher Education

%

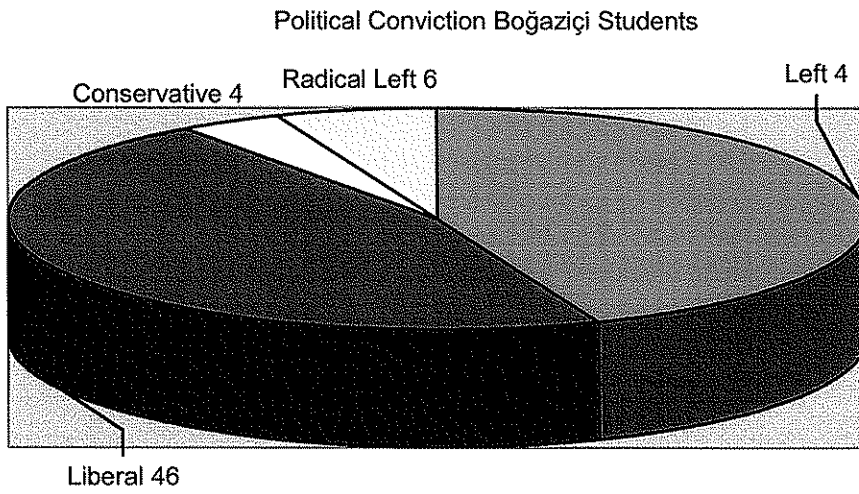


Fig. 9.-D Where in the political spectrum do you belong? Boğaziçi Students

%

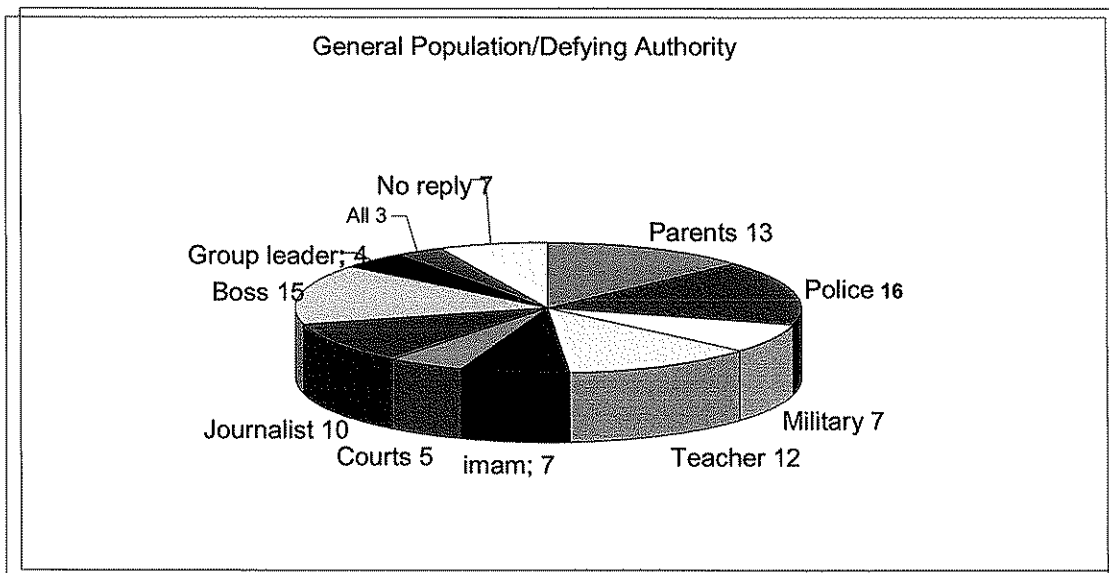


Fig10-A. When you feel you were treated unfairly, which of the following would you Confront ? Please rank. General Population

%

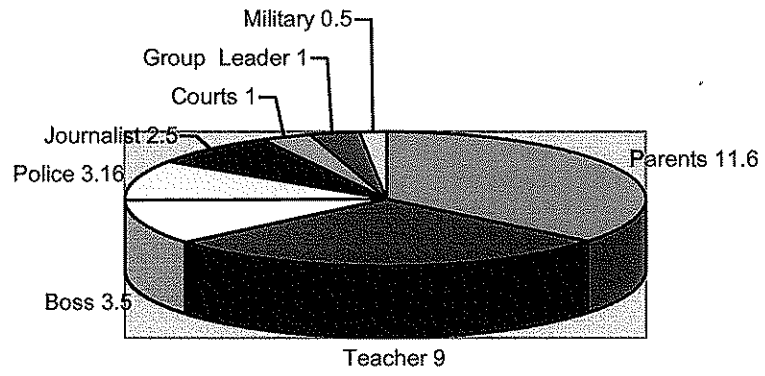
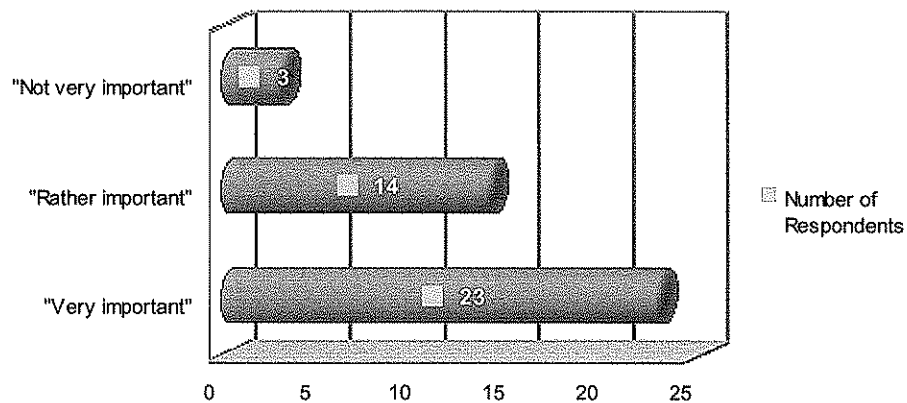


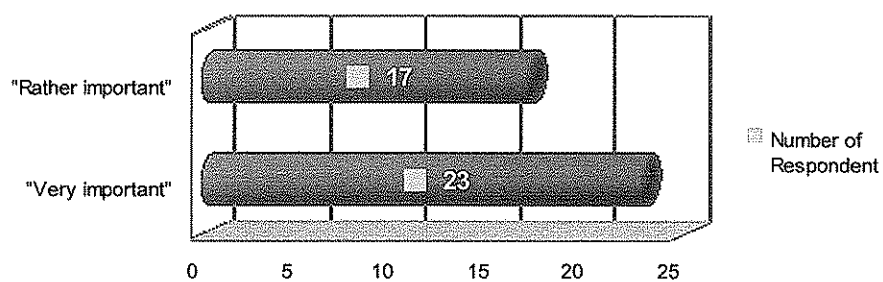
Fig.10-B Boğaziçi Students Defying Authority

