The Linkage Between Turkish New Nationalism and Neo Racism

A THESIS PRESENTED
BY
ÖZGÜR BUDAK
TO
THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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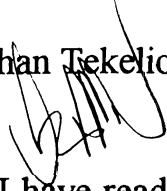
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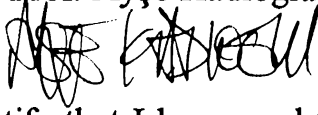
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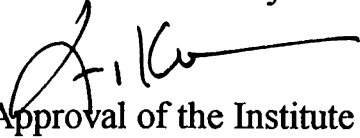
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ABSTRACT

Present study aims to analyze the new Turkish nationalism as a political tendency in the 1990s which tries to construct the Turkish national identity with the program of integrating to global society by several references to catching the modern life style and standards. Concerning the stress on the new Turkish national identity which has reached an osmosis with the western style of life including consumption cultures and general standards of modern life, the study aims to connect these references with the retheorization of neo-racism elaborated by Balibar and to show the possible commonalities between new Turkish nationalism and cultural racism.

Additionally, the study aims to explain the main aspects of the new nationalism related to the selected writings of five columnists (Engin Ardıç, Ertuğrul Özkök, Hıncal Uluç, Serdar Turgut, Ali Kırca) as the representatives of this new nationalist tendency in mass media and point out the possible differences among these columnists in respect to the styles and references which they use.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER -1

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, and especially during the 90s, a new political tendency in a special part of the media, has appeared concerning the debates of nationalism. This tendency was presented as a "rupture in the Turkey's whole history of modernization" by some columnists (Ertugrul Özkök, Mehmet Barlas, Hadi Uluengin) particularly working in mass media. This rupture (from the traditional references for the Turkish nationalism) was from the traditional understandings of nation and the references of a national identity. In effect there was not an organized intellectual background or a theoretical discussion around an accepted identification of the new national identity. Rather, we observe a gradual development and clarification through a new national identity. Even today such a nationalistic attitude is not totally accepted among academicians. There are some preliminary studies in order to identify the main aspects and characteristics of this new thought (Bora 1995, Gürbilek 1993, Kozanoglu 1992, 1993). Among those columnists Tanil Bora seems to give the most adequate and clear identification of the new nationalism. Firstly Bora sees this new nationalistic attitude which he called "liberal nationalism" as a version of a historical project drawn by Kemalism which is based on the

program of reaching the contemporary civilization. Bora argues that Turkish liberal nationalism has taken this theme of reaching the contemporary civilization and transformed it into a program of integration to global culture within the context of the 1990s (Bora 1995:116). Therefore, for Bora, the new nationalism should not be taken as an ordinary version of Kemalist nationalism; but rather should be examined in its own conditions preserving a close relation to global economy.

Indeed, when we read the first relatively clear manifestations of new nationalism, the central theme appears to be Turkey's ongoing transformation to be a part of the western civilization. According to those claims the most significant change in Turkish society emphasizes the end of the road (the modernization project). For most of the supporters of new nationalism, at last Turkey became a country that assimilated the values of "high civilization"; and if there are remnants of underdevelopment or the East -a term generally used to refer to the backwardness or Third World by these columnists- Turkey has the potential to remove those barriers easily.

Western-culturalist nationalism is being adapted to Turkey with a thesis claiming that Turkey is a western country which assimilated the values of high civilization and humanity; and is located in global "high culture". The roots of this thesis can be

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found in the principle of "reaching the stage of contemporary civilization" of republican ideology (Bora 1995:78)

In short, the new human potential which is not different for the Europeans or Americans, recently emerging new urban culture and life style or the great economic success of Turkish trade marks were presented as the evidences for Turkey's becoming of a western country. However there appeared some serious criticisms against this new nationalism, especially from the left wing authors. The critics were gathered around the notion of cultural differentialism. Going one step further Bora identified the new nationalist attitude as a prolongation of the exclusive tendencies of the prosperous regions which do not want to share the welfare with the poor regions (Bora 1995:112). Following the concept elaborated by Balibar, Bora even interpreted this change as a version of class racism that is not a new phenomenon, at least for bourgeoisie society for a century which is later transformed with the articulation of immigration after decolonization. Of course, it carries us to a point interrogating the nature of new nationalism. Is it only a unique phenomenon which is totally related to the Turkish context or is it a version of the neo-racism which is especially emerged in Europe?. Among those questions I prefer the second one, since the central theme of new nationalism is an assumption about the global

culture, it is possible to find some similarities between these two phenomena.

For this reason I pursue the theoretical approach of Balibar. Since Balibar sees racism -despite its own peculiarities in a certain socio-historical context- as a universal phenomenon closely related to the organization of labor in global economy (Balibar 1991:5). The theoretical component of such an approach is the world system theory elaborated by Wallerstein. Balibar's attempt to reconceptualize racism which is based on the aspects of world system theory and the Althusserian concept of reorganization of labor carried his point of view beyond national socio-historical peculiarities within a context of globalization (Balibar 1991:5). Balibar argues that it is necessary to approach racism as a world phenomenon which is closely related to the reorganization of labor (especially manual labor) in a global economy. At that point, I think it is possible to argue that global society as the central theme of new Turkish nationalism can provide a linkage between the two different contexts. Despite Balibar's doubts concerning the existence of a "world bourgeoisie", it is possible to find similar reflections between Europe and Turkey.

I am aware of the socio-historical peculiarities of those different contexts and potential problems of comparison related to these

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peculiarities, since I could not make a detailed historical reading in this thesis. However if racism can take as a global phenomenon which dynamically transforms its references, (1) Turkish new nationalism might be imported some of its general references since the new racism no longer uses eugenic hierarchy between the races.

My aim in this thesis is not to demonstrate extensive theoretical discussion concerning different approaches, rather giving a detailed profile of the debate around the concept of neo-racism or new racism and questioning to what extent this new concept is adequate in explaining the Turkish context in the 90s. More specifically, I will try to analyze and explain the development of a new nationalistic attitude in Turkey and the 90s context where it took place. I shall attempt to connect my readings to the discussion on retheorizing racism from the perspective elaborated by Balibar. In this study I will analyze the writings of Engin Ardiç, Ertugrul Özkök, Hincal Uluç, Ali Kirca and Serdar Turgut between 1990-1995.

The reason I prefer Ardiç is that, I think his early writings from the 80s expressed the first signs of a new nationalist attitude especially derived from his arguments against the new inhabitants that "deteriorate" the urban culture. Ertugrul Özkök, maybe, is the only columnist who clearly declares the "principles" of new nationalism. Thus it will help us clarifying the main themes of new nationalism (2). Those two columnists provide the core of

my study since they represent different styles and perspectives (for instance Ardiç prefers a historical perspective for the urban values, while Özkök creates his theme out of the recent changes in the metropols). As popular personalities in the media Uluç and Kirca are able to influence the development of the new nationalism. Additionally both of them prefer the ordinary experiences, memories or speculations as the topic of their daily writings. Especially Uluç's remoteness to politics can help us to find the alternative grounds from which the new nationalist attitude derives different references. Actually Serdar Turgut has been writing in Turkey for three years and I have doubts about his position in the course of this nationalism, thus I will try to find on which category he can be located.

Therefore, within the limits of this study, I am arguing that the new nationalist tendency mainly consists of an articulation between global culture and urban values with some theoretical components. Additionally, and closely related to the first hypothesis, new nationalist attitude carries several elements similar to the ones of neo-racism. Thus, in the second chapter, in order to discuss these hypothesis, I analyze the references which are made by the columnists to emphasize the urban values as the new "potential" of Turkey. According to the readings, I demonstrate some significant aspects of the urban life, such as the urban youth and their standards. In the third chapter, I mainly focus on the consumption culture

which is presented by these columnists as the central figure of the modern life. I also try to demonstrate the significant differences among these columnists concerning the consensus around the western values. Especially, the physical criteria which I try to demonstrate in the second chapter are important in terms of racism, since racist presuppositions pursue the physical criteria as significant indicators for constructed hierarchies.

1.1 Race and Culture: Peculiarities of the 80s and the 90s

With increasing migration after decolonization and the emergence of neo-conservatism or neo-liberalism as a dominant political movement in 80s some authors claimed to have found a new type of racism in European conjuncture (Miles 1993, Barker 1981, Sivanandan 1988, Balibar 1991). Some of these authors assert that the political argumentations of right wing politics in 70s have provided a potential ground for social hierarchy (Barker 1981, Miles 1982). In contrast to old racist theories which are based on biological hierarchy- a concept resting on scientific classifications of the late 19th century- new racism emphasizes cultural differences among different groups in society. This new argument indicates the right to live "their own kind" and also express "an hostility to the

presence of culturally different populations who had their own countries in which to live" (Miles 1993). Similarly some authors claim that this new movement emphasizes a new pan-europeanism or eurocentric racism within the context of regional unions like EU (Sivanandan 1991). The shared belief among these authors (Miles, Barker, Sivanandan, Balibar) is that the new racism which has a close relationship with the identity of Europe constructs political and social stereotypes mainly based on habits of daily life (for instance consumption culture with its various derivations like life styles, customs of dressing or entertainment).

1.1.1 The Debate on the Definition of Neo-Racism

If racism is not only a result of single -explicit or implicit- hierarchy among different groups and if it does not have an objective ground for a clear-cut description, what are the social functions or impacts of certain "racism" in particular contexts. Balibar claims that race is not a narrow category which indicates a closed definition for a particular group of people, but an organization of practices and representations providing a classification for subject (the self or in-group) and the object (the other or out-group) in certain social context (Balibar, Wallerstein 1991:18). Such a

network consisting of practices and representations constructs a theory of classification based on the will to know (for instance the biological theories or the medical discoveries of the 19th century). And in contrast to the individualist approach, this theory needs a "rationalization" provided mainly by intellectuals.

