SOCIAL SPACE, LEISURE TIME AND CHANGING YOUTH CULTURES

IN BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY SINCE THE 70S

by

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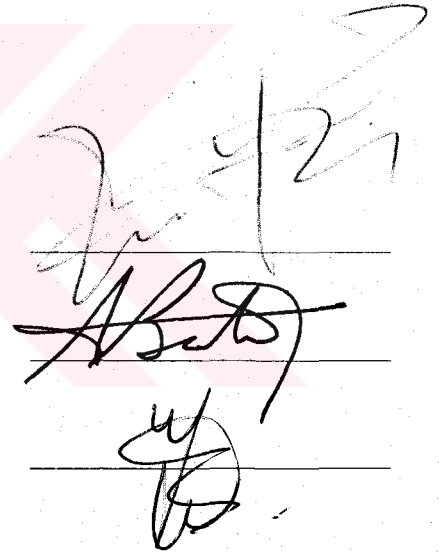
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ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to the discussions on the current neo-liberal restructuring of higher education in Turkish context. The neo-liberal restructuring not only implies the institutional changes, but it also transforms the social space and the social relations of everyday life. It could be argued that the current discussions concerning the restructuring of higher education remain limited, as they do not tend to conceptualize the implications of such transformation to the everyday life of the students. As universities become more commercial, dominant forms of sociality and lifestyles also change. The inquiry of changing youth cultures could illustrate how the emergent forms of sociality and lifestyles lead the students to adapt themselves to new relations of power and control.

My principal concern is to trace the changing cultural representations of youth, leisure and space in Boğaziçi University since the 1970s. I compare the 1970s generation and the generation of 1990s in order to understand how the cultural representations give way to emergent forms of sociality and lifestyles in different decades. In the thesis, I argue that the aesthetic and cultural processes such as cultural fragmentation and aestheticization of everyday life are influential in shaping the youth cultures since the 1970s. Although the youth cultures of the 1970s display the early emergence of a consumerist culture, they are also marked with a political discourse that underlined the class identities and the nationalistic and developmentalist concerns in line with the anti-imperialist struggle. Thus, the youth cultures of the 1970s also constituted a counter-cultural tendency, opposing the individualistic culture in the campus space. On the contrary, the youth cultures of the 1990s point to the fact that social identities become more fluid and culture got fragmented. They are marked by the emergent lifestyles associated with leisure and consumption activities.

The thesis elaborates on the aesthetic and cultural processes embedded in various uses of space and the concomitant constitution of youth identities as well. It is demonstrated that the campus space increasingly takes on an iconographic character in the 1990s and turns out nearly a commodity which is to be rented and marketized as the image of the university. These processes also afford visibility to companies and to the cultural consumption styles that place an emphasis upon the bodily display of tastes. As the space turns out to a medium of exchange of looks, emergent spaces of public display not only expose the students to the display of new tastes, but also afford pleasure and satisfaction derived from looking. The thesis demonstrates that these processes could also inform new forms of symbolic resistance.

KISA ÖZET

Bu tez Türkiye'de yüksek öğrenimin neo-liberal politikalar doğrultusunda yeniden yapılandırılmasına ilişkin tartışmalara bir katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Neo-liberal yapılanma sadece kurumsal değişimlerle sınırlı kalmayıp, aynı zamanda üniversitelerdeki toplumsal mekânı ve gündelik hayat ilişkilerini de dönüştürmektedir. Burada, yüksek öğrenimin yeniden yapılandırılmasına ilişkin güncel tartışmaların, bu tür bir dönüşümün öğrencilerin gündelik hayatındaki yansımalarını kavramsallaştırmayarak sınırlı kaldığı iddia edilmektedir. Üniversiteler ticarileştikçe, hakim toplumsallık biçimleri ve yaşam tarzları da değişmektedir. Gençlik kültürlerinin incelenmesi, ortaya çıkan toplumsallık biçimlerinin ve yaşam tarzlarının, öğrencilerin yeni iktidar ve denetim ilişkilerine uyum sağlamasına nasıl vesile olduğunu açıklayabilir.