Figures for Boğaziçi University Sample
M:19 F: 21 Total: 40

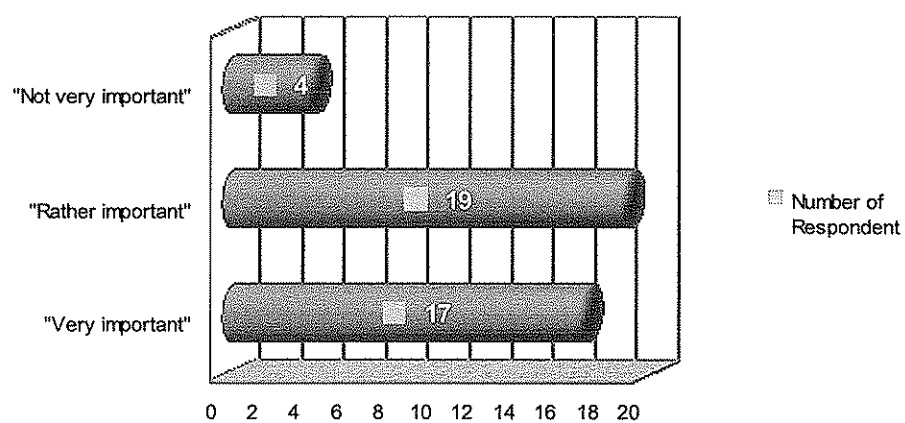
B-1. Importance of family in your life... choose one



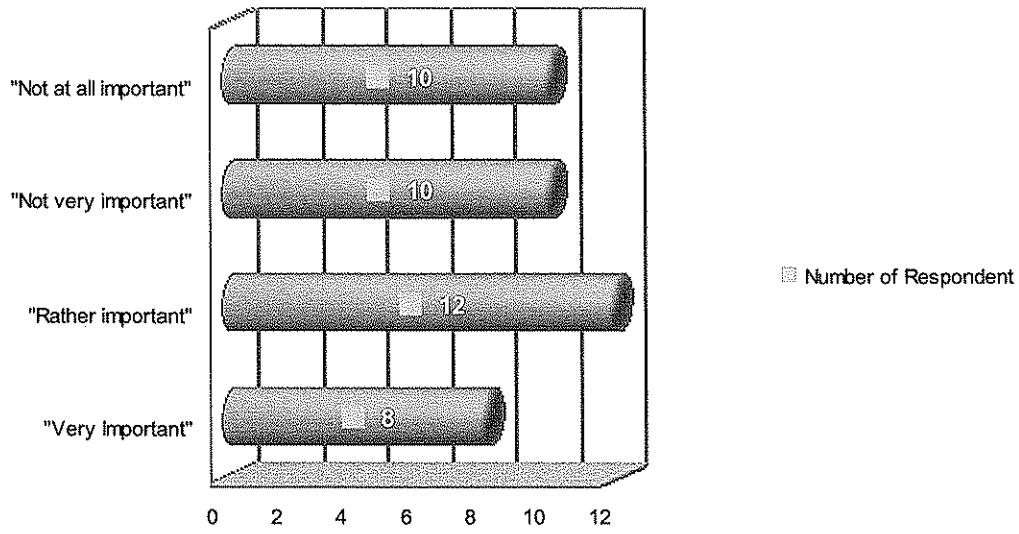
B-2. Importance of friends in your life... choose one



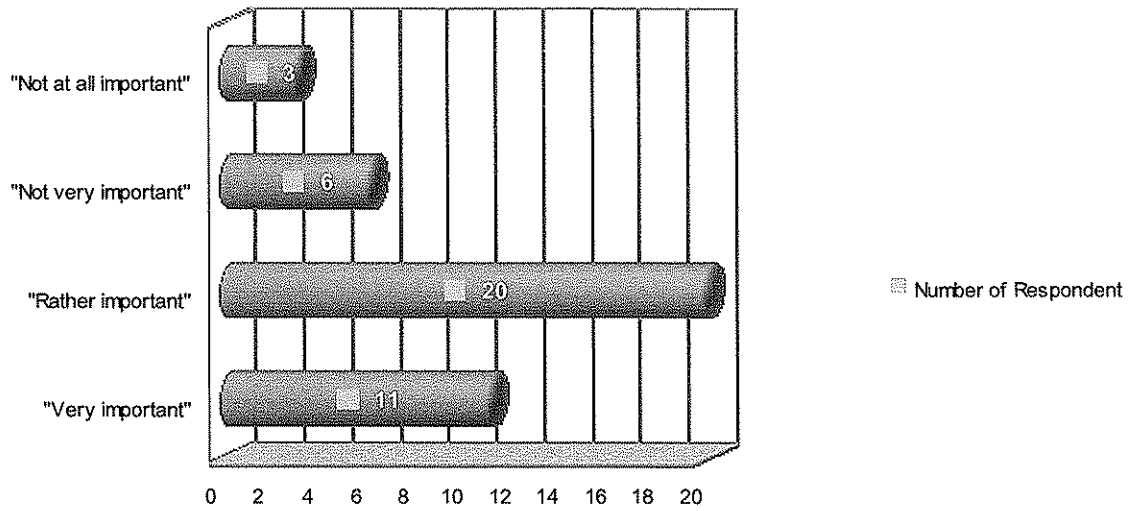
B-3. Importance of leisure time in your life ... choose one



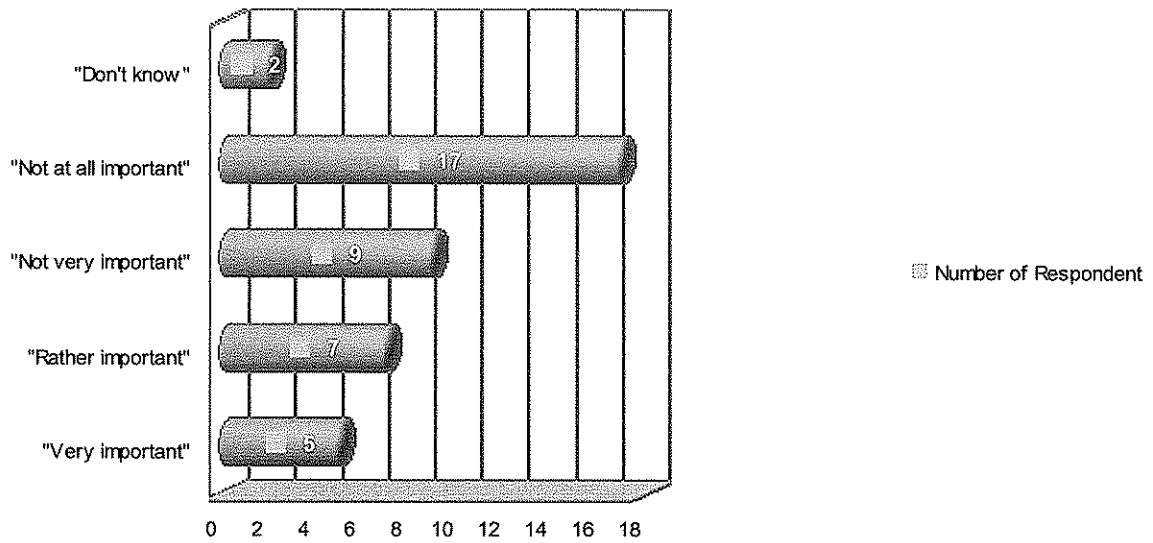
B-4. Importance of politics in your life...choose one