> There is in fact no racism without theory (or theories)...they are rationalized by intellectuals. And it is of the utmost importance that we enquire into the function fulfilled by the theory-building of academic racism... in the crystallization of the community which forms around the signifier, "race". (Balibar, Wallerstein 1991:19)

Thus the concept of race is not independent from the social identity of the masses. With such claims the term of "mass" gains a meaning supporting the self-identity on the basis of "classification". This classification provides a logic of naturalization and racialization of the social relations (Balibar 1991:20). Such a shift is essential especially for the problematic of neo-racism, since there is no apparent scientific classification about it. A focus on culture requires an attention towards representations which construct "a priori's" for "racial relations". At this point, Balibar sees racism not as an expression of particular domination but rather as a network in which references, practices, doctrines, representations or

activities are articulated in society (national or international) in a broader sense. Therefore racism should be taken as the total sum of meaning and action within a hegemonic context (Balibar 1991:20). Thus, one has to approach the racist phenomena from the aspect of the theory of hegemony including the temporal consensus in terms of identity among the members of nation, class, ethnicity and possible articulations between different political, social projects or between a representational set and another (as my central concern, which is the linkage between nationalistic project and racist movements, can provide sufficient material within a certain context).

The relationship between racism and nationalism is much more complex than a linear relationship (e.g. racism is the extreme form or consequence of nationalism). In this respect we have to focus on the things which are given to nationalism by racism or racisms. According to Balibar the relationship between racism and nationalism is two sided: Racism provides theoretical and practical material for national identity in order to support the national project from two perspective; to universalize and to particularize it. Following Balibar I think nationalistic projects -I prefer the term of project since it is totally depended on spatio-temporal context-need another representational set in order to clarify and naturalize the relations between self and other (or the inside and the outside). With its close linkage with eternal classifications racism provides nationalism a

stable ground to be more comprehensive. Therefore the abstract arguments of nationalism turn to be visible sets of sampling, thus racism turns to be a *supernationalism* (Balibar et.al. 1990:283):

> The excess that racism represents with respect to nationalism, and therefore what it adds to nationalism, tends at one and the same time to universalize it, correcting in sum its lack of universality, and to particularize it, correcting its lack of specificity. In the other words, racism simply adds to the ambiguity of nationalism, not only on the theoretical plane -in many respects, racism has supplied nationalism with the only theories it has- but also on the practical plane, which means that through racism, nationalism engages in a "blind pursuit", a metamorphosis of its ideal contradictions into material ones. (Balibar et.al. 1990:28)

In Balibar's words the "true nationals": "the racial-cultural identity of the "true nationals" remains invisible, but it is inferred from (and assured by) its opposite". Thus the *supernational* which fabricates the national community around a central "essential nationalist" figure, on the one hand stands on a ground which was build by racist or race related references, and on the other hand stimulates such sets of classification for further political or social discrimination. Here, the essential thing is that the indicator of racism is a central (original, undeteriorated) starting point for

social projects in order to justify and naturalize the differences; in this sense it does not matter whether this was achieved by biological or cultural priorities (the importance of IQ tests and their sociological impacts in nationalistic programs can be an adequate example for boundary drawing) (Balibar et.al. 1990:285). These claims clarify the hegemonic power of racisms in terms of social and political projects.

> (t)here does not exist *one* unique racist theory, but *several* theories, which are tied to particular nationalisms, we may suppose that each racism is a "specific universalization" of nationalism. (Balibar et.al. 1990:285)

1.1.2 Main Dimensions of Neo-Racism

Concerning the neo-racist movement in Europe, instead of a monolithic political or social project, identifying this movement as a sum of temporal articulations between various grounds (including economics, politics, arts, daily expressions etc.) would be more adequate. The most obvious component of this hegemony network is called "cultural relativism" which was used by many authors (Balibar 1991, Miles 1989, Barker 1981). It is,

in fact, interesting to see that culturalist tendency of the European right transforms and uses the famous claims: Several radical and leftist arguments elaborated by neo-marxists, structuralists and post-structuralists (Balibar 1991:22). At this point it is seen that a common attitude is observed by the authors who are critical against racism. For instance in France a new framework of cultural-racism which have been already established in Anglo-Saxon culture started to become pervasive (Balibar 1991:30). In this framework of cultural-racism or a racism without a race, again the central figure is cultural relativism:

> It is a racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity,
> but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which,
> at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups
> or peoples... the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers the
> incompatibility of life-styles and traditions (Balibar 1991:21).

In effect this relativism defined by central identity expresses a hierarchical relation between European and Non-European identities. This is the critical point for differentialist racism or racism without a race; the empty space after the removal of biological criterion seems to be filled by cultural incompatibility. Such a relativism is important, since in the Turkish case similar hierarchies are presented without a colonial context.

Racism is not a single system of hierarchies provided by biological scientism. It is a network of different articulations (those temporal articulations make racism a transformative phenomenon) which consists of several references (history, economics, arts, life style etc.). Racism with its wide range classification, justifies the other domination relations by naturalizing them. Additionally, this naturalization process constructs a perception of the "order of things" providing a theoretical and empirical material for more abstract forms of thought -such as nationalism. Here, western culture is represented by political stability, welfare, rationality, individuality and the non-western cultures are represented by the opposites.

This was a review of the changes in existing literature concerning the racist movements after the 80s. In the following chapter I will deal with the question of what extent the linkage between neo-racism (or cultural-racism) and Turkish national identity can be found within the Turkish context. Additionally, in the following two chapters I will try to examine the texts of those representatives of new Turkish nationalism and identify the main characteristics of their thoughts.

CHAPTER -2

NEW NATIONALISM AND URBAN VALUES

One of the central themes of new liberal nationalism is an intensive emphasis on the concept of city and urban values. Here, city is presented as a potential which is required for reaching the global culture. In their relatively later writings (especially after 1993) Hincal Uluç, Ertugrul Özkök and Ali Kirca focus on the existence of an entertainment and consumption culture, intellectual life as the unique characteristics of metropols -namely Istanbul- which binds Turkey to global high culture. Here global culture is thought to be a universal consensus on the free market economy which is presented as the integration with the western economy -it is not a geographical but an economical criteria, for instance in this sense Japan is presented as a part of "western economy". Therefore enterprise and economic dynamism are tried to present as the fundamentals of "new" Turkey as a potential candidate for western league. In fact western league is a much more ambiguous and wider notion which is inherited from the Kemalist program of catching the high civilization; but it is being transformed into the clichés of consumption culture and the criterion of export and import. This criterion is supported as the real characteristic of urban life separating it from the stable rural culture.

Before discussing the observations on the consumption culture and Turkish nationalism, I think it is essential to explain the formation of this new attitude in late 80s and early 90s. Here Engin Ardiç occupies a significant position among the supporters urban life in a historical perspective perceiving the urban culture as the legacy of Ottoman aristocratic culture. His various writings on old Istanbul, old aesthetic values and especially Beyoglu has provided a historical perspective for other columnists.

2.1 Natives of İstanbul and Civic Consciousness

One of the main elements of Ardiç's writings is an aspiration on the old Istanbul culture once arguably had a close relation with Paris, Berlin and other metropols of Europe, sharing the same life standards and world views with Ottoman nobility. In one of his writings introducing the life of a member of fallen Ottoman dynasty (Ardiç 1991:21-24) Ardiç presents this old aristocrat's life, principles and traditions as the remnants of old "undeteriorated" Istanbul. Her modesty is shown as the consequence of the refined culture of Istanbul in contrast to the upstarts and new inhabitants of new Istanbul:

Osmanoglu does not like playing cards and gossiping with the other ladies; she also hesitates telling that she is really from Istanbul when asked, since her words are often replied as "oh, come on , is there any such thing as native Istanbul inhabitant left?".

Here is a royal lady. Just look at her and think how much she resembles you, and how much she does not.(Ardiç 1991:24)

The aspiration for old Istanbul and its residents is observed in many writings of Ardiç. On the one hand, the first years of the republican period were presented around the famous personalities of the republic , especially Atatürk (3), and on the other hand the society of old Istanbul with a Cosmopolite compound of people representing the gentility, refinement, slenderness as the urban values before ruined by the migration. Such an aspiration goes parallel with the simultaneous interest on Beyoglu and its old culture. The idealization of Beyoglu draws a historical perspective for urban values and, related to my observations Ardiç is an early representative of this perspective. In fact it can be said that it is not the historical reality of Beyoglu, but rather a fantasy on the "good old" days of Istanbul before the new inhabitants. It is a fantasy since the personalities of the old Istanbul and Beyoglu are presented as the pure, undeteriorated images of the past; a Beyoglu "as pure and white as fresh milk " in Kozanoglu's words (Kozanoglu 1992:103). Most of the writings

are based on stories about the refined cultures and refined standards of those people representing the natives of Istanbul: Levanthens, the last remains of the former Tsarist regime, Native French and Italian gentlemen and ladies, Greek, Armenian and Jewish artisans, Turkish squanders especially from noble ottoman families, marginal artists etc. Thus for Ardiç the essential problem which is a barrier between Turkey and civilization (namely individualist, urban culture) appeared to be the problem of peasantry, the never-changing symbol of underdevelopment.

> Mübeccel Kiray, on a declaration she has given to one of the newspapers offers such a solution -or in fact points out the only possible way out- for our basic problem which roughly could be explained like "how can Turkey be survived?". Simply she says:
> "Our only chance is wiping out the peasantry"
> Yes.
> The Turkey hasn't got any other chance, if it is projected or wanted for her to become a developed country in the future. (Ardiç 1991:235)

This problem, after all indicates the recent crisis of Turkey struggling to find her way through a national consensus. For Ardiç the solution is based on a revival of urban culture against churlishness. This inevitable process provides the route to global civilization as the main destiny of Turkey even in the pessimistic style of Ardiç: "And already the trend is towards this

direction... The meaning of modernization is nothing but the abolition of peasantry" (Ardiç 1991:235). Such a perception plays an important role in the writings of Özkök, Uluç and Kirca arguing that the new nationalism is based on the program of integrating to the global high culture. The founded consensus on westernization has inherited the superiority of the urban culture and urban values defended by Ardiç against peasants.

