SOCIAL CHANGE AND SUBJECTIVITY IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

Notwithstanding the long-lasting social scientific interest in social change and subjectivity, only a handful of studies focus on the actual processes of the relationship. This research explores these processes through a vignette-based survey research of the permeation of the Western ideal of individualism, persistence of traditional family orientation, and presence of alternative moral/agentive orientations within Turkish society. Results indicate *socioeconomic status, education,* and *religiosity* as the chief mediating factors of the constitution of subjectivity in Turkey. Interpretation of these results in relation to Turkish sociohistorical transformation provides insight into the personal dimensions of globalization: the diffusion of Western values in Turkish context begins from the better educated, upper strata of the society. The analysis emphasizes active participation in the novel system as an important component of transformation of subjectivity and assesses the role of individuals in social change.

Keywords*: Social Change, Subjectivity, Individualism, Family Orientation, Modernization, Globalization, Turkey*

TÜRKİYE'DE TOPLUMSAL DEĞİŞİM VE ÖZNELLİK

ÖZ

Toplumsal değişim ve öznellik arasındaki ilişki sosyal bilimciler tarafından çokça çalışılmış olsa da bu ilişkinin süreçleri üzerine odaklanan çalışmaların sayısı kısıtlıdır. Literatürdeki bu eksikliğe cevap vermek amacıyla, bu araştırmada, birey odaklı ahlaki sistemin Türkiye'de yaygınlaşması, gelenekselleşmiş aile odaklılığın devamı ve alternatif ahlaki/eylemlilik oryantasyonlarının ortaya çıkışı, senaryolara dayalı anket yöntemiyle çalışılmıştır. Sonuçlar Türkiye'de *sosyoekonomik statü, eğitim ve dindarlık seviyelerinin*, öznelliğin inşasında rol oynayan en önemli aracı faktörler olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu sonuçların Türkiye'nin toplumsal değişimi çerçevesinde yorumlanması bize küreselleşmenin bireysel boyutlarına dair ipucu vermektedir: Batılı değerlerin Türkiye'de yaygınlaşması toplumun iyi eğitimli, üst katmanlarından başlamaktadır. Bu analiz, globalleşme sürecinde sosyokültürel bağlamlara ulaşan yeni varoluş biçimlerinin içerisinde aktif olarak yer almanın, bireyin öznelliğinin dönüşümünün önemli parçalarından biri olduğuna işaret etmiştir. Ayrıca bireyin toplumsal değişim içerisindeki rolünü vurgulamıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sosyal Değişim, Öznellik, Bireysellik, Ailecilik, Modernleşme, Globalleşme, Türkiye*

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INTRODUCTION

Social theorists have been studying the relationship between subjectivity and social change since late 1800s. These studies firmly establish the influence of social, economic, and ecological changes on individual psychology and behavior. Furthermore, the handful of studies that focus on the actual processes of these relationships suggest that: 1) patterns of sociocultural change as well as their influence on the individual differ across cultures (Inglehart & Baker, 2000); 2) accumulation of wealth and exposure to modernizing institutions lead to a rise of individualism (Inkeles, 1975; Ogihara, 2017); and 3) despite social and economic changes and ensuing transformations in subjectivity, the traditional persists (Hamamura, 2012; Ogihara, Uchida, & Kusumi, 2014).

In this article, I study the permeation of individualism across Turkish society and the resultant heterogeneity in order to deepen our understanding of the processes of the relationship between subjectivity and sociocultural change. More specifically, I investigate the prevalence of individualism, persistence of traditional family-orientation, and the presence of a midway alternative among Turkish people of different social backgrounds. Through a vignette-based survey research, I assess the distribution of these three moral and agentive orientations within Turkish society, identify the factors that mediate the social constitution of subjectivity, and critically evaluate the results in the light of Turkish sociocultural transformation.

Ultimately, my aim with this research is twofold and my research questions are as follows.

1. What are the factors that mediate the social constitution of subjectivity in Turkey?
2. What are the processes of the relationship between social change and subjectivity in Turkey?

My analysis contributes to the extant research by suggesting a trajectory for the spread of personal dimensions of globalization, which arguably is the primary force behind contemporary social change. It also underscores the importance of participation in modern institutions for transformation of subjectivity (as opposed to simple accumulation of wealth), points to the individual as a recipient as well as an active agent of social transformation, and emphasizes the heterogeneity embedded in culture.