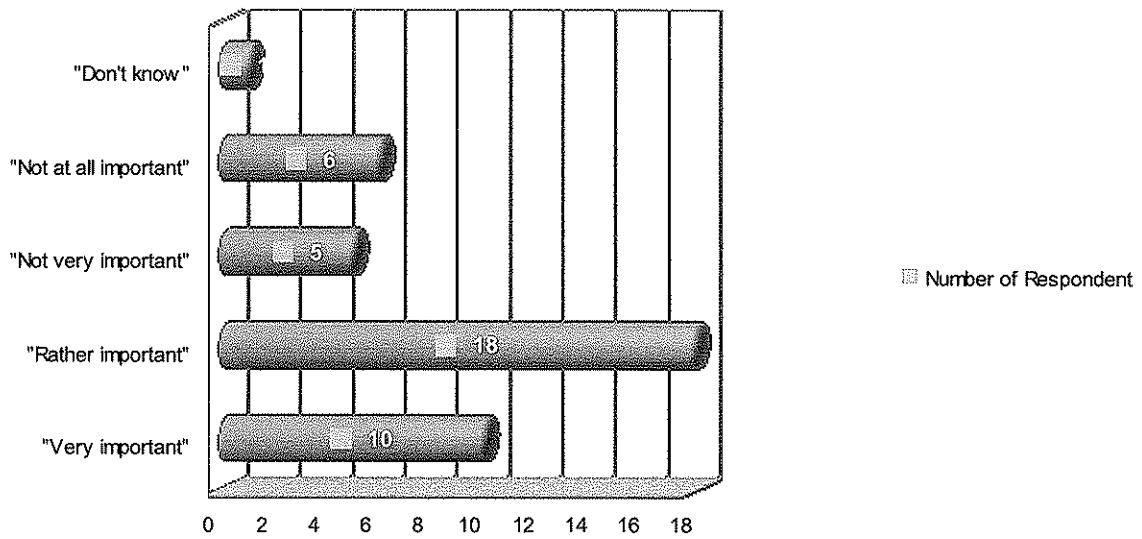
B-5. Importance of work in your life..choose one



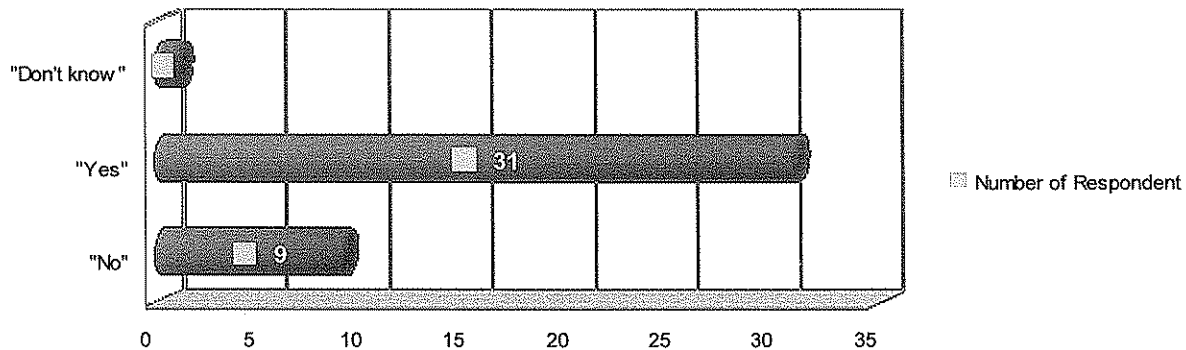
B-6. Importance of religion in your life...choose one



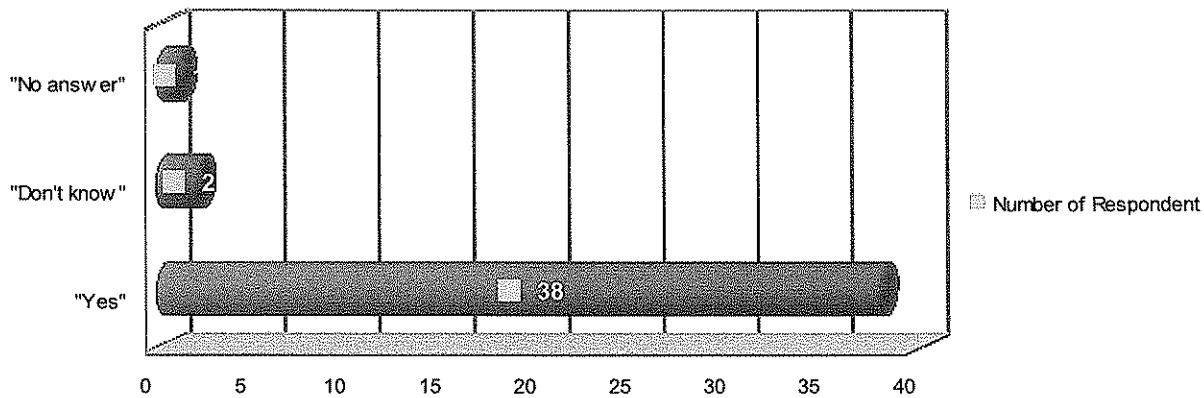
B-7. Importance of service to others in your life...choose one



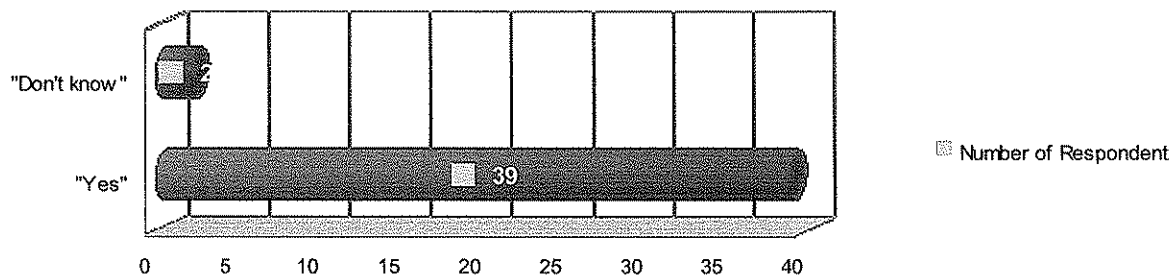
B-8. Ever felt very lonely or remote from other people?