Tezin temel konusu Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde 1970'lerden bu yana, gençlik, boş zaman ve mekâna ilişkin değişen kültürel temsillerin izini sürmektir. Bu kültürel temsillerin farklı dönemlerde ortaya çıkan toplumsallık biçimlerinin ve yaşam tarzlarının nasıl önünü açtığını anlamak için 1970'ler kuşağı ile 1990'lar kuşağı arasında karşılaştırma yapılmaktadır. Tezde, bu iki dönemde, gençlik kültürlerinin ana hatlarını biçimlendiren kültürel parçalanma ve gündelik hayatın estetikleşmesi anlatılmaktadır. 1970'lerin gençlik kültürleri tüketim kültürünün ortaya çıkışını sergilemekle birlikte, bu kültürler sınıf kimliklerinin ve anti-emperyalist mücadele doğrultusunda ulusalcılık ve kalkınmacılık sorunların altını çizen bir politik söylem tarafından da belirlenmiştir. Dolayısıyla, 1970'lerin gençlik kültürler aynı zamanda üniversitedeki bireyci kültüre direnen bir karşı-kültür eğilimini de oluşturmaktadır. Aksine, 1990'ların gençlik kültürleri toplumsal kimlikleri daha akışkan hale geldiğini ve kültürün çözüldüğünü göstermektedir. Bu kültürler boş zaman ve tüketim etkinlikleriyle birleşen yeni yaşam tarzları tarafından belirlenmektedir.

Tezde farklı mekân kullanımlarına ve bu kullanımlara eşlik eden gençlik kimliklerinin oluşumuna içkin estetik ve kültürel süreçler de işlenmektedir. Üniversitedeki mekanın 1990'larda giderek ikonografik bir karakter kazandığı, kiralanan ve üniversitenin imgesi olarak pazarlanan bir metaya dönüştüğü gösterilmektedir. Bu süreçler şirketlere ve kültürel tüketim tarzlarına görünürlük kazandırmaktadır. Bu kültürel tüketim tarzları beğenilerin bedensel teşhirini öne çıkarmaktadır. Mekânın karşılıklı bakışların değişildiği bir ortama dönüşmesiyle birlikte, ortaya çıkan gösteri mekânları öğrencileri sadece yeni beğenilerin teşhirine maruz bırakmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda seyretmekten alınan hazzı ve tatmini de sağlamaktadır. Tezde bu süreçlerin aynı zamanda sembolik direniş biçimlerini de şekillendirebileceği gösterilmektedir.

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I. INTRODUCTION

My principal concern in this thesis is to trace the cultural transformation of social space in Boğaziçi University since the 1970s. More specifically, I will compare the 1970s generation -marked by a particular political youth discourse- and the generation of 1990s in order to understand the relations between social space and social identities. I assume that various forms and instances of appropriations of campus space reveal the representations of the space diffused into the everyday life and shed light on the youth identities as they are lived through the campus space. I will elaborate upon the practices of the students underlying the uses of such spaces with respect to the cultural climate of the different decades that fashion the dominant contours of youth culture.

A comparison between the two generations in relation to the transformation of campus space would objectify the cultural processes underlying the intertwining of social and cultural changes in Turkey, and concomitant processes of identity construction and politics as they are manifested and produced through social space. The cultural processes embedded in various uses of space may provide insights into how these processes are articulated with the global flows which penetrate, fragment and transform various domains of social life and how these processes give way to or inhibit the social change. In this perspective, it would be possible to inquire how after the *coup d'etat* of 1980, the social and economic transformation reflected on the campus life and shaped youth culture and identities. I will argue that the aesthetic and cultural processes such as cultural fragmentation and aestheticization of everyday life are influential in shaping the youth cultures since the 1970s. Yet, the decade of the 1970s is culturally split in that although the youth cultures of the 1970s display the early emergence of a consumerist culture, they are

also marked with a political discourse through which the students experience a sense of sympathy and affiliation with leftist politics. Thus, the youth cultures of the 1970s also constituted a counter-cultural tendency, opposing the individualistic and popular culture on the basis nationalistic, anti-imperialistic and developmentalist concerns. On the contrary, the youth cultures of the 1990s point to the fact that social identities become more fluid and culture got fragmented. They are marked by the concentration of signs and images that students appropriate as marks of distinction among the emergent lifestyles and tastes associated with leisure and consumption practices.