In order to prepare the grounds of the discussion that follows, I start the article by a brief review of the literature on social change, subjectivity, and individualism. I then discuss the transformation of and the introduction of individualism to Turkish sociocultural context. The subsequent sections present the methods and the results of the study and assess implications of the findings for the relationship between social change and subjectivity. The analysis highlights socioeconomic status, education, and

religiosity as chief mediating factors of the sociocultural constitution of subjectivity in Turkey. This finding indicates that the diffusion of Western values in Turkish context begins from the better educated, upper strata of the society

SOCIAL CHANGE, SUBJECTIVITY, AND INDIVIDUALISM

The relationship of subjectivity to social change is a longstanding topic of interest in social sciences. Indeed, while utilizing the term consciousness instead of subjectivity, Karl Marx (1818-1883), Max Weber (1864-1920), and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) each dealt with the question and provided examples of socio-historical specificity of consciousness. More recent literature also firmly establishes the relationship not only between the transformation of the sociohistorical context, discourse, and subjectivity (Foucault, 1980, 1995) but also the link between socioeconomic class, education level, and the self (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

A further line of sociological research addresses the relationship between social change and subjectivity in the context of a globalizing economy (Appadurai, 1996; Beck, 2009; Gergen, 2000; Giddens, 2003; Scheper-Hughes, 2003). Despite their interpretive differences about the consequences of globalization, these perspectives all concur that individualism as a moral and agentive orientation has been spreading across the globe hand-in-hand with the globalization of the world's economic system (Adams, 2007; Biehl, Good, & Kleinman, 2007).

Individualism, arguably the central element of the Western conception of the self (Bauman, 2001; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; Geertz, 1984), conceives the subject as an independent, autonomously moral, and essentially nonsocial being (Dumont, 1992).

Individualism is a moral system where autonomy, independence, self-reliance, and self-determination are thought to be natural rights. In societies where individualism reigns, anything that violates these rights is perceived to be morally wrong and contested passionately (Shweder & Bourne, 1984). The center of value in such societies is the individual and institutions such as law, education, literature, media etc. reinforce these values in sometimes subtle but ubiquitous ways.

The rise of the concept of the individual as an autonomous and sacred being is tied up with capitalism and modernity in the West (Durkheim, 1997; Weber, 2001/1930).[i] As modernity progressed and transformed into late-modernity, the individual lost nothing from its significance in the moral order of the Western society. Nevertheless, individuality itself got transformed along with the social changes. The individual who was molded by the social relations of the industrial society changed into a reflexive individual who was liberated from her personal and traditional obligations, and given the responsibility to forge her own biography (Adams, 2007; Giddens, 2003).

Contemporary cross-cultural research provides further empirical evidence for the affinity between modernization and individualism. This body of research suggests a high correlation between GDP per capita, which is considered to be an index of modernization and social development, and individualism as measured by proxy variables such as divorce rates and household size, and international indices developed for the purposes of measuring individualism (e.g., Hofstede, 2001). This line of research demonstrates that as wealth increases over time, individualistic orientation increases with it as well, not only in non-Western cultures but also in Europe and the United States (Greenfield, 2009; Hamamura, 2012; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Ogihara, 2017; Sachs, 2005; Snibbe & Markus, 2005). It is suggested that a society's participation in modern economy triggers institutional changes such as greater urbanization, smaller household size, and lower fertility rate, freeing individuals from the traditional sources of social influence and affording means of autonomous decision making (Hamamura, 2012, p. 5).

This line of reasoning is underlined by the assumption that traditional ways of being answer to a particular survival related need: in the face of economic hardship, the traditional ways of being that promote interdependence among individuals are a requisite for livelihood (see for example, Kâğıtçıbaşı, 2002). Once the functional utility they provide is not needed anymore, they are replaced by modern forms of being. However, neither persistence of the traditional in the face of increased wealth nor how the existence of grounds for autonomous decision making translates into individualistic orientation has been sufficiently studied.

Previous research establishes the dynamic and co-constitutive relationship between the sociohistorical context and subjectivity, directs our attention to the forces of globalization as the recent form of social change, and alerts us about the diffusion of individualism across the globe. However, a processual account of how subjectivities get transformed in relation to social change (e.g., which segments of the society are involved in such a transformation, how human agency and creativity contribute to the social change, and so on) still needs further investigation.

While it might not be possible to decipher the dynamic relationship between social change and subjectivity in the totality of its complexity (Adams, 2007), I suggest that one can answer these questions by focusing on an essential dimension of subjectivity, namely individualism in the context of social change. At this junction, Turkish society, which is marked by rapid transformations, presents us with an excellent opportunity.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND INDIVIDUALISM IN TURKEY

Turkey is a Republic with modern political, educational, judicial, and administrative institutions. It is a globalizing context with a multiplicity of moral, ethical, and aesthetic orientations and corresponding practices. Within this rich social context,

various shades of traditional and "modern" exist side by side, explicit in the ways Turkish people dress, carry themselves, and interact with one another.

A key component in formation of the contemporary Turkish society is arguably the modernization processes that transformed the Ottoman State into a modern republic. Understood as Westernization[ii] Turkish modernization has been carried on with explicit economic, social, and legal State policies since the foundation of the Republic in 1923. These modernization efforts aimed to establish rationality and secularism in state institutions, and public and private life (Çınar, 2005).

Politically, the constitutional monarchy of the Ottoman State was replaced by a secular parliamentary democracy. Economically, the new Republic committed itself to liberalism. Etatist policies that were implemented in the initial years of the State eventually culminated in adoption of the free-market economy by the 1950s. By the late 1980s, Turkey was integrated into the global economy as a significant market with a well-established consumer culture (Saracoğlu, 1994; Sayarı, 1996/97). Today, almost all consumer goods and forms of entertainment available in Europe and in the US, from food and technology to local versions of popular American TV shows fill up Turkish households, shaping the needs and desires of individuals from all strata of the society.