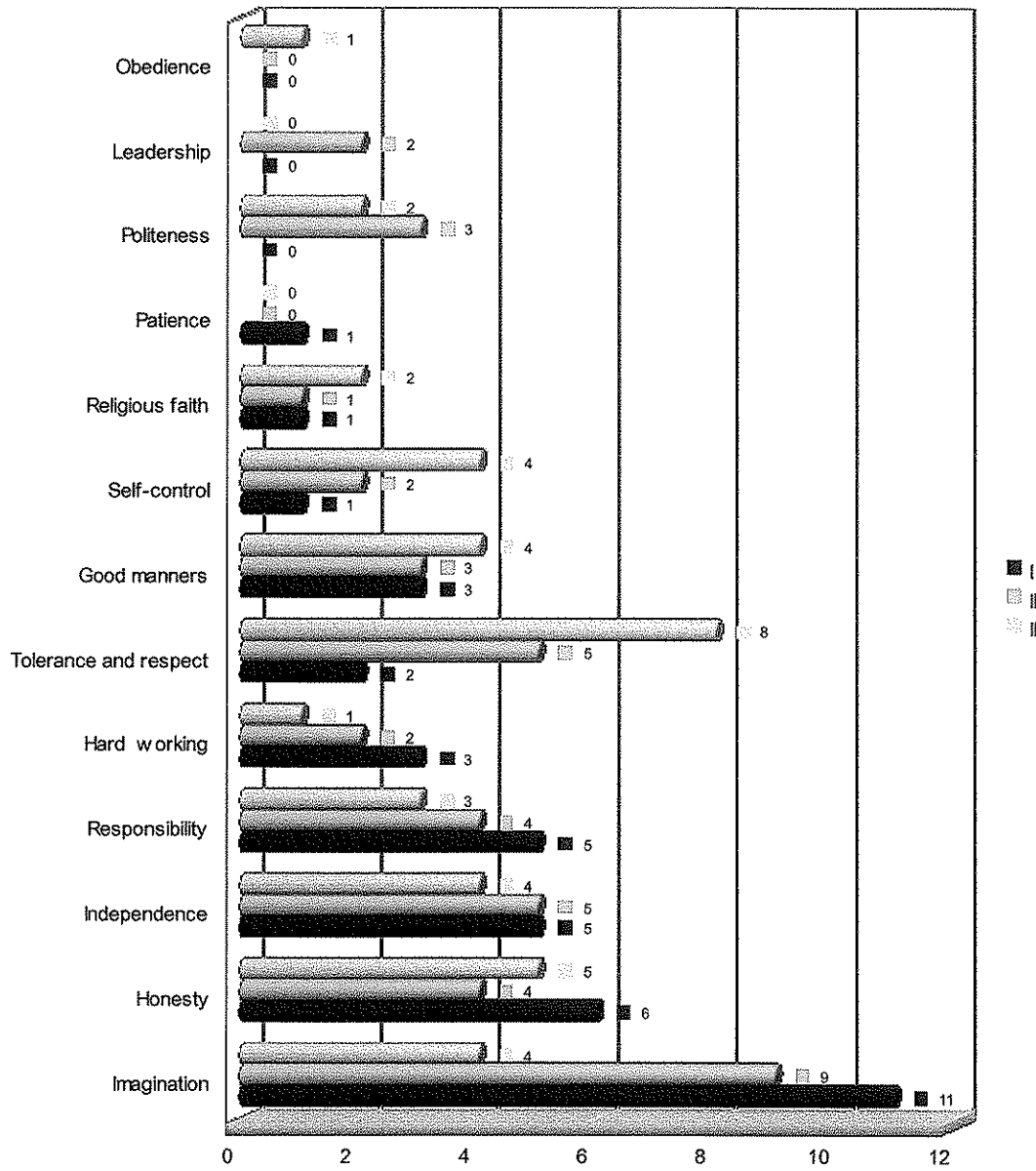
B-9. Ever felt pleased about having accomplished something?



B-10. Ever felt that things were going your way?