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to the discussions on the current neo-liberal restructuring of higher education in Turkish context. . The neo-liberal restructuring not only implies the institutional changes, but also it transforms the social space and the social relations of everyday life. It could be argued that the current theoretical debates concerning the restructuring of higher education remain limited, as they do not tend to conceptualize the implications of such transformation to the everyday life of the students. In the thesis, it is intended to provide a framework that highlights the role of youth cultures in shaping the universities. As universities become more commercial, dominant forms of sociality and lifestyles also change. The inquiry of changing youth cultures could illustrate how the emergent forms of sociality and lifestyles lead the students to adapt themselves to new relations of power and control.

The thesis inherits the basic premises of the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies on youth cultures of the 1970s. While Birmingham School had closely linked the youth cultures and subcultures to class- and age-based cultural formations, the succeeding literature on youth cultures questions and revises this theoretical framework in the light of

the global transformation of capitalism since the 1970s. On the other hand, the latter scholarly debates on youth culture point to a de-centring of youth identities. They assert that the emergent forms of sociality and lifestyles give way to fluid and fragmented identities that blur the conceived boundaries of class and age. While these debates are relevant to the inquiry of the current cultural transformation, they do not recognize, yet, the changing class compositions and forms of class struggle. A secondary contribution of the thesis would be to underline the need to revise the theoretical heritage of Birmingham School and subsequent contributions on youth cultures in the light of the implications of the thesis account. I think my thesis would reveal the aesthetic and cultural processes which mediate the penetration of capital and cultural consumption styles to the campus space and everyday life. Hence, I hope that this thesis account would evoke new questions concerning the elaboration of youth cultures in relation with the changing forms of class struggle.

It is suggested that Boğaziçi University might be an exemplary case to discuss the cultural transformation of universities since the 1970s. Two reasons could be stated. First, it is possible to observe that the university administration, as well as some members of faculty and alumni, is ranked among the leading actors supporting the neo-liberal restructuring of higher education in the post-1980 period. Second, as the university inherited the liberal tradition of the American Robert College, it traditionally cultivates the extra-curricular activities in favour of students. Hence, the uses of leisure time and campus space distinctively contribute to the shaping of youth cultures. The research on the changing forms of youth cultures in Boğaziçi University could provide insights into the inquiry of cultural transformation of universities.

In the following sections, I aim to conceptualize the framework of the research with recourse to literatures on social space and youth culture in order to interpret the implications of these literatures within the context of Boğaziçi University in particular, and in Turkey in general. Finally, I will introduce the outline of the thesis and elaborate on my research strategy.

Space as social product

The scholarly literature on space introduces the importance of space in social analysis. This literature, in general, derives and aspires from the writings of Henri Lefebvre on the analysis of space and, particularly, from his *The Production of Space* (1974). In very general terms, Lefebvre's contribution to the analysis of the social consists of underlining the significance of the space as a social product and as an organic aspect of emerging social relationships. Lefebvre established a sociological foundation for a challenge to the conception of time and space as formal and mental categories. In Lefebvre's words,

> the study of space offers an answer [to the question what the mode of existence of social relationships exactly is] according to which the social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process of producing that space itself (Lefebvre, 1991/1974: 129).

Lefebvre assigns space a decisive role in social reproduction, situating space within the social relations of production, which are to be conceived not necessarily within the narrow framework of economic relations. Thus, the above-cited quotation implies three points. Firstly, that the space is marked by a whole universe of things socially produced; that it is a medium of flows and exchanges of goods and commodities, but also of written and spoken words, signs and symbols. In that sense, it is also a means of production. Secondly, space is socially produced and reproduced as a result of repetitive actions.