2.2 Urban Values and Integration to Global Culture

The correspondence between city and civilization presents the superiority of high civilization to the East. Here the East appears as an ambiguous symbol covering the whole primitive and underdeveloped elements of Turkey. Those elements become much more apparent in the metropols. As Balibar argues, a social hierarchy which is based on class relations in a city, turns out to be an eternal hierarchy which is supported by the ethnic or racial representation of the underdevelopment. The ethnic and racial analogies make it possible to see such hierarchy as a consequence of social heredity which is closely bound to culture (Balibar 1991:214). In the following quotation Uluç identifies the real fault line between civilization and backwardness, the West and the East as a fault line between urban and

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village -if talking within the borders of a city the fault line tends to be between center and slums:

> The ones who helped the Welfare Party to reach this high vote percentage are those chief destructors who are opposed to the Park Hotels, Gök Kafesi, Primates, Conrad, Swiss Hotel or Çiragan, namely modernization, development and progress and who support misery and slum building from their hearts. (Uluc 1994:58)

For Uluç urbanity and the urban values are -perse- the symbols of high civilization representing the western-like potentials of Turkey in contrast to the analogy between the East and backwardness. A behavior against the urban rules like traffic or hygiene are presented as a part of eastern-like personality that cannot comprehend the urban values (Uluç 1994:78). As I mentioned, supporting the urban values and urban people against the undeveloped peasantry and their extreme examples among the new inhabitants is the central theme of Ardiç's writings; however the analogies which are made by Ardiç in order to stress the contradiction between urban and peasantry consciously or unconsciously express the physical criteria of racist theory concerning the relations between the west and the non-west. Here, the urban natives only, are not represented by the habits,

standards and styles of the urban life; but symbolized and idealized by the physical criteria on body, skin color or haircut.

2.3 The Prototype of New Nationalists: Urban Youth and Physical Criteria

The hierarchical character of those criteria is racist since it identifies the cultural concepts like urban life with several physical correspondences binding a social and cultural situation to an ethnic and racial potential. Therefore it is not accidental when Özkök refers to physical criteria in order to support the new nationalism and its young supporters in the cities. As those examples show, the unconscious relation between certain cultures and life styles like new urban life and youth in the cities and certain expressions of the bodies like white, blonde haired and slim persons is a derivation of racist themes:

> His fine, slender face strongly engraves the changing modernizing portrait of the Turkish youth into our minds.
> (T)urkish generation is getting more and more beautiful...
> Spectacles with thin wire frames give a more humanic retouch to this fine, slender face.

You begin to realize that the young girls are getting prettier every year. The fashion and nutrition conditions help them get more attractive. (Özkök, Hürriyet 4th 11 1992)

Similarly to Özkök's identification of young urban people, Ardiç uses the same criteria in comparing the urban life -in contrast to Özkök he mainly focuses on old urban culture rather than recent life in Istanbul- and the new inhabitants. The most striking identification of the new inhabitants is taking them as herds and, the "black" crowd (Ardiç 1990:9,14,27) deteriorating the urban life and traditions. For Ardiç the worldview of the peasants inevitably carries the underdeveloped dimensions of our society; the struggle for the abolition of peasantry is an irreversable project for Turkey in the modernization project (Ardiç 1991:235), however especially in last decade rapid migration has turned the metropols into a place on which the contradictions between urban culture and peasantry are much more apparent than ever, and for Ardiç the real factors of underdevelopment lies under the process of "ruralization" of the cities (Ardiç 1991:237). Supporting the project of the abolition of the peasantry and its derivations in metropols, physical criteria and analogies essentially emphasize -if not implicitly accepts- that those deep differences between different cultures and life styles are naturally related to certain typologies of people; and more than this clearly shows the hierarchy between those

cultures with implicit references to racist analogies (i.e. colors like black and white or brownness and blondness as the physical criteria between west and non-west). On one side calling the new inhabitants as "herbivorouses" Ardiç claims that the nutrition habits of the peasantry causes their low level of IQ and rough life styles (Ardiç 1991:269). And on the other side he referes to low physical standards of those people in order to identify their cultural backwardness. Despite Turkey's different position in respect to European, socio-historically based racist background it is interesting to see that the criteria of cultural undevelopment goes parallel with the physical criteria identifying the between "races" in Ardiç's relevant writings. Here is another interesting example for the urban life and the new inhabitant peasants threading those values of refined standards, personalities, habits and consequently refined physical properties of the urban people:

Nasty avenues, nasty streets, nasty buildings, nasty cars, nasty humans... Millions of deformed, misshapen miserables. Millions of poor miserable villagers neither their men resembling a real man nor their women resembling a real woman. (Ardiç 1991:215,217)

Such a close relation between cultural expressions and physical or biological expressions are not present only in Ardiç's writings, in fact such

substitutions of the thought or culture (like individualism or western civilization) by images which are derived from several places like entertainment styles, fashion, physical criteria are frequently applied rhetorics of those columnists. For instance Özkök gives a detailed description of the entertainment culture and physical expressions of new Turkish urban youth in order to show the western character and potential of those youngsters, their closeness to global culture and; identifies the real, western and "national" aspects of the new urban culture, in turn the Turkey's capability of "catching up with" the global culture (Özkök, Hürriyet 21st 12 1992, 4th 11 1992). The new human drawn by Özkök significantly matches with the western Europeans. In contrast to his claim seeing them as "universal"(4) (since they look like Americans and Europeans) character of new nationalism Özkök's identification of certain human type inevitably impose an exclusion of another human type (black haired, brown humans with a mustache referring to the peasant stereo-type) as the element of non-western, underdeveloped aspects of Turkish society. Here as I argued above the images appeared to be more important than the actual conditions of those cultures or life styles. Therefore the national identity of Turkey is constructed around an integration with western standards, however it seems to be an integration with symbols representing the cultural hierarchies. In this quotation Özkök gives a

portrait of the urban youth culture in order to clarify the new national potential which was born in metropols in contrast to outfashioned nationalisms like ethnicist nationalism or leftist nationalism that rested on peasantry -similarly Ardiç argues that the serious mistake of Turkish left is supporting the rural values and peasantry in order to draw a nationalistic project (Ardiç 1991:236).

> All three of them are young. All are western. Their cloths are sports and comfortable similar to those of an American youngster. All three of them have modern haircuts. The haircut style of one of the youngsters' nape, gives us the portrait of the new universal youngster type... Briefly all three of them are universal. They are universal but all three of them are much more national than what we suppose... (their ideas and worldview) is representing a new "national" human type. (Özkök, Hürriyet 21st 12 1992)

Here a certain type of human which is presented with physical references to white Europeans and Americans substitutes for the concept of western civilization which is in fact hard to put in a clear-cut definition. Rather than a detailed explanation of western culture including its deep contradictions in terms of class relations, historical peculiarities and problems related to racism; Özkök prefers the "ready-made" images in order to prove the global potential of the new urban youth. Therefore a

haircut, style of dressing, favorite songs can substitute for the notion of the "West". For Özkök the sound character of new nationalism is its universality; the new national prototype does not exclude the universal values of global culture; on the contrary these values are their life principles that are spontaneously lived without an intervention of an ideology (For those columnists two kind of ideologies represent such a intervention: socialism -or peasant socialism in Ardiç's words- before the 80s resting on peasantry for the sake of anti-imperialism and extreme-right ethnicist nationalism which is based on the national values, characters and honor). The new nationalism is universal since it is based on the universal criteria of economy and culture like professionalism, rationality closely related to business, refined consumption culture, shortly earning well and consuming well (this aspect will be discussed in following chapter from the perspective of individualism). Thus the eastern nationalism or tribal nationalism as Özkök identifies (Özkök, Hürriyet 15th 3 1993) are based on "primitive" and "irrational" values that are "bloody" and "separatist"; contrary to those primitive nationalisms, Turkey discovers the real aspects of national honor with the shared values of new global culture, since those values are comparable within a standard the new nationalism is much more peaceful than the others. Hence the young prototype of new nationalism presents a "tremendous osmosis" (Özkök Hürriyet 13rd 7 1994) between

the West and Turkey, universality and locality. And of course the urbanity is the new basis of this osmosis. Özkök argues that in contrast to the 70s' "primitive populism" the new nationalism does not need an eastern inferiority complex making them clasped to the outfashioned national images: "...they do not believe that it is necessary to have a mustache or to get gray and brown clothes in order to be a Turk." (Özkök, Hürriyet 21st 12 1992). Rather than those images of primitive nationalism or asceticism the new urban youth believes in the pleasures of life and they do not need an national or non-national ideology for this. He also adds that the new urban youth is much more faithful to their country; in short the formula of new nationalism excludes neither global culture nor national values. In this sense, for Özkök it is much better to sing a national song in a pop music form rather than in "türkü" form. The transition from folk music or arabesque to pop is presented as an evidence of the dynamism of this new nationalism: "we are passing through a tremendous national osmosis. Emrah -well known by the Turkish audience as a famous arabesque singer for several years- is changing his style to pop"(5) (Özkök, Hürriyet 13th 7 1994). Therefore pop music is taken as the representative of global culture in contrast to folk music as the expression of "primitive" nationalisms. Here pop music provides a linkage between urban life and new nationalism.