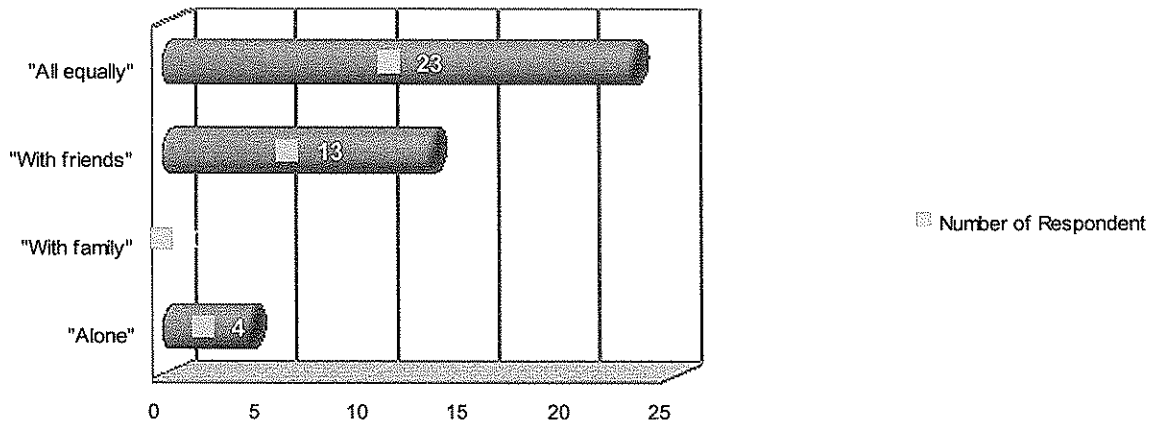


B-11. Important child qualities ...rank three in order of importance



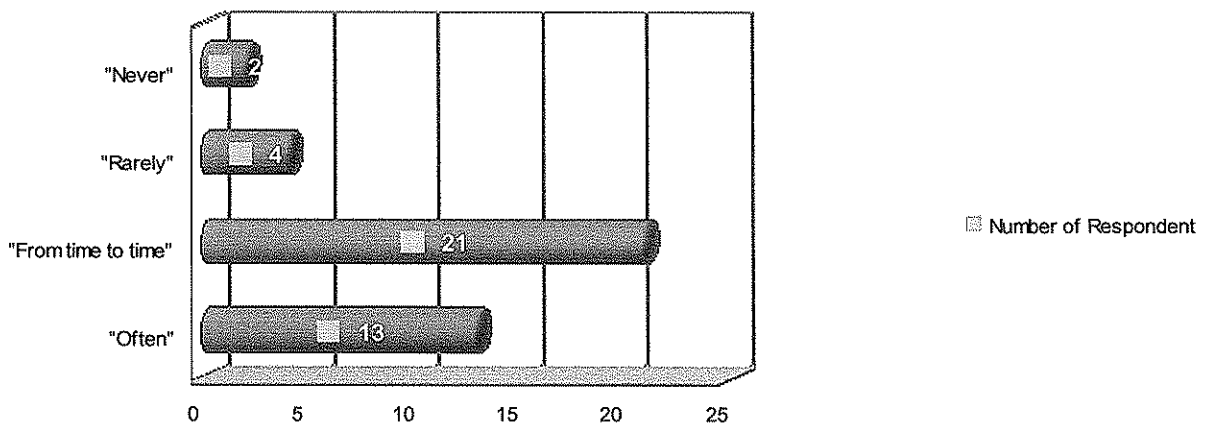
B-12. How you spend leisure time

During your leisure time do you prefer to be alone, to be with your family, to be with friends or to be in a lively place with many people?



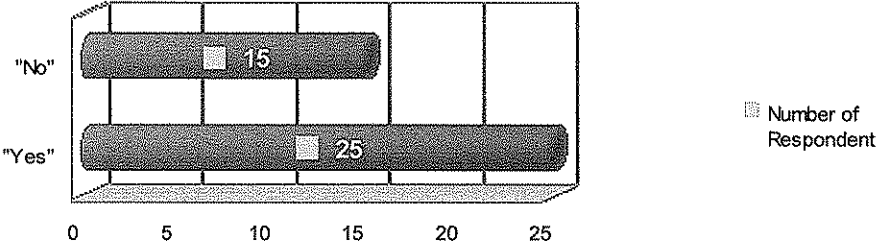
B-13. Persuading friends, relatives or fellow workers

When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views or not? If so, does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?.

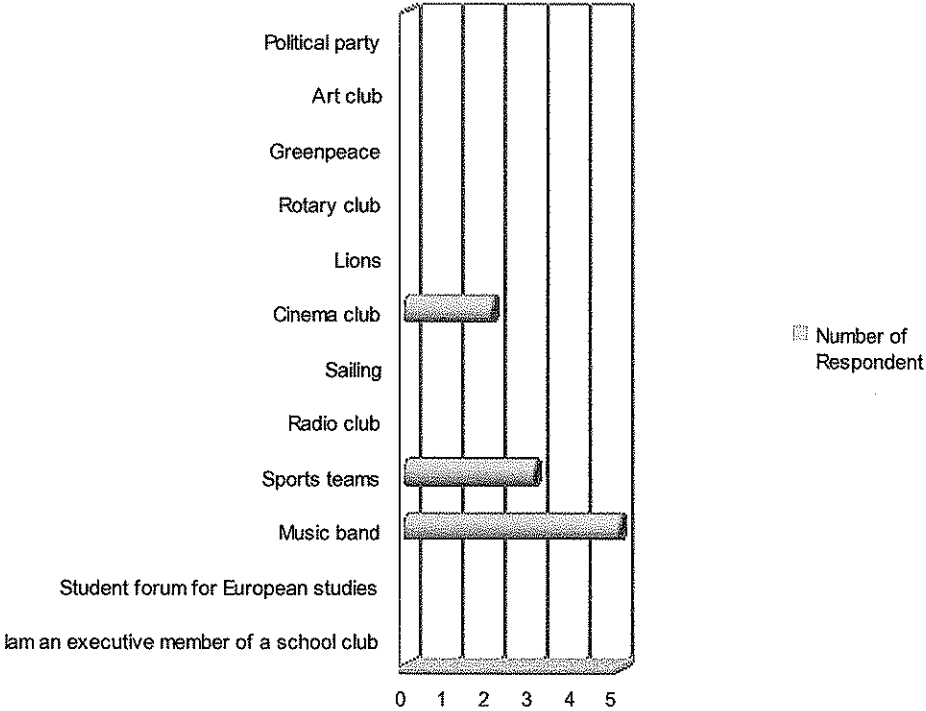


B-14. Belonging to an organization

Are you a member of any kind of organization? (It doesn't have to be a formal one, can be a group or a club)

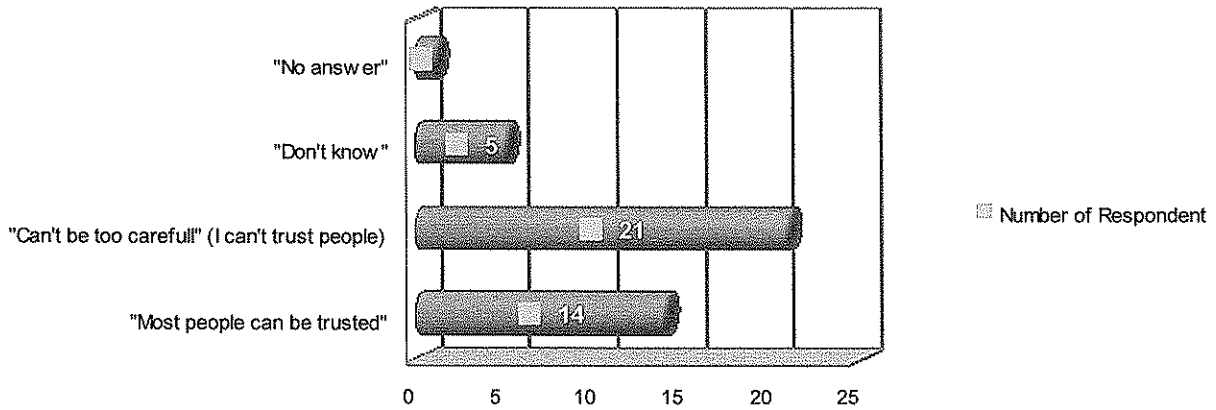


If yes, what kind of an organization?



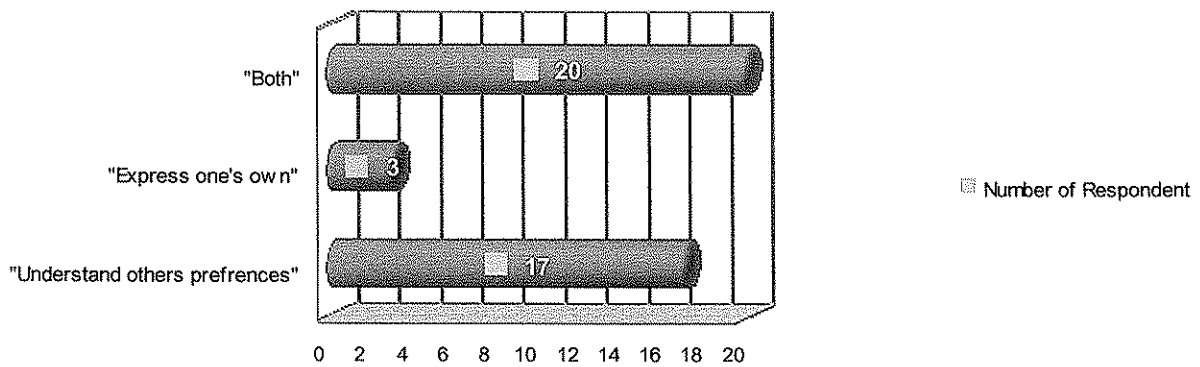
B-15. Trust

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?