For the establishment of an organic modernization in Turkey, social transformation was also paramount. Therefore, political and economic reforms were coupled by policies to affect secularization of the daily life and protestantization of Islam (Mardin, 1991). From a mostly agrarian Ottoman society that was interwoven by religious brotherhoods (Lewis, 2001), a new class-based society with citizens understood as political individuals with rights and duties was established. Reformed legal and educational systems, which were modeled after their Western counterparts, served as the primary support systems of these processes.

These modernization efforts and eventual integration with the global markets introduced to the country novel ways-of-being and thinking that challenged the extant values. The outcome is a rapidly transforming cultural realm marked by a diverse array of moral perspectives and practices. Given the dialectic relations among these perspectives and their hybrid outcomes, today change is a constant of Turkish culture.

One of the new ways-of-being that entered the Turkish sociocultural context through modernization is "individualism." However, it is important to note that the ideal of individualism that has been taking root in Turkey is not identical to Western individualism. Individualism in Turkish case agrees with the liberal ideal in taking the individual as a center of value and it is supported by legal and educational institutions. Yet, Turkish individualism is surrounded and constantly checked by community-oriented institutions such as religion, forcing it to become answerable to the sensibilities of these systems. Ogihara et. al. (2014) report that individualism in Japan is regarded ambivalently where the independence it promotes is valued but its

consequences for interpersonal relations is feared (p.221). A similar ambivalence is present in Turkey. Unless it is balanced by communitarian and family-oriented values, Turkish people associate individualism with social anomy and disintegration of the family.

Individualism contradicts the traditional conception of person in Turkey. Turkish tradition takes family and kinship relations as the center of value. It conceives of the family as a tightly knit unity where moral transgressions or virtues of individual members transfer onto the other members of the family. Accordingly, needs, wants, and desires of the extended family is given precedence over those of the individual member. The traditional Turkish perspective endorses social embeddedness, and emotional and economic dependency among generations of family members (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002).

Within this traditional system, which Kandiyoti (1995) calls classic patriarchy, family and gender relations are organized according to patterns of deference based on age and distinct male and female hierarchies: men have authority over women, older women over younger women, and senior men over everyone else, including younger men. As an extended family pattern, classic patriarchy brings families of different generations together in one household and leaves little space for the individual autonomy. Although it has transformed under the forces of modernization efforts and global integration, this family type continues to be a dominant pattern for a significant portion of Turkish society.

Under the exigencies of social change, the ideal of family in Turkey has shifted from an extended to a nuclear one. This shift was accompanied by relative autonomy of young couples from interference and control by older kin (Kandiyoti, 1995). However, modern Turkish family does not exhibit separateness and autonomy of members from each other and from their wider kin (Kâğıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1982). The importance of intra-familial relations, fulfillment of responsibilities towards parents and siblings, and respect for elders are virtues sought for in the new family structure across most social backgrounds. This midway alternative between individualism and traditional family orientation values material independence yet emotional dependence among extended family members (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

Turkish sociocultural context is marked by a heterogeneity that resulted from the modernization and global integration of the country. As such, it provides an excellent setting to study the processes of the relationship between social change and subjectivity.

METHOD

This research explores the factors that mediate the constitution of subjectivity in Turkey and the processes of the relationship between subjectivity and social change.

To that end, it focuses on the distribution of moral evaluative orientations of individualism, family orientation, and a midway alternative across different segments of Turkish society. In order to obtain information from a large representative sample, data was collected through survey methodology. Vignette method was used to elicit participants' moral responses in a contextualized way (more on this below).

6.1. Participants

A sample of 273 residents of İstanbul, who were older than 25 years of age, took part in the study. İstanbul was chosen as the site of study for its cosmopolitan character. An imperial capital for more than fifteen hundred years, İstanbul has been the primary site of modernization and integration with the global economy. Today, with its 14.5 million inhabitants and 15% population growth rate (D.İ.E. 2014), İstanbul brings together people from different parts of the country and displays a multifaceted economic life.

A representative sample of İstanbul was developed through proportional sampling by taking into consideration age, gender, and socio-economic-status (SES) of participants. As the data utilized in this study was collected in 2003, the census data from 2000 was utilized for sampling distribution.

Data was collected in sites, which were selected through a multi-stage cluster sampling. İstanbul is a city with 638 neighborhoods. Five municipalities, which are neither integrated to the economy of the city nor contribute significantly to its daytime population, were left out of the sample. From the remaining neighborhoods, eighteen clusters were formed based on the neighborhood's location (Istanbul is geographically separated into European and Asian sides), migration rate, political inclination, and income level of its residents. Average income level of neighborhood is estimated through m^2 land prices published annually by Ministry of Finance.