Socially produced spaces also imply processes of signification, hence the symbolic realm. Questioning by whom and for what space is appropriated implies the decoding or the reading of an already produced space. However, although the symbolic representation contained in space displays certain social relations, it also conceals them in a symbolic fashion. Then, space produced serves as a tool of thought and action, and a means of control and hence domination/power.

The production of space, for Lefebvre, is the result of the interplay among representations of space, representational spaces and their link with spatial practices. These three realms denote respectively the conceived, the lived and the perceived spaces. Lefebvre conceives the lived space as passively experienced through its associated images and symbols and which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. The representations of space, in turn, refer to the conceptions of space and they serve to impose spatial control by assigning definitions to space. The spatial practices link the intermingling representations of space and representational spaces and imply the appropriation and production of space. Each realm contributes in different ways to the production of space according to the existing mode of production and historical period. Lefebvre's analysis displays the production of social space as part of the development in the forces of production within the framework of urbanization process in the modern history of capitalism. In other words, his analysis, focusing on the rise, the role and the demise of the codifications produced along with the space, is rooted in the history of urbanization as a modern phenomenon of appropriated/dominated space.

Lefebvre's analysis could be apprehended as a theoretical framework to inquire the everyday world of production with its material and symbolic aspects and to elaborate upon

the interaction between the social structure and cultural meanings. His inquiry of space constitutes a methodological contribution as well. Drawing from the contributions of literary theory, he meticulously clarifies the possibilities and the limitations provided by semiotics and semiology in deciphering the social space. Yet, the social space should be distinguished from a text in that the reading of a text excludes the question of power inscribed in the space. Since the space allows and prohibits the gestures, "the 'reading' of space is thus merely a secondary and practically irrelevant upshot, a rather superfluous reward to the individual for blind, spontaneous and lived obedience" (Lefebvre, 1991/1974: 143). Here, Lefebvre reminds us that the space is susceptible to multiple decodings. He critically reflects on the question of readability as he states that the decoding of the space must be revised with respect to the three moments of the space: spatial practices, representations of space and representational space. The codifications are produced along with the space through the interaction of the three realms. Lefebvre rejects treating the formal aspects of the codes, attributing them immediate consciousness; that is, he denies the subject to be the author of the meaning. Hence, the inquiry of space requires the researching on the everyday world of production of meanings. We may also say that his account emphasizes the role of cultural representations as relations of knowledge and power in opening up positions for subjects to take up. While the cultural representations subject the individuals to knowledge/power relations, they also provide the means for individuals to take up, resist and modify these relations. The inquiry of space prompts us to question how different forms of sociality and self are constituted.

Under the influence of Lefebvre's writings, the notion of space as a social product contributed to the significant intellectual and epistemological reorientation in the social

analysis in the 1970s. We may also say that social movements of the late 1960s played an important role in this reorientation in social sciences. During the decade, several analysts retrieved new research questions especially in the aftermath of the 68' movement. Flourishing new identities and new politics had significantly challenged the main premises of social analysis. Social analysis brought forth these new dimensions into a questioning of the notions such as identity and representation, civil society/public sphere, power/domination and new cultural formations which were once out of the sight. Many conceptual tools of analysis, such as subject, identity, power and state was re-elaborated within the context of intellectual and epistemological orientations. These orientations were also accompanied by the appropriation of the notion of culture as a way of life that is constructed and experienced through everyday practices.

The literature on space after the 1970s deals with urban space in general –reflecting on the issues of public space, the question of modernity, the experience of time and space, the aesthetic judgment, etc. Another crucial factor in the development of the literature on space had been the global transformations, particularly the crisis of capital accumulation in the 1970s, and subsequent policy changes in accordance with the post-fordist regime of flexible accumulation which led to growing social segmentation, heterogenization and uneven economic differentiation on a global scale. Accompanying these processes, the significance of space has been revealed and has become more salient in recent decades. Hence, a significant part of the available literature on space focuses on global transformations after the 1970s and their repercussions for the redefinition of urban space.