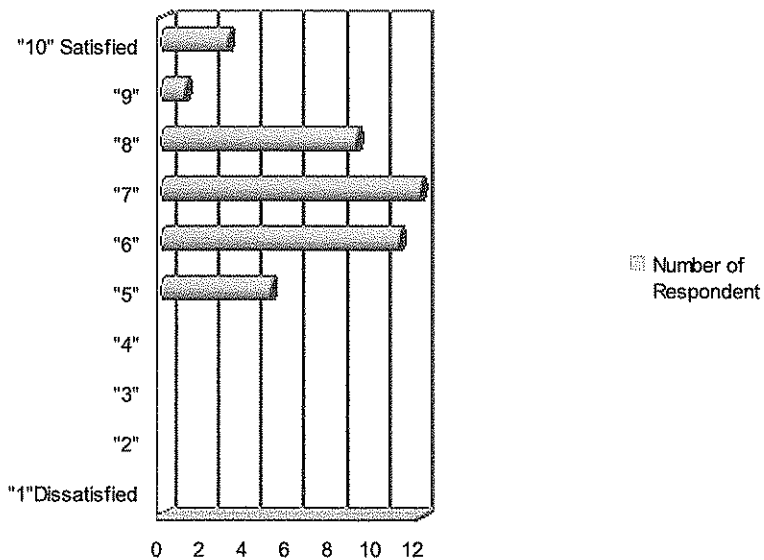
B-16. Good human relationships

For each of the following pairs of statements, please tell me which one comes closest to your own views:



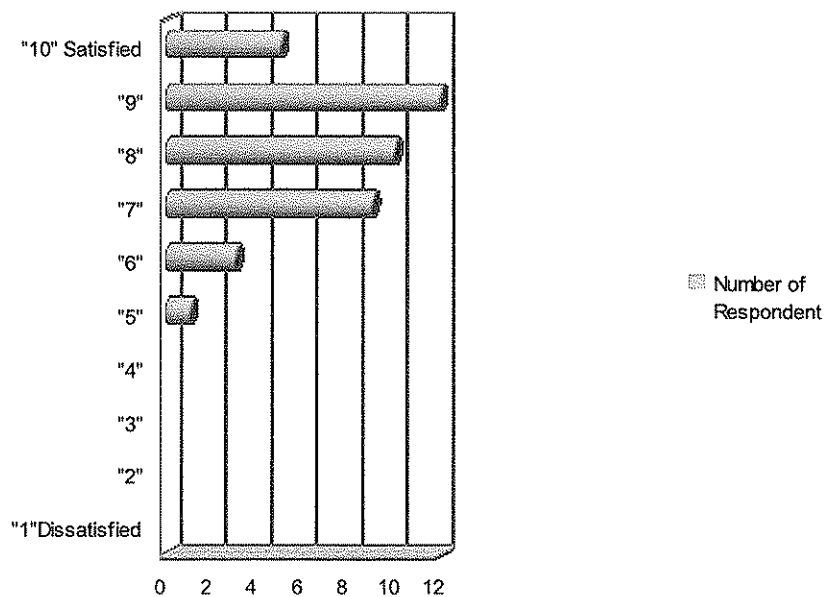
B-17. Satisfaction with your life

All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Please rank your answer.



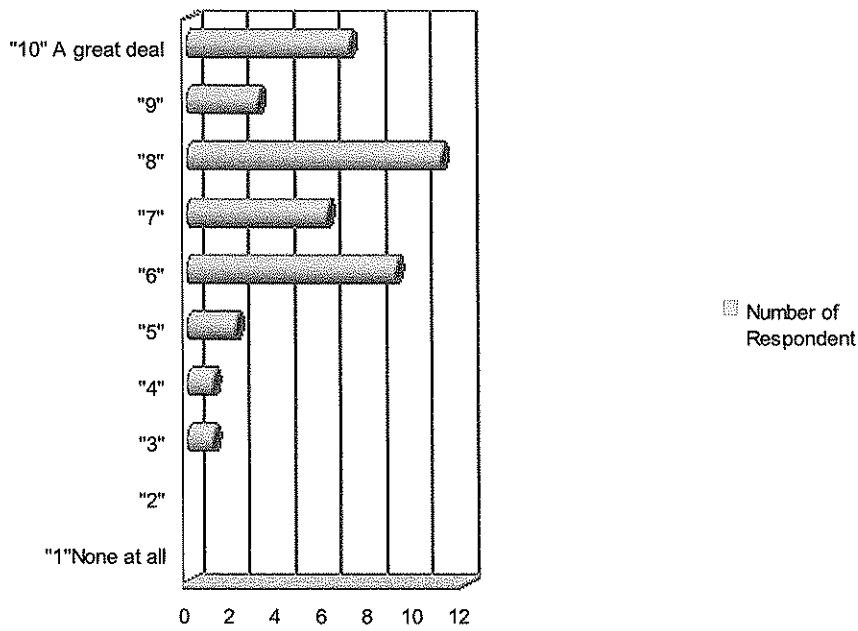
B-18. Expected satisfaction with your life in 5 years

And where do you expect you will be in five years time? Choose a degree between 1 very dissatisfied and 10 very satisfied