From each cluster, two neighborhoods were randomly selected via a simple drawing from the bag method. In each neighborhood, three streets, and in each street, three buildings were chosen through random sampling as sites of data collection. Out of the 324 households that were contacted, 273 of them participated in the study.

6.2. Materials

A survey composed of two groups of questions was used in the study. A vignette with three pre-determined choices probed participants' commitment to individualism, traditional family orientation, and a hybrid alternative. An additional group of questions gathered demographic information about the participants. Six different version of the survey were used in the study in order to eliminate any ordering effects. A chi-square test showed that the version of the survey did not have a significant effect on the participants' responses ($X^2 = 11$, df = 10, p = .35).

6.2.1. Vignette: Individualism versus traditional family orientation.

Vignette technique was used in order to approximate real life situations, and to provide participants with rich contextual input (Finch, 1987). The vignette outlined a situation where a protagonist's self-interest competed with the wants and needs of her family. It highlighted the discord between an individualistic perspective and loyalty to family, which is promoted by the traditional ideal of family orientation. Literature suggests economic hardship as an important factor behind traditional family orientation in Turkey (Kâğıtçıbaşı, 2002). In order to eliminate the possibility of financial concerns impacting the study as a confounding variable, the protagonist's family depicted in the vignette was given a middle-class background.

This particular conflict was chosen following a review of Turkish public discourse on family in media and brief semi-structured interviews with 12 Turkish men and women. These studies revealed that the most commonly expressed concern about individualism in Turkey was its perceived contribution to the loss of family values, and an increase in selfishness.

Following the presentation of the vignette, in order to assess participants' orientations towards individualism, they were asked "what do you think (the protagonist) should do?" They were provided with three options. The first option gave precedence to loyalty-to-family over self-interest and personal needs. The second option provided a hybrid, a middle-way between the two ideals through a compromise on both ideals. Finally, third option embraced individuality over loyalty-to-family. Each of these options provided reasons that substantiated the recommended course of action and highlighted the primary tenets of the perspectives that the option stood for.

A translation of the vignette is presented below. Please note that while the vignette below indicates the protagonist as a woman, when researchers read the vignette to the participants the gender of the protagonist was altered so that it matched with that of the participant. This alteration was adopted to facilitate participants' identification with the protagonist of the vignette.

> Attorney Serap spent years studying law. She had specifically chosen law as her occupation and had worked tirelessly for it. However, even when she was still in school, she knew that she did not want to become a lawyer. Serap had decided to study law by taking her father's wishes into consideration. Her father, who was also an attorney, wanted to transfer his office and his clients to somebody he could trust. Nobody forced Serap to become a lawyer. But it was always known that Serap, the only child of the family, would become a lawyer and take over her father's office. An alternative path wasn't even considered, and her family had devoted all their resources to her education. What Serap really wanted, however, was to become a movie director. She carried on directing

as a hobby for years: she took classes on directing, participated in seminars, and even won a couple of small awards for her short films. Recently, Serap was presented with an incredible opportunity: she was offered a scholarship to take classes on directing in France from one of best names in the field. Now she has to decide: she is either going to comply with the wishes of her old parents, or she will follow her dream and take on this incredible opportunity. What do you think Serap should do?

1.   Being close to her old parents, who took care of her for years,

and their wishes are more important than Serap's own wishes. She should stay with her parents, take care of them, and continue to work in her father's office as a lawyer.

2.   Even if this is an incredible opportunity for her, it is best if

Serap does not go to France and stay close to her old parents, who had taken care of her for so many years. But if she really wants to become a director, she should quit working in the office and become a director in Turkey.

3.   Pushing her needs and wishes aside, Serap had always done

what her parents expected of her. Now, she should give herself the priority, dive into the movie world, which she has dreamt about all her life, and direct movies. Serap should accept the offer she received from France and sell the law office and move there.

6.2.2. Questionnaire to collect Demographic Information.

A total of 273 people participated in the study. Six subjects with no education, and one person who preferred to skip the question about *level of religiosity* were not included in the statistical analysis. Table 1 provides a summary of the distribution of the data. The imbalances in the sample did not pose a problem for the statistical procedures.

Demographic information was collected with an intent to assess the relationship between the moral/agentive orientations and social background in Turkey. Cohort, gender, SES, occupation, and levels of education and religiosity were included in the study as significant indicators of social background in Turkey.

6.2.2.1Cohort. Sociocultural context in which one grows up is one of the primary contributors to the constitution of one's value orientations (Bourdieu, 2000; Inglehart & Baker, 2000). In Turkey, where rapid transformation has been a constant of social life, one could talk about different sociohistorical contexts shaped by different phases of the modernization process, and their matching cohorts.

A three-category cohort system was adopted in the study. This reflected the political and economic shifts that had led to important sociocultural changes, which impacted lives as well as minds of Turkish people (Akşit & Akşit, 2010). The first cohort included those who were born during the single party era between 1923 and 1949, when State's reforms aimed at a radical break with the existing cultural and institutional traditions. The second cohort consisted of people who were born between 1950 and 1974, when liberal economic policies led to the development of a sizeable middle class and prepared the grounds of the market economy. The third cohort consisted of those who were born between 1975 and 1984, when integration to the global economy transformed the country to a significant market with a well-established consumer culture. Cohort was scored 1 to 3, 1 being the oldest and 3 being the youngest cohort.