2.4 Dynamism and the Superiority of Western Civilization

One of the central themes of the new nationalism is "dynamism" in terms of economics or urban life. As I will discuss in the following chapter economic dynamism is identified by professional capability and money earning criteria. The dynamism of the urban life expresses itself with the consumption and entertainment criteria. Such a dynamism, since there is not a clear definition of its criteria can be an indicator of the western characters of urban and urban people. As I mentioned above Uluç describes the peasant-like urban new inhabitant life with the concept of "creeping" (Uluc 1994:58). The vague character of this dynamism makes it capable of penetrating the political messages of those columnists. Thus a national flag in front of a dancing-hall, the American-like youngsters dancing with a Turkish pop song or even the western images of the youth in a "basketball" match(6) are presented as the evidences of the great transformation of Turkey "breaking through" the western culture. The reverse is the rough churlishness of underdevelopment, particularism of tribal nationalisms and anti-individualist ideologies. An imaginary connection between a certain life style and a certain "proto-type" of

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human justifies the superiority of a culture, in our case a so-called western culture supported by the notions of individuality, dynamism or activity in contrast to passive, dull underdeveloped east and south, with several ambiguous physical criteria like mustache, dark hair, swallow images, misshapen peasant figures. Of course, such bright images around urbanity provides a hierarchical relation between urban people and peasants. For those columnists, the future of Turkey as a western country, lies under those bright images of the city. In this sense new inhabitants and slums are considered as the threading objects in the metropolis; the representatives of the churlishness and one-sided outfashioned ideologies:

> You guerrillas who are trapped in the hell of horror you have
> created on your own. You "people's vanguards" who are trying
> to sleep shrinked on their ground beds inside a small terrorist
> cell at the outskirts of the city. (Kirca 1995:60)

The alternative of such images consisting of peasantry, slum and marginalization seem to be the life style in the cities. An entertainment cult will help for avoiding the underdevelopment and reach a peaceful consensus on modern values of urban life: "It is much better shouting in Fenerbahce Stadium; or listening to Tarkan in Gülhane; or making love with a girl in Emirgan grove" (Kirca 1995:60). Such an analogy is quite

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similar to the argument of Balibar claiming that the stratification of contemporary cultures and racialized symbols expresses a basic dichotomy between the cultures which are individualist, active and universal and the cultures those are gregarious, stable and particularistic, of which he shortly identifies as "Third Worldization" of non-Europeans (Balibar 1991:25). At this point urbanity and urban values plays an importing role in such a dichotomy -generally- between west and the non-west. Referring to such "universal" symbols, new nationalism derives the new national conscious from a fusion between classical national symbols such as "flag" or a "national leader" with the universal values of global culture:

> The Turkish flag waving on the high pole at the entrance (of a discotheque), the picture of Atatürk hanged up inside and their point of view on the most vital problems of the Turkey, is representing a new "national human" type. (Özkök, Hürriyet 21st 12 1992)

Hence, especially those images of youngsters living a modern life-style are the central figure of this new national identity. In contrast to ethnic criteria, the success of the new nationalism is measured by the degree of "sameness" with the European or the American individual. The main principles of the new prototype are drawn by several symbols indicating the western urban life in contrast to the eastern churlish life. For instance,

discotheque occupies a central place in such a reference. Most of these columnists present the entertainment habits of urban youngsters as an evidence for a national convergence (Kirca 1995:60,108, Uluç 1994:232). Here is an another example from Uluç presenting the discotheque culture as a national practice. The peculiarity and superiority of this practice is that it is not based on a churlish conception of sacrifice (Özkök, Hürriyet 21st 12 1992) and it is open to the pleasures of global world without limiting ideologies:

> I do not remember even a single discotheque night during which Melike Demirag's song "Arkadas" is not played and sang by the audience as if it were a national anthem.
> The musical culture of the youngsters today is not fixed on and not one sided. They like very different kinds of musics. They have a wide range of favorites. (Uluc 1994:96)

In parallel to such cultural comparisons, the thing that makes the new racism interesting in respect to meta-racism is the means of comparing those two worlds the west and the east, the first league and the Third World, the high civilization and underdevelopment. New nationalism uses the cultural expressions and human typologies within a mutual relation which consist of same dichotomies with those of racism. For instance the "bright life style of the west" refers to -or is referred by- "a western-like

look" : a blonde hair, colored eyes, thin face and healthy, slim body as I discussed above (Özkök, Hürriyet 4th 11 1992). At the opposite of this an ugly and black peasant figure with a bad dialect especially caricaturized by the Kurds represents the "anti" of this new national identity. Ardiç refers to urban-village dichotomy without an upper language of national project (with upper language I mean a wider network of articulations of values from several aspects of culture, economics and politics in order to establish a national program and its references for national competence); however Özkök transforms the urban consciousness through a national identity. In contrast to Ardiç his optimistic style reconciling the national with the global and the universal creates an eclectic unity of several expressions from consumption to economics, entertainment to sports. Even wrestling which is known as a traditional national sport may be a material for this eclectic optimism -of course in the condition of fitting the western standards: "...modern and beautiful. Without a mustache, huge, young and modern... even more handsome than the west" (Özkök, Hürriyet 29th 8 1993). Similarly to the immigrants' images created by the racist ideologues in Europe, the analogy between the Kurd and peasant referring to a short, brown and misshapen body represents the anti-thesis of the urban youth. additional to this those columnists (these are Özkök, Kirca and Uluç) trying to refer an upper language of nationalism by giving some young

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portraits of urban in a context of a national sacrifice -especially in the army- (Özkök, Hürriyet 26th 3 1995). Those portraits show that the Kurdish figure is not an ethnic one in a narrow sense, but a figure transcending the Kurds as an ethnic minority. Despite such an urban figure is an exception for army, the national identity of those columnists identifies those urban youngsters as the proto-types of the new Turkey:

> On one side the juvenile corpses of boys with Tom Cruise haircuts are being placed in the coffins, while on the other side youngsters with the same Tom Cruise haircuts wait at the main entrance of the stadium for the concert that will be held nextday. Both of them are from Istanbul... Here lies the Turkey's power... The Turkey's never drawing stability lies in this passion of life... And what about the gray colors. (Özkök, Hürriyet 30th 5 1993)

Another example can be given from Yeni Yüzyil identifying the modernizing portrait of the army during an operation against PKK. For the columnist, with a picture of blue-eyed soldier the changing face of the army makes it impossible to differ the Turkish army from the western armies:

> Urban boys: most of the soldiers taking part in military action in the operation of Northern Iraq are urban-raised youngsters. They

form the human supply which gives the modern climate to the army. (Yeni Yüzyil, 26th 3 1995)

Similar to Bora, I think the young urban carrying the life standards of modern life to army and in-turn to southeast promises the civilization to the underdeveloped people of this region. Explicit superiority of urban culture and urban people show the hierarchical character of this new nationalism in respect to culture and at the same time the prototypes of human. Fetishization of urban life and urban natives constructs a dichotomy between life represented by Istanbul with several references to life standards and life style and death represented by southeast or Zaho: "And this refined pleasure of life is not subjected to any price. Lets symbolize it. This is a choice between Istanbul and Zaho" (Kirca 1995:81). The difference between city and village does not appear to be a social difference, it is a crucial distinction between life and death (7)(Kirca 1995:80). This is why the urban life, standards, styles and images are presented within the writings of those columnists. On the one hand, this is a presentation of a new individualism corresponding to global liberal values with its working and entartaining culture (I will discuss it in the following chapter), but on the other hand, and more important than that, it is a racial comparison between civilization and underdevelopment with

urbanity and churlishness as the symbols of this differentiation when the

racist conception elaborated by Balibar is taken.

CHAPTER -3

CONSUMPTION CULTURE AND MODERN URBAN LIFE

In the second chapter I have tried to show that urban life and urban youth represents a central theme proving the potential of Turkey as western country which assimilated the global culture. Such a thesis has found its expression in the early writings of Ardiç connecting the urban culture to the ottoman heritage. Other columnists like Özkök, Kirca and Uluç presents the urban youth as the new prototypes for a new nationalism sharing the global standards with western countries. And this prototype is based on several physical or cultural indicators that are closely related to the dichotomies between west and the non-west within the neo-racist context. Additional to urban natives, one another aspect of new nationalism is an increase interest on consumption culture which is especially represented by pleasure of life and shopping culture. In this sense a certain type of entertainment and shopping is presented as the evidence of deriving pleasure from life like an American or a European. Thus shopping malls are appeared to be the new centers of the metropols showing the contrast between undeveloped slums consisting of peasant new inhabitants. As I mentioned in the previous chapter pleasure appears

to be a central theme for new nationalism proving the superiority of global culture in contrast to asceticism of peasant culture (8).

Özkök identifies the new shopping centers emerging in Istanbul as the monuments of new Turkish nationalism which is based on assimilating modern life style. Since the modern life is a very ambiguous notion several figures of a so called global culture can provide references for this notion. The use of high technology like the use of CDs (Uluc 1994:85, Kirca 1995:87,92) and computers; speaking English like mother tongue or consuming as an American or European seems to be the leading symbols filling the ambiguous notion of modern life style. Those styles and standards are presented as the born of an individualism that affects the national identity. For Özkök the new shopping places prove the potential of Turkey of being the America of this region. Here shopping malls are presented to be not only places for an economic activity but also a ground for a western-like activity with the aesthetic/modern architecture and new urban people of metropols (especially Istanbul). The new Turkish trade marks are presented as the symbols of national honor competing with those of America and Europe.

> Istanbul is about to win another big shopping mall. Galleria, Atrium, Carrefour, Migros, Metro, Atakule, Karum and Akmerkez.

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Turkey is discovering the aesthetics of shopping... decoding the meaning of wandering in front of the shop-windows. Our city trade marks, and the aesthetic quality of our shop windows are competing with those of America's. (Özkök, Hürriyet 19th 12 1993)

What is important at this point is that the consumption culture is not taken as a neutral and basic activity, but rather an expression of a worldview, an individualist character and a refined delight. Therefore new urbanity is based on an assimilated global value; earning and spending with a refined urban style. This change is so crucial for Özkök, since we got rid of the "dull" peasant-like culture and taste the life style of western culture.: "We Turks are finally learning to love the music, pets and the environment" (Özkök, Hürriyet 13rd 7 1994). Similarly, Kirca welcomes the new aspects of urban life which are in service of the individuals who have noticed the basic pleasures of life as if they were waiting for everyone (Kirca 1995:60,87,108). With the same eclecticism watching an Oscar ceremony, learning French and English or making a gondola trip in Venice or Eating Taco in Akmerkez before a film (Kirca 1995:79,80) can be the activities of the new modern life separating the new nationalism from ideological prejudices limiting the individuality of a person(9): "The social rebellions are outfashioned. Nevertheless, the destiny of your own life will be changed by the rebellions against your heart and brain" (Kirca

1995:65). Similar to Özkök, for Uluç the consumption culture is a general activity in which the modern life can be grasped. Uluc presents the assortment of the trade marks and the other activities that are provided in those shopping malls. Uluç claims that the entertainment activities which are not different from American culture -entertainment centers, cinema and a place for bowling- (Uluç 1994:112) prove that Turkey is a real western country.