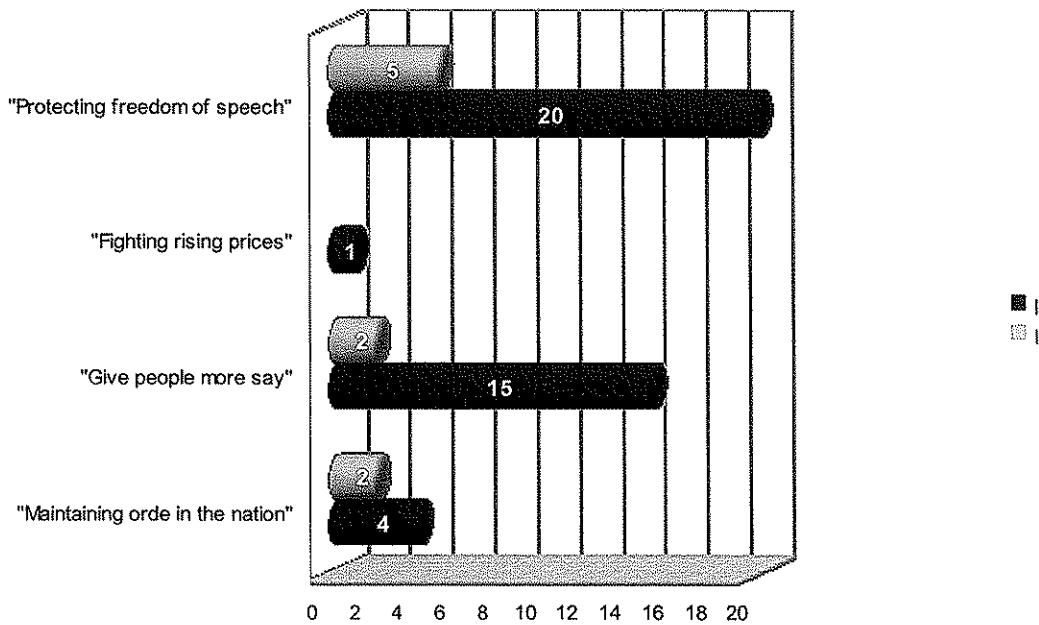


B-19. How much freedom of choice and control

Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "none at all" and 10 means "a great deal" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.



B-20. Political behaviour If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? And which would be the next most important?



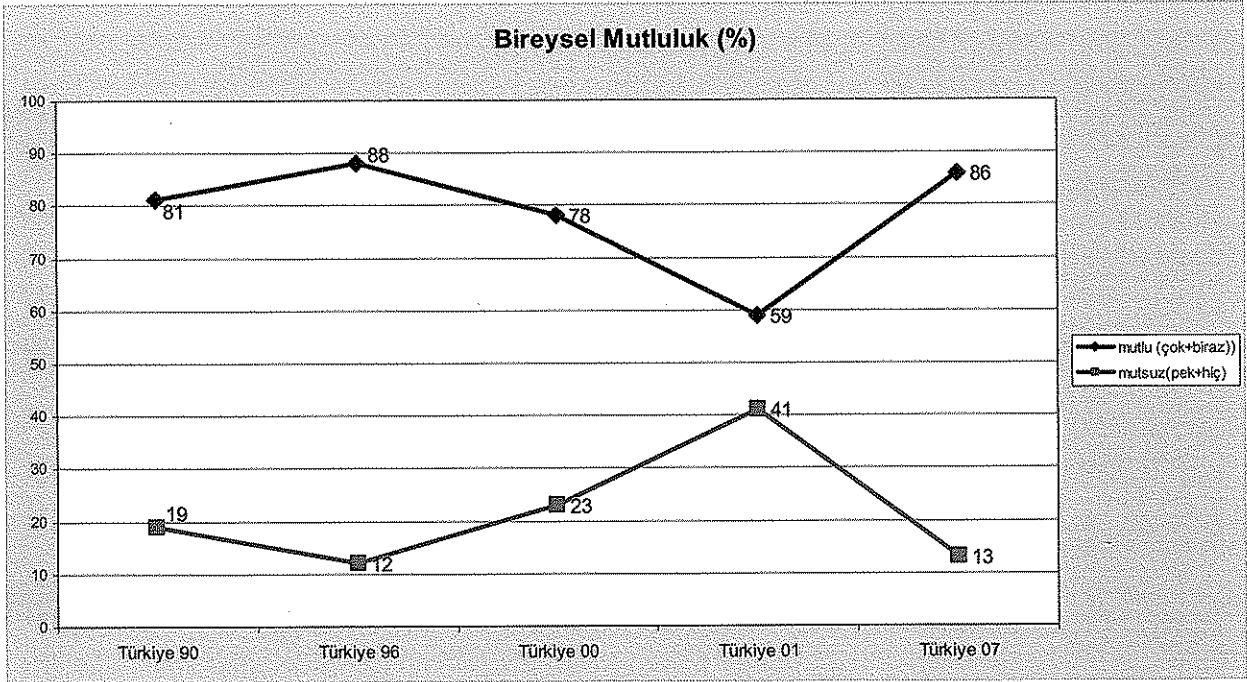
SOME GRAPHS FROM THE WVS SURVEY IN TURKEY

2007

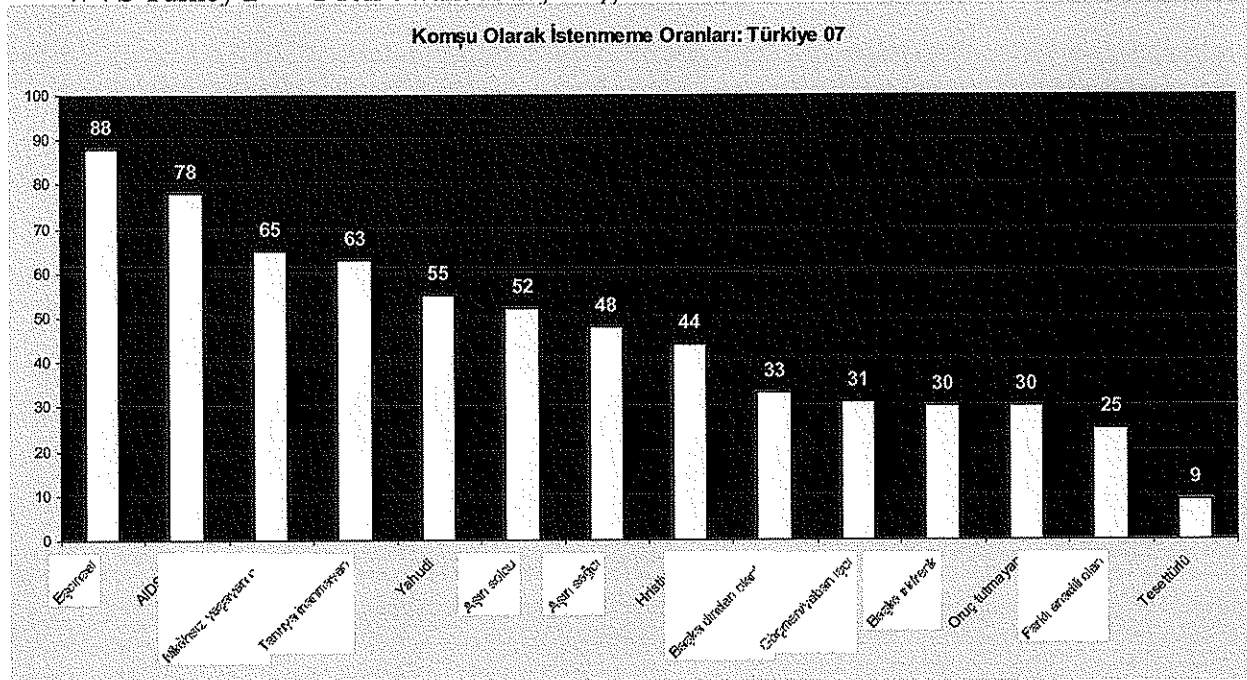
Sample size: 1,579

(Conducted by a team headed by Prof. Yılmaz Esmer, published at the website of Bahçeşehir University)

WVS Turkey 1 Personal Happiness



WVS Turkey 2 "I don't want as my neighbor"



APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRES

1. Question form for Quantitative Survey (Applied to General Population sample and Boğaziçi sample)

Age:
Gender:
City:
Occupation:
Household Income:

N.1 Have you ever challenged a superior authority in your life?