6.2.2.2. Gender. Subject positions inhabited by men and women lead to differential value orientations (Beutel & Marini, 1995; Gilligan, 1982). This difference is also evident in the Turkish family. Most Turkish familial relations, including those that follow the traditional gender regime and the modern family structures, adopt a hierarchical sexual division of labor (Kandiyoti, 1995; Tekeli, 1995). While men as the head of household are responsible for relations with the outside world, women are given the role of motherhood and household management. This characteristic suggests gender as a possible mediator of access to modernized aspects of Turkish culture and individualism. A two-category gender was adopted: 1. female; 2. male.

TABLE 1

Demographic Profile of the Sample	
Sample Size	
266(%)	
Gender	
Male	45
Female	55
Cohort	
Born between 1923-49	21
Born between 1950-74	53
Born after 1975-84	26
Occupation	
Unemployed	
Employee	
Professional	
Level of Education	
Primary School	46
Secondary School	37
Higher Education	17
SES	
Lower	28
Middle	46
Higher	26
Level of Religiosity	
Not so religious	42
Moderately religious	44
Very religious	14

Note: Age, education, SES, and religiosity were measured at more fine-grained levels than reported here, but ranges were compressed for ease of presentation and analysis.

6.2.2.3. Education. Education is a significant contributor to the constitution of value orientations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Cole & Scribner, 1974). Turkish governments have utilized the educational system as an important component in implementing social policies. Until recently, education has served as a tool of the modernization in Turkey (Zurcher, 2004). Within the last decade or so, the educational paradigm has been slowly but steadily changing. Nevertheless, today education still continues to be a key mediator of access to the modernized aspects of Turkish culture.

Education was scored 1 to 3: 1. primary school education; 2. secondary and high school education; 3. higher education.

6.2.2.4. Socio-economic status. Recent literature highlights the strong link between value orientations and the socioeconomic status (SES) (Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007). Turkey, an agrarian society at the turn of the 20th century, was transformed into a class-based society through the modernization process. As the notion of class implies, people from different SES are integrated differentially into liberal economy and the value system inheres in it. This suggests SES as a possible mediator in the constitution of subjectivity in Turkey.

For data collection purposes, the study relied on "area level measures" as an indicator of SES. However, once the data was collected, a new composite SES index that took house-hold as a unit was calculated. This new index aimed at a synthesis of income level as well as life style.

A society of rapid transformation, occupational prestige and educational level fail as proxies of SES in the Turkish context. The crystallization of occupations which exist in advanced capitalist societies is absent in Turkey.[iii] Education level also fails as an indicator of life-style. Life styles, including consumption patterns and beliefs, are an outcome of the interaction among the members of the household whose education levels might differ greatly.

With these points in mind, a composite index was adopted in the study. This index takes "household" as a unit and combines values collected from household members based on four main variables: 1. Average education level of the household members; 2. Occupations of the household members; 3. Ownership and consumption patterns of life facilitative goods; 4. The area lived in and house ownership (Tüzün, 2000). While the index does not directly include income into calculations, independent measurements show that it is income level concordant (Tüzün, 2000). SES was scored 1 to 3, with 1 reflecting Low, 2 Middle, and 3 Higher SES.

6.2.2.5. Occupation. Based on the working status and average income levels associated with these statuses, a four-category occupation system was adopted in the study: 1. Unemployed (including housewives and students); 2. Employee (including retirees, government employees, and laborers); 3. Independently employed (including farmers, self-employed, small (up to 5 person) business owners); 4. Professionals (including university graduates with titles, business owners, upper managerial staff).

6.2.2.6. Religion. Finally, religion as a moral system is another important variable in constitution of the value orientations. This is especially the case for Turkey where religiosity is high and the religious circles associate themselves with social conservatism (see for example, Savaş, 2007). Participants' assessed their own level of religiosity. Level of religiosity was scored on a three-point scale: 1. not so religious; 2. moderately religious; 3. highly religious.

6.3. Procedure

Following the consent related information, the interviewers read the vignette to the participants aloud and noted down their responses to accommodate for differing levels of literacy.

7. RESULTS

This study investigated the relationship between participants' social backgrounds and their moral/agentive orientations. In order to highlight sociologically significant trends within Turkish society, I begin presenting the results of the study with correlations among the independent variables.

7.1. Associations Among the Independent Variables

In order to study the relationships among these variables, non-parametric correlations (Spearman's rho.) were run using SPSS 15. Table 2 summarizes these correlations. I review here only the significant correlations.

The results showed that cohort categories were positively correlated with level of religiosity. Older people in the sample were more religious. This relationship between cohort and religiosity is expected in Turkey where secularization of daily life has been an ongoing process up until late 1990s. Occupation was positively correlated with SES and level of education. Predictably, participants' level of education and SES increased as their occupations changed from unemployed to professional.