> I saw a shopping place called Capitol. No... A shopping mall in the full sense of the word.
>
> Three years ago, I was visiting those places and longing for them. Now, consequently they are in Turkey.
>
> Believe me I did not see such places even in America.
>
> It is not necessary to shop. Capitol is a fine place for seeing, wandering and spending time if you have spearing time... There are good things that are achieved in Turkey... Much better things will be made further. If you are demoralized one day, go to Capitol. Go to Metro construction yard, walk about... You will notice what kind of country you are living in. (Uluç 1994:112)

The shopping malls appeared to be the new centers of the cities that monumentally exhibits the integration with west and transformation to modern life style. Therefore the optimism of Uluç, Kirca and Özkök presents those bright images of urban life as a -so called- "Turkey in

Turkey"; a recently emerged modern life in contrast to the new inhabitants and slums of the cities (Uluç 1994:74,75). Criticizing the asceticism imposed by old ideologies Kirca regards the songs, football or cinemas as tomorrows of the new lives and adds: "...Maybe your Paris, New Yorks, Sydneys" (Kirca 1995:108). Taking the pleasures of life passes through the fault line between center and margin, urban and slums matching the dichotomy between west and the Third World. This is an exclusion of the new inhabitants by labeling them as the potential carriers of ideological asceticism in contrast to life and modern standards:

> Why do they put in fetters your desires, with the fights of thousands years between different religious sects and with the vendettas of an obsolete coffee house in Gaziosmanpasa?...
> Turkey will get rid of being the village of the World when she make peace with the history of civilization. (Kirca 1995:108,109)

Beyond those optimistic claims on the potentials of modern Turkey, the new nationalism's stress on the consumption culture generates explicitly, or implicitly an individualism that is based on the several criteria of earning and spending. According to such argument being an urban people is a blend of urban activities including especially a work ethic and an entertainment culture. Here the life styles of the underclasses are excluded

with the construction of a relation between their work activities and their aesthetically backwardness and cultural banality. One of the most frequently depicted quality of the new nationals who assimilated the urban culture, is life style which has successfully reconciled the pleasures (the entertainment and consumption culture) and necessities (professional cognition and work principles) of life. The life styles of the urban youth is taken as a natural consequence of their rational personalities related to the work life (10). Therefore, a social hierarchy which has class references is presented as a cultural hierarchy, in an abstract manner due to the own personalities of the elements of the social hierarchy. The consequence of this argument, with several "persuasive" instance from various aspects of life is perceiving the class hierarchy as a natural structure that is based on social selection derived from the abilities and personalities of humans. A significant aspect of the new nationalism is resting on selected, "elite" individuals (Bora 1995:112). Such as, Özkök argues that in contrast to the traditional understandings of nationalism (tribal nationalisms and peasant nationalisms) the new youth does not consider earning and spending within respected standards as a shameful thing. And beyond this their entertainment habits expresses their capability of catching the high standards in every aspect of life: "They care about themselves. They want to earn good money and live a good life. They never feel ashamed for

this... But they love this country much more than those who growed with the slogans of 60s" (Özkök 21st 12 1992). Serdar Turgut declares the essential characteristics of new nationalisms in his writing of "We, white Turks". For Turgut the principles of being a white Turk are not derived from a ideology or a religion; they are the manners that unites different individuals in a certain context. Of course concerning those manner in daily life uses life style as a main theme of new human proto-type.

> We identify ourselves (the white Turks) sometimes while remaining silent, encountering in a street, with the same reflects against the bad conditions and sometimes with the same pleasures which we derived from life... We only, want to live this short life beautifully and with good qualities. (Turgut, Hürriyet 22nd 3 1995)

Once again the distinction between the individuals of new nationalism appeared to be the clichés of earning and consuming with a high standard like Americans and Europeans. For Turgut this silent minority (he also call this group as a majority in the same page) does not impose its wordview to others in contrast to tribal identities around them. Since they are urban people who assimilated the individualist culture of the west they only want to "act rationally; earn good money by the sweat of our brow; live the life with a high quality" (Turgut, Hürriyet 22nd 3 1995). Such criteria

emphasize a refined character which is based on individualism. Therefore, we can see the claim of superiority of individualist -it must be said that the new nationalism presents the individualism by the criteria of consumption culture that was explained, rather than a philosophical category- culture represented by urbanity. It is interpreted as a natural difference between the West and the East or the city and the village, however within the borders of the metropol it is taken as a fault line between the centrum and the slums, the natives and the new inhabitants. In Turgut's words such underclasses and new inhabitants are perceived as tribes surrounding the "silent" group. In this quotation we can see a good example for naturalizing the class relations as an projection of ethnic relations and justifying the social antagonisms as a consequence of individual potentials.

> They (tribes surrounding the white Turks) always shouting their ethnic and religious differences against our faces.
> They are arguing that they were suppressed and exploited. They demand understanding from us. What does this demand mean, is simply that they order it... However we are not guilty of their situation as they argued... We are so bored from those angry men around us. (Turgut 22nd 3 1995)

As I argued before the superiority of refined consumption culture which has found its chief expression in Özkök's shopping aesthetics argues that

the refined consumption standards is an evidence of western individuality. As Uluç claims that, being a civilized does not solely depend upon the economic sources, but an established conscious assimilated the modern-life (Uluç 1994:78). Similar to that, the consumption culture is seen as a natural component of an urban, individualist personality that can not be achieved easily by earning money. It is a matter of personality. At this point, especially in the writings of Ardıç and Turgut, shopping culture appeares to be a real indicator separating the churlish east and the urbane west (from the aspect of the relations between different nations or within the national borders). Thus, stories about the people who have money without belonging to a consumption culture occupies an important place especially within those columnists' writings (Ardıç 1991:110-112,272-274). Similar to the clichés that are claimed against the new inhabitants by the "natives" of the city ("they really earn better than us but cannot get rid of backwardness") Ardıç claims that the peasantry is a stable worldview that cannot be easily transformed by economic development . Living a modern life with the principles of urbanity is a matter of gaining the urban mentality. Thus a fallen ottoman aristocrat may live as a tenant, but this does not change his/her inherited refined urbane culture (Ardıç 1991:24). Contrary to this, a peasant may earn money but without an inherited refined culture this money only makes him/her humiliated: "Now tell me

whether those all ignominy that we live is related to poverty or from utterly churlishness" (Ardiç 1991:274). As I said this distinction is not due to the inside of the country, rather it is taken as an inevitable consequence of the hierarchy between cultures througout the World. In short, the contradiction between urbanity and churlishness is a local expression of the contradiction between west and the non-west, civilization and underdevelopment (Ardiç 1990:204,207) . Presenting the paradoxes between Parisian culture and the eastern culture, the analogy constructed by Ardiç expresses the relation between churlishness and other non-western societies.

(W)hile walking down from Etoile, I observe brown faced Pakistanis, Indians, Vietnamese's staring stupidly; those people from Uruguay and Japan, with the shopping bags in their hands, the unforsaken bag of Turks, those people fishing line without bait. (Ardiç 1990:203)

Additionally to those insults against the rough consumption culture, another theme is the exclusion of the peasants/new inhabitants life style from the aspect of sexual pleasure. Turgut sees the sexual banality as an expression of eastern mentality. For Turgut, the eastern cannot take the pleasure and the aesthetics of sexuality, as well as he/she cannot take the refined pleasures of life within various aspects. In his writing of "the man

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coming from the East" Turgut identifies the bad taste of his father as a consequence of being an eastern. Consequently Turgut decides that the common thing binding him to his father is the same bad taste in terms of sexuality that comes from the eastern origin of both of them (Turgut 1995:72).

After those examples from the new nationalism we can draw a schematic relation between several concepts from consumption culture to urbanity and integrating to global culture or remaining as particularistic. Here the shopping culture and entertainment style is a central theme for the references to the urban life and, in turn the new nationalist logic which was reconciled with the global culture. Here, I am recommending a table showing the referential set (the basic dichotomies between the urbanity and new inhabitants) in terms of consumption culture.

Shopping Culture as an integrated modern life:

Shopping Malls	The Slum
Pleasures	Asceticism
Bright and Colorful	Dull
Individualist	Gregarious
The New Youth	New Inhabitants
Global Culture	Ideologies

Good Nationalism   Bad Nationalism

3.1 An Upper Language of Nationalism: The Notion of "Turkish Mosaic"

Despite the classificatory tendencies of the new nationalist attitude, it inevitably tries to construct a consensus in order to draw a national identity. This consensus is based on a program of catching the contemporary civilization and assimilating the modern life style. However, as I tried to show, such a consensus in fact uses a vocabulary that consists of different relations between the civilization and its anti-thesis. Because of this reason the ideologues of the new nationalism consciously or unconsciously referred to the ready-made dichotomies of contemporary social antagonisms such as the new inhabitants and the natives. The exclusion of the underclass goes with the ethnical labeling of certain life styles and racialization of labor relations. Despite the fact that, Turkey does not have a racist background in terms of colonialism, this does not mean that some of the columnists writing on national identity automatically become immune from the racial dichotomies (expressed as cultural or physical comparisons). It is hard to identify a certain group with solid

Good Nationalism   Bad Nationalism

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physical criteria since Turkey does not live a decolonial immigration, but it is still possible to identify the urban values with cultural and physical criteria. For instance the images of the peasantry or their representatives in the cities provides physical criteria. Those physical criteria and their possible relations with a certain culture are stimulated by the columnists in order to construct a basis on which the further national program of Turkey can be established. Physically or culturally, those criteria impose a domination -at least superiority- of a certain culture and the exclusion of another one. Thus, this creates the paradoxical character of the new nationalism. On one hand supporting the high global culture which was labeled by the western culture those columnists tries to identify it with several clichés of life style and standards. Since there is already a hierarchical relation in this domain they inevitably refer to a differentialism. However, on the other hand the aim of finding a new basis for a national consensus forces those columnists to use a contradictory optimistic style that emphasize the potential of Turkey to "live together in peace". The most frequently visited notion at this point is the "Turkish mosaic" as the unity of differences in terms of ethnicity, religion and worldview. Here lies the essential difference between the early works of Ardiç and Özkök's writings after 1991. In Ardiç writings we cannot observe an attempt to reach a consensus which aims to reconcile the urban