	K.
No Never	1
Sometimes	2
Often	3

N.2 Do you/did you study the area of your deliberate choice?

	K.
Yes	1
No	2

N.3 Do you think your life present you the opportunities for your pursuits?

	K.
Not at all	1
Rarely	2
Often	3

N.4 What is the strongest element to describe your identity
(Single answer)

	K.
Gender	1
Nationality	2
Religion	3
Profession	4
City of birth	5
Family name	6
My school	7
Other (please indicate))

N.5 Rank three elements to identify yourself

	1°	2°	3°
	K.	K.	K.
Family	1	1	1
Nationality	2	2	2
My school	3	3	3
Okulum	4	4	4
Occupation	5	5	5
Gender	6	6	6
Cinsiyetim	7	7	7
Intelligence	8	8	8
Talents	9	9	9
Friends	A	A	A
Group/Organization	B	B	B

N.6 Would you feel obliged to join a group just for your friends?

	K.
Yes	1
No	2

N.7 Can you risk isolation and humiliation to defend your opinion?

	K
Absolutely not	1
I don't	2
Neither nor	3
I can	4
I absolutely can	5

N.8 If you had to abandon one of the following for your dreams, which one would you choose? (Single Answer)

	K
Family	1
Country	2
Religion	3
Home	4
Nationality	5

N.9 Where in the political spectrum do you belong?

	Radical left	Left	Liberal	Conservative	Fundamentalist
K.	1	2	3	4	5

Which Political Party would you vote for in the next election?

.....

N.10 Which of the following would you confront when wronged by them ? Please rank

	1°	2°	3°
	K.	K.	K
Parents	1	1	1
Police	2	2	2
Military	3	3	3
Teacher	4	4	4
İmam	5	5	5
Courts	6	6	6
Journalist	7	7	7
Boss	8	8	8
My group leader	9	9	9
Other (Please indicate)

2. Boğaziçi Qualitative Survey

In-depth Interviews Question Form

Gender: K E

Age:

City of Birth:

Department of Study:Alone başına

Occupation of Parents:

Phone no:

1. Family important in life ...choose one (Family attachment is a value shared by both poles)

1 'Very important'

2 'Rather important'

3 'Not very important'

4 'Not at all important'

-1 'Don't know'

-2 'No answer'

2. Friends important in life

(Friends are part of individual development)

1 'Very important'

2 'Rather important'

3 'Not very important'

4 'Not at all important'

-1 'Don't know'

-2 'No answer'

3. Leisure time important in life (Leisure is an indicator of individualism)

- 1 'Very important'
- 2 'Rather important'
- 3 'Not very important'
- 4 'Not at all important'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

4. Politics important in life (Political participation and trust build social capital)

- 1 'Very important'
- 2 'Rather important'
- 3 'Not very important'
- 4 'Not at all important'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

5. Work important in life (Related with success)

- 1 'Very important'
- 2 'Rather important'
- 3 'Not very important'
- 4 'Not at all important'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

6. Religion important in life (Mostly a collectivist value)

- 1 'Very important'
- 2 'Rather important'
- 3 'Not very important'
- 4 'Not at all important'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

7. Service to others important in life (Altruism)

- 1 'Very important'
- 2 'Rather important'
- 3 'Not very important'
- 4 'Not at all important'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

8. Ever felt very lonely or remote from other people (Sociability)

- 0 'No'
- 1 'Yes'
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

9. Ever felt pleased about having accomplished something (Confidence)

0 'No'

1 'Yes'

-1 'Don't know'

-2 'No answer'

10. Ever felt that things were going your way (Satisfaction)

0 'No'

1 'Yes'

-1 'Don't know'

-2 'No answer'

11. Important child qualities ...rank three in order of importance
(Self expression/survival values)

I II III

Imagination

Honesty

Independence

Responsibility

Hard working

Tolerance and respect

Good manners

Self-control

Religious faith

Patience

Politeness

Leadership

Obedience

12. Spending leisure time

During your leisure time do you prefer to be alone, to be with your family, to be with friends or to be in a lively place with many people?

Alone

With family

With friends

All equally

13. Persuading friends, relatives or fellow workers (Self Expression)

When you, yourself, hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views or not? If so, does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?

1 'Often'

2 'From time to time'

3 'Rarely'

4 'Never'

-1 'Don't know'

-2 'No answer'

14. Belonging to an organization (Civic participation)

Are you a member of any kind of organization? (It doesn't have to be a formal one, can be a group or a club)

Yes
No

If yes, what kind of an organization? Please explain

15. Trust (Social Capital)

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

- 1 'Most people can be trusted'
- 2 'Can't be too careful' (I can't trust people)
- 1 'Don't know'
- 2 'No answer'

16. Good human relationships

For each of the following pairs of statements, please tell me which one comes closest to your own views:

- 1 'Understand other's preferences'
- 2 'Express one's own'
- 3 'Both'
- 4 'Neither'
- 5 'Other answer'

17. Satisfaction with your life

All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Please rank your answer.

- 1 'Dissatisfied'
- 2 '2'
- 3 '3'
- 4 '4'
- 5 '5'
- 6 '6'
- 7 '7'
- 8 '8'
- 9 '9'
- 10 'Satisfied'

18. Expected satisfaction with your life in 5 years (Anticipation)

And where do you expect you will be in five years time? Choose a degree between 1 very dissatisfied and 10 very satisfied

1 'Dissatisfied'

2 '2'

3 '3'

4 '4'

5 '5'

6 '6'

7 '7'

8 '8'

9 '9'

10 'Satisfied'

19. How much freedom of choice and control

Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means "none at all" and 10 means "a great deal" to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.

1 'None at all'

2 '2'

3 '3'

4 '4'

5 '5'

6 '6'

7 '7'

8 '8'

9 '9'

10 'A great deal'

20. Political behaviour (Conservative vs. liberal attitude)

If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? And which would be the next most important?

I

II

1 'Maintaining order in the nation'

2 'Give people more say'

3 'Fighting rising prices'

4 'Protecting freedom of speech'

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