There was a negative correlation between occupation and level of religiosity. Participants with occupations that bring in better earnings and demand better education levels reported lower levels of religiosity. This finding is mediated by the negative correlation between the levels of education and religiosity. As participants' education levels increased, their reported levels of religiosity decreased. This is not surprising. Up until recently, the public educational system in Turkey has been one of the key institutions in support of modernization efforts.

Finally, SES was positively correlated with the level of education and negatively correlated with the level of religiosity. As participants' SES increased, indicating a higher level of integration into the liberal economic system, their levels of religiosity decreased.

TABLE 2

Correlations among Demographic Variables

Variables	Gender	Cohort	Occupation	Education	SES
1. Gender[a]					
2. Cohort[b]	-0,02				
3. Occupation[c]	0,48 **	0,05			
3. Education[d]	0,1	-0,1	0,21**		
5. SES[e]	-0,03	-0,05	0,23**	0,56 **	
6. Religiosity[f]	-0,02	0,23**	-0,18**	-0,35**	-0,3**

NOTE: [a] Gender: 1. female; 2. male.
[b] Cohort: 1. 1975-84; 2. 1950-1974; 3. 1923-49.
[c] Occupation: 1. unemployed; 2. employee; 3. independently employed; 4. professionals.
[d] Education: 1. primary school education; 2. secondary and high school education; 3. higher education.
[e] Socio-economic Status: 1. low SES; 2. middle SES; 3. high SES.
[f] Religiosity: 1. not so religious; 2. moderately religious; 3. highly religious.
* $p < .05$ level (2-tailed). ** $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).

7.2. Statistical Modeling and Analysis

In order to explore the relationship of cohort, occupation, education, SES, and religiosity with the commitment to the individualist option, the middle-way, and loyalty-to-family, a multinomial logistic regression model is fitted to the data by using SPSS 15. Gender was not included in the analysis as effects of this variable were consistently non-significant. However, chi-square test results for gender are reported below.

In model building, all predictors were entered into the model simultaneously. By backward elimination, statistically insignificant predictors were omitted from the model. Backward elimination indicated SES, education, and religiosity to be the best fitting model. However, in order to inquire into the effects of sociologically relevant variables, a model that included cohort, education, occupation, SES, and religiosity were used in the study. They were treated as discrete variables in the model.

In accordance with the aim of the study, loyalty-to-family (i.e., continuing to be a lawyer) is chosen as the reference category in multinomial regression model building. This enabled comparison of middle-way (i.e., become a director in Turkey) to loyalty-to-family, and individualism (i.e., going to France) to loyalty-to-family. In addition, a second model was run with individualism as reference category to compare individualism to middle way.

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7.2.1. Two-way Interactions. A model with two-way interaction of education with cohort, occupation, SES, and religiosity were fitted respectively. These terms were statistically non-significant (P-values: .73, .47, .53 and .18, respectively). Therefore, only the main effects were inquired.

7.2.2. Multicolinearity. The data was also analyzed for multicolinearity. Correlations among the variables, which did not exceed 60%, indicated absence of multicolinearity (see Table 2). Multicolinearity among the variables was further investigated through colinearity statistics. Analysis did not indicate a significant colinearity among variables. The artificial dependency between education level and the SES led to a slight dependency between the variables. However, this relationship was not large enough to negatively affect the analysis (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

Multicolinearity among variables

Variables	Tolerance	VIF
Cohort	0.942	1.062
Occupation	0.902	1.109
Education	0.645	1.55
SES	0.663	1.509
Religiosity	0.82	1.22
Dependent Variable was Response to the Lawyer Vignette		

*Tolerance close to 0 and VIF > 5 indicates multicolinearity.

7.3. Analysis. Please refer to Table 4 for a summary of the following results.

TABLE 4

Responses to the Vignette in Percentages

	Loyalty-to-family	Middle-way	Individualist
Gender			
Male	23.5	30.3	46.2
Female	21.1	33.3	45.6
Cohort			
Born between 1923-49	28.6	19.6	51.8
Born between 1950-74	20.4	35.9	43.7
Born after 1975-84	20.6	33.8	45.6
Occupation			

Unemployed	25.7	39.8	34.5
Employee	19.3	27.3	53.4
Independently Employed	23.5	25.5	51
Professional	7.1	21.4	71.4
Level of Education			
Primary School	36.6	29.3	34.1
Secondary School	11.1	39.4	49.5
Higher Education	6.8	22.7	70.5
SES			
Lower	38.7	32	29.3
Middle	20.5	34.4	45.1
Higher	7.2	27.5	65.2
Level of Religiosity			
Not so religious	11.6	29.5	58.9
Moderately religious	23.3	35.3	41.4
Very religious	50	28.9	21.1

7.3.1. Gender. The individualist option was the most preferred option across genders. However, no significant relationship was found between the gender of participants and their responses to the vignette (X^2 =,378, df=2, p value=,83).