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and the rural. Ardiç's aggressive style (we can also put Turgut in this category) does not allow him to make such eclecticism between urbanity and churlishness. In contrast to Ardiç, Özkök tries to find a compromising way between different groups and identities in the society. While doing this it is interesting to see that he uses the same rhetoric by which he paradoxically separates the urban life with the slum culture. Therefore, the consensus implicitly imposes a certain kind of culture. However Özkök argues that those universal criteria of development and civilization can create the national honor of Turkey in contrast to divisionism or ethnic nationalism's. Thus, being the America of this region passes through a convergence on the values of contemporary civilization:

> We have to turn the democratic mosaic into the dynamo of an American-like advancement. Turkey is standing as a candidate for being the America of this region. No other ideals can be more important than the happiness that will be provided by this democratic mosaic. This is especially true for the tribal nationalism's. (Özkök, Hürriyet 15th 3 1993)

The optimistic style of Özkök (I am putting Uluç and Kirca within the same category, a so-called consensus oriented style) paradoxically refers to the mosaic of the east and the west: "We are discovering how to live the east with the western rhythm" (Özkök, Hürriyet 30th 5 1993). Such a

mosaic obscures the implicit domination of a certain culture which is formulated as urban culture assimilated the modern life standards. For instance Özkök presents the new Turkish popular music as a tremendous osmoses between locality and universality (Özkök, Hürriyet 13rd 7 1994). Here pop music is thought as a "universal" way of expression which breaks the stability of "arabesk". In this sense new nationalism uses the new entertainment life in the cities (especially concerts) as a new cliché for "mosaic Turkey". Here is another example from Uluç showing the optimism of the consensus oriented columnists:

> They were so amused, so aesthetic... the way they sang together with the singer, the way their hands met with the hands of the others above their heads. Among those youngsters, there were humans of eastern origin, humans of western origin, among those youngsters there were muslims, christians, Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Greeks and Jews. Among those youngsters there were fans of Besiktas as well as Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray. (Uluç 1994:232)

Similarly Kirca presents the pop culture and the new urban life as the potential ground for activity in which humans from different origins can gather and find a peaceful way of living (Kirca 1995:108). Despite those optimistic thoughts trying to reconcile the differences in a peaceful way, in

fact the slogan of mosaic Turkey is based on a life style or a temporal activity which is closely related to global values.

At this point I have to say that even the style of Ardiç changes through a compromising perspective. Contradictory to his other writings about the majority of Turkey (11) Ardiç tries to identify the Turkish society as the inheritor of the Ottoman tradition that represents a universal tolerance between different ethnic groups (Ardiç 1991:40, 47,74). At this point the miserable peasants turn out to be the inheritors of Ottoman tolerance, that seems to be the extreme point of eclecticism that is frequently used by those columnists of new nationalism.

> The Turkish Nation much unlike the thoughts of our extremist right and extremist left and especially unlike what our crack-brained "old friends" think, is not so stupid at all, and also has a free spirit full of tolerance as well.
> And more important than all, our nation has got a common sense which is impossible to find in any other nation on earth. I mean a prudence... The prudence that comes from founding and keeping alive a World-Empire for 600 years. (Ardiç 1991:44)

I have tried to explain the main dimensions of this recently emerged national attitude which is called "white-Turks" or "euro-turks" by some

columnists. Since their most of the writings are not directly related to political science it is hard to show the clear-cut identification of a "white Turk". They use several notions, symbols and references in various contexts. Therefore, talking about daily shopping or a concert held in Rumelihisari can be presented as the real evidences of the new national honor. More important than this, the problematic of those columnists is not about race relations or ethnic relation between totally different cultures, like Surinameses and Dutch's, it is hard to derive the racist tendencies among those writings. However it seems much more crucial to ask why those columnists, without a racist context or a sociohistorical background, and without an explicit intention, demonstrate a regularity of choosing the similar, and sometimes the same dichotomies of race relation when they attempt to identify the contemporary civilization from the point of new urban culture. I think it shows that the referential system of race relation is much more pervasive than a mere stable taxonomy. Since race becomes increasingly a sociological phenomenon -as Balibar argues (Balibar 1991:209)- using various aspects of life, it gains a potential of breaking the sociohistorical peculiarities of its own origin.

CHAPTER -4

CONCLUSION

Concerning the national identity, a so-called liberal nationalistic attitude - or new Turkish nationalism- (Bora 1995:78) plays a significant role in the 1990s. Bora has pointed out the main characteristics of this nationalism: At first, in contrast to ethnic nationalism as the other dominant political movement in the 1990s, the arguments of liberal nationalism refer to the affinity to the European culture. As I mentioned in the first chapter the thesis of this new nationalism perceives Turkey as a "western country which assimilated the values of civilization and humanity and is located in global high culture" (Bora 1995:78). Thus the national identity is constructed with a consensus on several aspects and expressions of western civilization and liberal thought. The emerging consumption culture of the 80s turned to be an essential figure for the "global high culture". It seems that, liberal nationalistic attitude with its wide range (from politics to entertainment culture) of references has a potential to dominate the Turkish national identity in the future. At this point, my two hypothesis are closely related to each other. I am arguing that the liberal nationalists, namely "white Turks" with a popular definition (Bora 1995:115), mainly consists of an articulation between global culture and urban values with

some theoretical components. Closely related to this articulation, liberal nationalistic attitude carries several key elements of the neo-racism (the inherited assumptions and references as I discussed in the previous chapters) in Europe. Additionally, as in conformity within the literature on neo-racism, urban and urban values around the notion of consumption culture, entertainment, lifestyle, arts and others those of which construct the high culture provides naturalized antagonisms materializing and justifying the class and cultural domination. Similarly , Bora argues that this new nationalism is a derivation of class racism or meta-racism which justifies the hierarchical relation between the labor and ruling classes by means of naturalizing the labor relations (perceiving and exhibiting those relations as hereditary) (Bora 1995:112). Additionally Bora claims that this liberal nationalism is possibly a version of meta-racism that is elaborated by Balibar (Bora 1995:112,117). Following Balibar I am arguing that this naturalization process has two dimensions. First, the class relations and the representational system of paradigms stabilize the late capitalist meritocracy (see Wallerstein 1991:29-36). Second, the ethnic relations, racialized hierarchies justifying those relations which provide cultural evidences for legitimacy (neo-racism in Europe can be perceived as a conjuncture of class and ethnic relations stimulated by decolonization).

4.1 Main Dimensions of New Liberal Nationalism in Turkey

The study has focused on the writings of Engin Ardiç, Serdar Turgut, Hincal Uluç, Ertugrul Özkök and Ali Kirca which were published between 1990 and 1995. Concerning the media and hegemony, in the construction of a dominant language and within the struggle among potential dominant movements, political and cultural elites play an important role. Especially the elites who have the opportunity to express his/her ideas frequently through communicative channels occupies the center for the expansion of those ideas. Therefore, in this study, I preferred focusing on those columnists who have the ability to manipulate the daily production of "white Turk" identity (all of them are columnists, most of them are commentators in TV or speaker in a channel). There are of course other representatives of the new Turkish nationalism, but I think those columnists sufficiently express the typical aspects of this nationalist attitude.

Before discussing the main aspects of white Turk identity it should be mentioned that, there is not a monolithic, stable ground with a clear-cut conceptual set. In effect there are various references with different styles,

stresses, indications. In spite of various styles and rhetorics among the columnists that were examined we have to clarify the commonalties between these columnists. In order to talk about a white Turk identity we have to refine the most frequently addressed symbols, applied strategies and than draw a set of value hierarchies for identity formation. Additionally, we have to take the relations concerning neo-racism into consideration.

4.1.1 Urbanity and Urban Values

One of the significant commonalties of these columnists is their emphasis on urbanity and urban life. At this point, the important thing is that the physical existence of the city and references derived from the city are constructed separately. In spite of the city which includes heterogeneity in terms of different traditions, life styles and class positions, the new nationalism emphasizes the real qualities of the urbanity (nearly all of this columnists address Istanbul as a symbol). As Bora claims that the image of the city represents the high culture integrated with western civilization in a global sense (Bora 1995:114). Especially in a neo-liberal context with its arguments on cultural relativism and global civilization the life standards

representing the development or underdevelopment of certain identity play an important role in racialized construction of western identity. Here, what is more subtle is that this hierarchy is based on an obsession on objectivity and rationality. Thus, in contrast to "eastern nationalism" with their references to national honor or the spirit of the nation (since they are "irrational" references), western identity imposes the "objective" criteria derived by economic, political and sociological paradigms of development. Thus as a much more subtle concept, life standards provides an efficient justification for the dominance of one kind of civilization (Bora 1995:81).

Similarly to these observations the dichotomy drawn by white Turk identity has two aspects. At one side the city, symbolically expressed by Istanbul, representing the high culture and life standards as the property of a developed minority, and on the other side, the village, symbolized, for instance, by Zaho (Kirca 1995:81), representing the underdevelopment and low life standards. As I mentioned before, here Istanbul is used as a central figure of high culture, therefore the residents of Istanbul is subjected to a classification: the underdeveloped, rural masses and the "natives" of Istanbul (of course "natives" of Istanbul represents the original urban values). Engin Ardıç has a central place at this point. It is interesting to see that the qualities separating the city and the village are similar to those of neo-racism: purity/dirtiness, order/chaos, white/black,

slenderness/roughness, invader/native, ugliness/beauty (for a detailed comparison of the criteria separating west and non-west from the perspective of racial/gender relations, see Gilman et.al. 1992). In his writing comparing the contrast between the new Istanbul which is invaded by the masses and the former resident of Atatürk, Engin Ardiç gives good examples for this dichotomy: "the surrounding *black crowd* around the house (Ardiç 1990:9).

Here, the indicators of "city nativeness" are derived from -with the affects of neo liberalism- the cultural expressions and life standards which are supported by the upper language of individualism. New liberal nationalism argues that (implicitly or explicitly) the fault line separating the "churlishness" and "urbanity" is passing through the clichés of "consumption and investment" (Kozanoglu 1992:47). Ardiç's writings give several examples of an undeteriorated city culture represented by "old Istanbul", especially by Beyoglu.