7.3.2. Cohort. The individualist option was the most preferred option across all cohorts. However, there was no significant difference between cohorts in terms of their commitment to loyalty-to-family over individualism (OR: 1.221, 95% CI: [0.722, 2.067]). No association was found between cohort and choice of middle-way over loyalty-to-family (OR: 0.822, 95% CI: [0.484, 1.396]) either.

Multinomial logistic regression model also enabled us to compare individualism to middle-way. Results indicated a marginally significant relationship at p = .07 between cohort and choice of individualism over the middle-way. As cohort got younger, the odds of preferring individualism to middle-way increased by a factor of 0.486 (OR: 1.486, 90% CI: [1.029, 2.147]).

This absence of significant relationships between cohort and value orientations can be explained by the fact that the modernization process and the novel forms-of-being that entered Turkey along with modernization have not been all encompassing. Rather novel and the traditional moralities survived in different segments of the society, informing subjectivities of people from various generations.

7.3.4. Occupation. As participants' occupations changed from unemployed to professional, their tendency to choose the individualist option slightly increased. However, there was no significant difference between occupation-groups in terms of their commitment to individualism over loyalty-to-family (OR: 1.060, 95% CI: [0.699, 1.609]). There was no association found between occupation and preference of middle-way over loyalty-to-family (OR: 0.772, 95% CI: [0.5, 1.191]).

When preference of middle-way was compared to that of individualism, a borderline association (p = .07) was found between occupation and choice of individualism over middle-way. As occupation changed from unemployed to professional, the odds of preferring individualism to middle-way increased by a factor of 0.374 (OR: 1.374, 90% CI: [1.033, 1.827]).[iv]

7.3.5. Education. Participants' tendency to choose the individualist option increased with their increasing level of education. As education level increased, the odds of preferring the individualist option to family orientation increased by a factor of 1.269 (OR: 2.269, 95% CI: [1.196, 4.303]). As education level increased, the odds of preferring the middle-way option to family orientation increased by a factor of 1.031 (OR: 2.031, 95% CI: [1.046, 3.943]). No association was found between education level and choice of individualism over middle-way (OR: 1.117, 95% CI: [0.699, 1.786]). These results speak to the constitutive effects of the Westernized education system on Turkish subjectivities and the mediating role education plays in the diffusion of individualism in Turkey.

7.3.6. SES. Participants' tendency to choose the individualist option increased along with their SES levels. As SES level increased, the odds of preferring individualism to loyalty-to-family increased by a factor of 0.763, (OR: 1.763, 95% CI: [1.002, 3.101]). However, no association was found between SES and choice of middle-way over loyalty-to-family (OR: 1.37, 95% CI: [0.767, 2.447]) or between SES and choice of individualism over middle-way (OR: 1.287, 95% CI: [0.800, 2.07]).

These findings speak to the significance of SES as an important determinant of integration into the modernized aspects of Turkish culture.

7.3.7. Religiosity. As participants' level of religiosity increased, their tendency to choose the family-oriented option increased as well. As level of religiosity increased, odds of preferring individualism to loyalty to family decreased by a factor of 0.592, (OR: 0.408, 95% CI: [0.239, 0.695]). A borderline significance (p = .08) was found between participants' level of religiosity and their preference of middle-way over loyalty to family. As participants' level of religiosity increased, the odds of their preferring middle-way to loyal-to-family decreased by a factor of 0.372 (OR: 0.628, 90% CI: [0.403, 0.977]). A borderline association (p = .07) was found between level of religiosity and choice of individualism over middle-way. As level of religiosity

increased, the odds of preferring individualism to middle-way decreased by a factor of 0.35 (OR: 0.65, 90% CI: [0.438, 0.964]).

These results show that, highly-religious participants were less individualistically inclined than those who are not highly religious. This is not unexpected. Religious discourse in Turkey, while arguing for a liberal economy, adopts a socially conservative ideology positioning itself as the guardian of Turkish tradition and against the Western values (Akşit & Akşit, 2010; Ayata & Tütüncü, 2008).

DISCUSSION

In order to explicate the processes of the relationship between social change and subjectivity, this study traced permeation of individualism, perseverance of the traditional family-orientation, and presence of an alternative moral perspective across different segments of Turkish society. In response to the vignette, participants sided not only with the individualist, and family-oriented options, but also with a third alternative, which is neither strictly traditional nor individualistic. This variation was not random. Rather, participants' SES, educational backgrounds, and levels of religiosity had significant bearings on their responses.

In Turkey, individualism, which stands in contradistinction to traditional family orientation, was not imagined by the regimes that preceded the Republic as a possible ideal for Turkish people. Nevertheless, in present day Turkey, individualism appears to be an ideal valued by those with higher levels of education and SES, and lower levels of religiosity. Participants with these social characteristics were least likely to commit to the traditional perspective: a significant percentage of them preferred both the individualistic perspective and the midway alternative to the traditional ideal. They rather gave precedence to the desires of the individual over the needs of the family. In an opposite pattern, participants who self-identified as highly-religious, and who had lower levels of SES and education most commonly followed the traditional perspective and prioritized the needs and wants of the family over those of the individual. This group also preferred the midway alternative over individualism. Individualistic option was the least likely option to be preferred by highly religious persons. The other two variables investigated, namely gender and cohort did not have significant influences on individuals' moral orientations (please see the results section for a discussion of possible reasons for these findings).

On the one hand, these findings demonstrate the multiplicity of moral perspectives and cultural heterogeneity in Turkey. On the other hand, they speak to the influence of sociocultural background on individual subjectivity. But most significantly, they demonstrate that the patterns of economic participation (both in terms of production and consumption as indicated by the composite SES index used in the study), and affiliation with social institutions such as education and religion are mediators of orientation towards Western ideals in Turkey.

In Turkey, where the educational system has been used to support the modernization process, and where religious segments of the society believe themselves to be the safeguards of Turkish tradition, this pattern is not totally surprising. However, it is illuminating: The diffusion of globalizing Western values in Turkish context begins from the better educated, upper strata of the society, who are well integrated into the liberal economic system both in terms of their production and consumption patterns.

Moreover, the analysis highlights active participation in the modern economic and social systems as a requisite for the adoption of an individualistic perspective. Put differently, it indicates that while an increase in wealth generated by modern economy might be a necessary condition for transformation of subjectivity, as it prepares the grounds for freedom from tradition, it nevertheless is not sufficient.

The traditional is not simply sustained by financial hardship. Rather, in the co-constitutional relationship between the sociocultural context and the individual, the traditional survives in and through intersubjective interactions and social encounters. Despite absence of financial need as a concern in the vignette, for example, a significant number of participants adopted the family oriented traditional perspective. On a larger scale, despite the steady increase in Turkish GDP per capita, which puts the country within the developed world category, the traditional family orientation persists in Turkey. Combined, these evidences suggest an answer to the question that is left underexplored in contemporary research: individual's participation in modern institutions and economy is the factor that translates the grounds for freedom from traditional social forces into individualism at a personal level.

SES, educational background, and level of religiosity are indicators of integration into the new forms of social consciousness that were introduced to Turkish context along with its modernization and global integration. This pattern speaks to the impact of macro level social changes on individual psychology and provides us with a processual knowledge about such impact. Furthermore, in agreement with previous research, the analysis suggests that globalizing economic activity has an affinity with individualistic agentive and moral orientation. Moreover, it highlights practice as a necessary condition for transformation of subjectivity in association with social change.

Finally, the existence of the midway alternative reminds us that individuals are not passive recipients of the social change. Rather as active agents, they creatively respond to the macro level changes, and take part in the formation and expansion of social transformation (Abrams, 1982). The Turkish case demonstrates that social change is the outcome of a dialogic give and take between the economic, social, political, and individual realms.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It is important to note that the analysis provided by the study should not be taken to mean that highly-religious yet at the same time rich and educated people are absent from Turkish society. Neither do the results imply the absence of individualistic persons with low SES or high levels of religiosity. In fact, certain camps of Islamism in Turkey are informed by Western notions of individualism and agency. It would be most interesting, for a further research, to study the prevalence of individualism among these groups to assess how traditional family orientation, Islamic conception of *ümmet* (i.e., community of believers), and individualism are reconciled. Such investigation would provide the chance to study in further detail the dialogicity and creativity embedded within culture.

The research utilized vignette technique in order to provide participants with rich context that approximates a real-life situation. As a result, it focused on a particular form of the tension between individualistic and traditional agentive orientations: the desires of the child versus needs and wishes of the family. The analysis does not fully inform us about possible outcomes if the study highlighted a different context for the tension where, for example, the protagonist was a parent who wanted to follow her wishes rather than the needs of the family. Future studies that focus on the tension in different contexts would help us decipher the dynamic borders of individualism and their intersections with extant values in Turkey.

Finally, the analysis suggests that in order to fully comprehend contributions of sociocultural context to subjectivity, it is crucial to take into account social change and the ensuing cultural heterogeneity. This insight, in turn, compels us to critically reassess the social scientific concepts—such as individualism, country, and culture—that reduce rich diversities to monolithic unities and reconsider the international inventories, indices as well as methodologies that we adopt in cross-cultural research.

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ENDNOTES

[i] The discussion of whether capitalism led to individualism or individualism led to capitalism is beyond the scope of this paper. However, both positions would agree that there exists an affinity between the two.

[ii] Modernization and Westernization are subjects of extensive debate in Turkey (e.g., Aydın, 2006; Kaya, 2004). For the purposes of this paper, I focus on the most widely accepted characterization of Turkish modernization.

[iii] For example, see Altan (2002) and Tüzün (2000).

[iv] As a side note, I would like to mention here that when its effects are examined through a chi-square test, results point to a significant relationship between occupation and the dependent variables (X2=12.91, df =6, P<.05). However, when entered into the more powerful multinomial logistic analysis along with level of education, SES, and religiosity, the explanatory value of occupation becomes insignificant.