Similarly to Ardiç, Kirca and Uluç supports the superiority of the city culture against the elements which are the remnants of underdevelopment. While supporting that, their implications are more subtle and able to penetrate the experiences of daily life. Such a strategy has two orientations: Firstly, depoliticising the everyday expressions of culture, arguing that the "reality" can be dechipred by those experiences

(therefore walking around in a shopping mall or listening to a concert held in Rumelihisari may become more important than real politics). Secondly with a peculiar perception of reality the images of western culture substitute for the integration of global culture; every political and social contradiction must be justified by those references. The hegemonic dimension of this references is that a leftist, a feminist, a muslim, even a Kurd can be accepted in condition of attending those city practices (Kirca 1995:60,79). The eclectic unity of various practices constructs a representation for western civilization with a one to one correspondence between image and reality. The central figure for this representation is a refined consumption which provides a peculiar linkage between undeteriorated past and promising today. Such praises on consumption culture emphasizing the richness of city life significantly matches one of the central strategies of European neo-racism. Such indications on culture reflects the differences as the expressions of the "natures" of certain cultures. In the absence of biological standards or socio-biological definition, new differentialism establishes natural links between culture and race; in fact, it defines the limitations of certain cultures. The consequence is a hierarchical picture of developed and undeveloped cultures: this hierarchy uses the dichotomies of neo-liberalism. The dichotomies are not new ; they are the remnants of the colonial age. The

fault line separating the west and the non-west -in European context- ; city and village -in Turkish context- passes through the qualities of societies which are open or closed, inactive or enterprising, cold or hot, dull or bright, gregarious or individualistic (Balibar 1991:25). The vague character of culture presents the hierarchy of societies while using the flexible references of life standards. New consensus on global culture and liberal principles are under the threat of undeveloped and stable communities. The difference between Istanbul and Zaho is symbolized by the "refined pleasures of life" (Kirca 1995:81). Therefore, the first aspect of the new nationalist attitude is a global consensus on high life standards of individualism against the dull images of underdeveloped communities. The choice between Istanbul and Zaho is the choice between liberal consensus with a healthy nationalism against tribal nationalisms (Özkök, Hürriyet 15th 3 1993), the surrounding tribes around urban people (Turgut,Hürriyet 22nd 3 1995), "the dark crowd" (Ardiç 1990:14). The transformation of biological theme is achieved on the articulation between nationalism and neo-liberalism.

> This latent presence of the hierarchic theme today finds its chief
> expression in the priority accorded to the individualistic model...
> the cultures supposed implicitly superior are those with
> appreciate and promote "individual" enterprise, social and

political individualism, as against those which inhibit these things. These are said to be the cultures whose "spirit of community is constituted by individualism (Balibar 1991:25).

However, transformation of biology does not replace the taxonomy by culture, instead of this substitute its implicit references (once defined the scale of races from human to animals) for cultural expressions. Expressions and representations of bodies showing the implicit biological theme is another aspect of the new nationalism.

4.1.2 Bodies and Cultures

One of the most important dimensions of white Turk identity is the articulation between city culture and biological criteria, at least their transformed forms, as the properties of physical criteria. As I discussed in previous chapters, the racialized hierarchies of western civilization consist of several references, valuations and metaphors -from different contexts- constructing the whole embracing hierarchies among different societies. Biological taxonomy was the most significant support for classical racism. However, the transformation of racial symbols through culture, and several

complex strategies that are put in charge, do not mean that biology totally disappeared from the picture. Rather, dissoluted through the expressions of people and societies. Biological criterion that is related to Darwinism, seems to be left, but the criteria of aesthetics which are derived from such biological theories are existing in valuation of different life standards. As I mentioned above the culturalist paradigms of neo-racism are significantly supported by evolutionary assumptions of colonialism; similarly the dichotomies of "aggressive neo-liberalism" are supported by the biological analogies (Balibar 1991:26). Therefore, not the biology itself but its metaphors exist in the expressions of neo-racism. Those metaphors vary from the interpretation of colors to bodies (as black versus white or blond, ugliness versus beauty, shapelessness versus discipline, or sexual deviation versus ethics) as if they represent the borderline between life and death (for a detailed comparison of black and white bodies in a racist context, see Gilman et.al. 1992:171-198). Thus, as Balibar argues that the neo-racism does not only construct cultural relativism and in turn hierarchies; but makes it possible with the elaboration of biological references through experiences of daily life.

> Conversely, where pure culturalism seems dominant... we are
> seeing a progressive drift towards the elaboration of discourses
> on biology and on culture as the external regulation of "living

organisms", their production, performance and health (Balibar 1991:26)

In the Turkish case, we see an influence between such quasi biological metaphors pretending as a cultural expression and global high culture represented, by urbanity. In spite of different styles and rhetorics among white Turk ideologues (while Ertugrul Özkök prefers a soft strategy which is based on the several stresses on the aesthetics of city members, Engin Ardiç and Serdar Turgut put the contrast with references to the low standards of other cultures). In Özkök's writings the analogies on young Turks represent the civilizing capacity of Turkey around a notion of national consensus. The real potentials of Turkey are proven by the emerging city culture and consumption standards in order to integrate with global culture. Bora rightly points out the arguments of new nationalist attitude (he calls liberal nationalism) is based on competitive values of civilization and liberalism. The consciousness of a white Turk is determined by "universal" standards; additionally bound to these standards with "the better" and "the higher" (Bora 1995:81). Therefore the national identity of Turkey is constructed around an integration with western standards, however it seems to be an integration with symbols representing the cultural hierarchies. The emphasis on national consensus does not make Özkök immune from racialized categories of biology, since the

analogies on Turkish youth refer to established dichotomies of racism (those transformed biological metaphors identifying the differences between west and non-west). Here are some points in Özkök's writings:

> His fine, slender face strongly engraves the changing modernizing portrait of the Turkish Youth into our minds...
> ...Turkish generation is getting more and more beautiful... spectacles with thin wire frames give a more humanic retouch to this fine, slender face.
>
> You begin to realize that the young girls are getting prettier every year. The fashion and nutrition conditions help them get more attractive. (Özkök, Hürriyet 4th 11 1992)
>
> On one side the juvenile corpses of boys with Tom Cruise haircuts are being placed in the coffins... The Turkey's never drawing stability lies in this passion of life, and what about gray colors... (Özkök 30th 4 1993)

In contrast to Özkök's emphasis on consensus or implicit cultural hierarchy, Ardiç and Turgut depicts even more biological claims on different life styles and standards. In effect with their clear-cut classifications supported by other columnists focusing on a national consensus, Ardiç and Turgut represents a dispersed and amorphous prototype of the new nationalist attitude. The proximity of analogies and daily experiences of the columnist depoliticise the possible consequences of his arguments. In this process as similar to neo-racism, vulgar life

styles, sexual primitiveness (see Turgut 1995), rough aesthetics, even the skin color express the incompatibility of different cultures.

4.1.3 Depoliticisation of Social Antagonisms: "Turkish Mosaic"

Here we come to the third aspect of new nationalism. This aspect , in fact, is one of the most interesting linkage bounding neo-racism and neo-liberalism. One significant argument of neo-racism known as cultural relativism is based on the notion of insuperability of cultures. There are various implicit consequences of this argumentation that were mentioned in previous chapters. Additionally to this strategy one other dimension of such claims is closely related to the "end of the ideology" debate around neo-liberalism. Seidel argues that the thesis of the end of the history with the so-called rupture concerning the means of politics (the end of the classical contradictions like class relations) which coexist with a return to cultural borders and traditions. Such return to cultural borders requires a continuous border drawing around native culture with intensive stress on cultural peculiarities (implicitly superiorities) of national identity. The

depoliticisation of class relations establishes a hegemonic consensus on patriotic, civic consciousness (Seidel et.al. 1986:129). The city and urbanity is a central theme representing the "real clash" between civilizations. Thus, the culturalist character of neo-racism exhibits the expressions of life standards as the real indicators of conflicts among different societies in a neo-liberal context. The hegemony is established among the properties belonging to common life standards, styles and habits.

> Racism is largely a new world phenomenon deriving from the aftermath of slavery... Nationhood and national consciousness are positive force, providing a sense of belonging, social cohesiveness, patriotism and civic consciousness (Seidel et.al. 1986:129).

One of the most significant themes of new nationalist attitude is the incompatible natures of the urban and rural cultures. The whole of the dichotomy is based on this eternal clash between city and village. As I mentioned above, one aspect of this argument indicates the racist character of the dichotomy between global, individualist culture and those who are inevitably "particularistic" (Balibar 1991:25). Another aspect expresses the de-political patriotism of neo-liberalism which establishes the consensus on an uncontradictory (at least in terms of class relations) unity

with the program of reaching the global culture. The central impact of the thesis is the classical oppositions related to , in general, the leftist politics. The sum of references of city life, standards, aesthetics and consumption function as an indicator separating the "bright" global culture and "gray" particularistic culture (Özkök, Hürriyet 30th 4 1993).

(a)nd what about the gray colors... what about the imperialisms, exploitation of people, all that mere claims made for imposing labor to be the most divine value (Özkök, Hürriyet 30th 4 1993).

Apart from the explicitly more aggressive of Ardiç and Turgut, a group of columnists insisting on a national consensus uses the racial valuation of the city nativeness for referring to the "outfashioned" means of politics - especially Marxism- as the "irrational", separatist prejudiced manners of churlishness. The bright images of "urban boys" make us discover the real identity of Turkey which was born in the cities. Similarly to the neo-liberalist populism, popular culture occupies an important place for the eclecticism of life styles. The individualism elaborated in the aggressive writings of Ardiç and Turgut, here, turns out to be a basis for hegemony.

It is much better shouting in the stadium with a yellow and dark blue scarf or listening to Tarkan in Gülhane or making love in Emirgan Grave... Social rebellions are outfashioned.

> Nevertheless, your own rebellion against your heart and brain
> will change your own fate... (Kirca 1995:60,65)

The refined pleasures seem to separate the leftist politics' itself while imposing that the class struggles are over, white Turk identity does not conceive the left but exclude one aspect of it as "peasant leftism". The intensive insults on churlishness identifies the ground of contradiction between cultures, namely between urbanity and rural culture. The other means of politics are secondary to cultural conflicts. As Kozanoglu argues that non-urban leftism represents the particularistic, separatist and underdeveloped (the image of Third World) side of society: "Left-right does not matter anymore, only suppressing the voices of the peasants is enough" (Kozanoglu 1992:103). This hegemonic process reaches a consensus with a continuous exclusion of "underdeveloped" dimensions of society like the conservative aims of cultural relativism protecting the "European way of life against Third Worldization" (Balibar 1991:25). This is possible with closing the transformative dimensions of politics by naturalization of the culture.

> (T)urkish republic are separated into two main classes: humans
> and animals... Both of the groups also, within each, might be
> separated into such other classes, like the owners of the
> production tools and those who do not own them, or like the

exploiters and those being exploited... but this is a secondary problem (Ardiç 1990:229).

This was the main dimensions and strategies of liberal nationalistic attitude with their explicit or implicit affinities with the neo-racist arguments. However, this does not mean that this nationalism is a solid, monolithic one. Rather than this, we are against an amorphous thoughts of several ordinary observations, eclectic analogies, and emotional expressions. Concerning my observations, I am arguing that it might be possible to classify the white Turk ideologues into two categories: Those who stress on an individualism with an aggressive style and the columnists stressing on a national consensus using a tone of commonsense.

Engin Ardiç and Serdar Turgut can be put within the first category. Their aggressive style emphasizes the naturally inequal relations among people and cultures. The contradictions in their writings appear to be -with an oversimplification- between refined cultures of the West and vandalism of the East. However these dichotomies expressed through the individual pleasures, aesthetics and intellectual capacity are constructed in daily observations.

Uluç, Özkök and Kirca demonstrate the typical aspects of the second category: Superiority of global high culture and the Turkey's

potential for integration with western society is shown as the emerging ground for a national consensus. In Bora's words the image of Turkey as a western society is taken into consideration with a language of advertisement (Bora 1995:114). The new image of Turkey was born in the metropols and, to those columnists this potential gives new targets for social integrity. Since, their thoughts are relatively well organized, their applications might be more political in terms of the establishment of hegemony. In spite of their optimism emphasizing the true promising potentials of Turkey, in contrast to aggressiveness of "individualists" the supporters of national consensus, they are sharing the same paradigmatic ground with racist claims of contemporary European culture, as I tried to give some examples of this relation.

Concerning the relatively softer style of the consensus oriented columnists, one another possible reason for such difference on styles might be related to the positions of some of these columnists in media. As a news speaker Ali Kirca prefers a relatively soft and compromising style in contrast to the Ardiç's style as a critic in TV. As Mutman argues, the voice of the news speaker is a strategic key for the presentation of the ideas. Its tone and reliability construct a kind of super-ego representing the "law as the order of language and culture" (Mutman 1995:48).

As a consequence, concerning the changing dimensions of nationalism, it is therefore better to approach it from the perspective of several stories providing an amorphous sum of valuations and representations rather than a complete cultural and political program. In effect, I think this flexibility makes the new nationalism powerful in terms of articulating several separate potentials (the historical program on integration with European culture, and the prejudices against the Kurds perceiving them as harmful parasites within a context of terrorism) and the subtle transformation of symbols.

Consequently I am aware of the limitations of this thesis; since it is confined to a narrow historical period, it cannot give adequate answers for the historical background and the track of this changing nationalist attitude. It only tries to draw a picture of the recent situation from the works of those five popular columnists. Since a detailed comparison between neo-racism and Turkish case requires a complex theoretical debate that goes beyond the limitations of this thesis, I have referred only the approach elaborated by Balibar. Similarly to Bora I think the new nationalism inherited some aspects of meta-racism which was elaborated by Balibar. However this does not explain whether this situation is only a conjectural effect or whether it has inherited a historical background from the Kemalist program of modernization. To answer this question, a major

reading from an historical perspective and an analysis of the elements that

affected the contemporary situation is needed.

Notes:

1. For Balibar this is the most important character of class racism since it does not use the "race" (as natural concept) like aristocratic society (self-referential racism); it has to dynamically transform the hierarchical relations and valuations in order to justify the modern hierarchy. Therefore an inequality that no longer rests on the inborn differences, but rather on the differences that are naturalized during the life; during the organization of labor, makes the class racism much more sociological than the classical taxonomy

2. I could examine the others columnists who are known as the important representatives of new nationalism like Mehmet Barlas and Hadi Uluengin. However I think those names are sufficient to present the central aspects of the new nationalism; thus at this stage it is not necessary to analyze the other columnists since my aim is not a detailed classification of the versions of new nationalism, but rather finding the main themes and questioning their possible relations or similarities with neo-racism.

3. In those writings on Atatürk and his life, the urban life and traditions of the past expresses the "natives" of Istanbul in contrast to new riches and new inhabitants that killed the historical potential of Istanbul. Since Ardiç rarely expresses those ideas, rather prefers a story and memoir telling style

it is hard to give clear-cut examples of this opposition between old Istanbul and new inhabitant culture, but they can be found in many texts of Ardiç (Ardiç 1990:9-14, 15-20, 22-29; 1991:107-109). Here is an example showing the distance between Atatürk/old Istanbul of romantic past and the peasant/new inhabitants of today -I want to take notice to the analogy between blackness and dirtiness and new inhabitant/peasant:

> Maybe if had he (Atatürk) turned and looked around in 1989, and had he come to Sisli, and entered through the door of his house after pushing his way through that dark crowd, those cars' splashing muds around, those salivas on the dusty asphalt, bus tickets, and heaps of Marlboro stumps, and had he seen Makbule again at the landing of the staircase, he would cast down his steel blue eyes, stroke his rare blonde hair, and say "I was mistaken dear Makbule, my defeat was inevitable" with his hoarse voice. (Ardiç 1990:14)

4. Integration with western culture and universal values of new world order are presented as the humanistic and peaceful aspects of new nationalism. However the notion of universality indicates, in fact, a particularistic exclusion of different cultures, life styles and even the physical appearances since the criteria are derived from the racist background of western identity. The culturalist aspect of this nationalism creates its own "universal" criteria in order to identify a nationalist project.

Bora rightly points out the arguments of new nationalism which is based on competitive values of civilization and liberalism. The consciousness of a new national -so called white Turk- is determined by standards; additionally bound to these with "the better" and "the higher" (Bora 1995:81).

5. Especially pop music is the most referred symbol among those columnists in order to show the global potential of new nationalism. It is perceived as an evidence of integrating to global culture while holding the national values. Özkök welcomes the new singers as the potentials of establishing a new national potential; since pop music is taken as a universal style which can introduce Turkey as a western country. Because of this reason Özkök argues that Turkey is becoming a culture imperialist of this region and he adds: "Turkey is standing as a candidate for being the America of this region" (Özkök, Hürriyet 15th 3 1993)

6. Bora gives a significant example of this perception from Hadi Uluengin presenting basketball as a sport of urbanity and urban people with a close relation to the vague notion of dynamism: Uluengin declares that Turkey " was getting off the peasant's rawhide sandal, and transforming to a dynamic society with basketball shoes; popping out to rim's activity from a stability of country" (Bora 1995:23).

7. It is interesting to see that the qualities separating the city and the village are similar to those of neo-racism: purity/dirtiness, order/chaos, white/black, slenderness/roughness, invader/native, ugliness/beauty and generally life and death (for a detailed comparison of the criteria separating west and the non-west from the perspective of racial/gender relations, see Gilman et.al. 1992).

8. There is a change in the conception of the city in new urban theory (see Cross and Keith 1993). According to new trends the new urban life is no longer organized around a city hall or a religious place but aesthetisized work places and shopping malls. The new domination of ruling class no longer requires a biological classification or is supported by a rationalized Taylorist model (a so called scientific management of working personal); in Young's words it is a kind of unoppressive politics of difference without patriarchy (Young 1990). According to the new conception of city it is a matter of choosing the pleasures and the necessities of life; new urbanism is based on such imaginary pleasures.

9. It is necessary to give the complete quotation from the relevant writing in order to show the eclecticism of new nationalism in terms of consumption culture and urban values against churlish backwardness:

Did Apo enjoy the Oscar ceremony? Possibly not. He possibly
also hasn't see the movie Forrest Gump. He possibly has never

been to any of the Broadway musicals at New York either. He possibly never listened to any of the concerts given by CSO.

He possibly hasn't learned French or English.

He possibly didn't glance at the IMF's report on the employment problems of the developing countries in 1994.

He possibly never made a gondola trip in Venice.

He possibly never watched the Czech and Slovakian Republics' meeting on living together in coordination and prosperity after disintegration.

He never sang together the song "Firuze" with Sezen Aksu during Rumelihisar concerts.

He possibly never attended to the seminars with the students from Bogaziçi University.

He possibly never watched any of the European matches of Galatasaray from the first class seats at the tribune.

He possibly never made a holiday trip to the Canary Islands together with his girlfriend... Millions of humans in the Turkey possibly haven't got the opportunity and free time to do most of those mentioned above...But more important than that millions of humans in Turkey possibly dreamed of having the opportunity and free time to do most of those mentioned above.

And this refined pleasure of life is not subject to and additional price. Lets symbolize it:

This is a choice between Istanbul and Zaho.(Kirca 1995:79-81)

10. In his article of "Class Racism" Balibar claims that the neo-racism is a variation of class racism which was firstly established by the absolute

domination of bourgeoisie. For Balibar, different from aristocratic racism the bourgeoisie society does not have the comfort towards the genetic references explaining the hierarchy in the medieval society (namely self-referential racism that is based on the control of the status of race) (Balibar 1991:208). The fading borders of the aristocratic worldview has made the idea of *difference in nature* morally and juridically contradictory. Therefore, class racism is a new form of normative system that prefers a sociological exclusion of the underclasses -especially around the symbol of manual labor: "Two anthropologies clashed here: that of equality of birth and that of a hereditary inequality which made it possible to re-naturalize social antagonisms" (Balibar 1991:210).

11. If this quotation is compared with the last one, it is possible to observe the radical paradox between the two perceptions of majority.

> My life experience of 37 years, all those things I have read, all the observations I have made, and all that I have been through, I came to this certain conclusion: The inhabitants of the Turkish Republic are separated into two main classes: Humans and animals. (Ardiç 1990:229)

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