For instance, Sharon Zukin, in *The Cultures of the City*, elaborates on the transformation of urban spaces and the emergence of new ones in relation to the growth of

the symbolic economy after the 1970s. For Zukin, the symbolic economy implies a growing affinity between capital and culture. With the growth of a composite capital on finance, service and real estate sectors in the 1970s, the cultural symbols enabled by the organization of space provide the capital 'tools' in a sense for the appropriation of urban space and for spatial control which has new inclusion and exclusion mechanisms. Zukin underlines the transformation of public space and culture with respect to the aestheticization of urban life and the city itself. The employment of new architectural and urban designs by financial and real estate capital provides new spatial meanings that support the growth of a public culture based on consumption and marketing activities and a paying 'public'. Spatial control, for instance in the case of theme parks such as Disney World, enhances one such collective image and supports the hegemony of a specific class culture. Hence, Zukin's account underlines the role of capital in the production of the space, while she elaborates the notion of space, in turn, as an acting force in the transformation of public life.

Although Zukin provides a brilliant account of how the aestheticization of social diversity and of fear serves as ways of concealing with the material inequality of urban life, she does not push the social analysis into the realm of everyday practices. She attaches a primary role to capital, disregarding an analysis of how the capital arrives to appropriate produced symbols and signs emanating from the social space. Her analysis does not deal with the tensions and conflicts in everyday life as the growth symbolic economy transforms the urban space and gives way to the emergence of new spaces.

Similarly, David Harvey emphasizes the significance of the cultural and aesthetic processes as well, in relation to their role in the flexible capital accumulation during the

1970's crisis of capital accumulation (Harvey, 1990). For him, the shifts in the experience of time and space as the product of capitalist imperatives to accelerate capital turnover time and to annihilate space by time give way to new modes of representation. Harvey argues that the new struggles in such fields as aesthetic and cultural representation may mirror the fundamental contradictions of capitalist political economy in the post-1970 period. His argument is twofold. While the aesthetic and cultural processes may facilitate the capitalist penetration into all aspects of cultural and political life, new modes of representation could also allow new ways of thinking and new possibilities for social and political action. Harvey indicates here to the role of aesthetic representations emanating from new spatializations that are generated by the compression of time and space. According to him, "if aesthetic judgment gives space priority over time, then it follows that spatial pratices and concepts can become central to social action" (Harvey, 1990: 429).

Finally, Edward Soja, within the context of a Marxist debate[1], proposes a problematic which would valorize the spatial dimension in accordance with the changing dynamics of capitalism, transforming the social domains as arena for realization of value and class struggle (Soja, 1980). He insists that the division of labour is not only social, but also spatial and temporal and that 'flexible' capital accumulation depends on the interregional value transfers which are "obscured from view through the spatiality of uneven development" (Friedland & Boden, 1994: 14).

The sociology of youth cultures

The decade of the 1970s is marked by the research agenda of Birmingham School of Cultural Studies on youth cultures and subcultures. This school advocates sophisticated

studies that underline the notion of culture as the experiencing, construing and interpreting of the social relations at the everyday level. The available literature, in general, consists of a class- and age-based analysis, differentiating between the concepts of subculture related to the working class and of counter-culture related to the middle class (Clarke, et al., 1993). Birmingham School has a specific focus on the new forms of resistance and cultural formations that fashioned the dominant contours of youth cultures during the '68 youth movement. The school had a decisive theoretical influence on the latter waves of cultural studies on youth cultures.

A bundle of scholarly works on cultural studies of youth cultures re-apprehended and revised the theoretical heritage of Birmingham School of the 1970s. These works underline the agency of youth and identity emerging in new cultural formations with respect to global capitalism (Bucholtz, 2002). With the attempt to overcome the theoretical confines of a class-based definition of youth culture, this literature affirms the differentiation of social identities and the cultural processes of subjectivation with specific reference to race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. For instance, McRobbie acknowledges the contribution of recent works of cultural studies in the postmodern era (McRobbie, 1994a). These works focus on the fragile and hybrid character of social identities and provide space for an analysis that strives to overcome the divide between lived experience and the texts and representational forms. They commonly argue that the global flows and the concentration of signs and images increasingly inform the youth subcultures, pointing out the significance of symbolization processes in the constitution of youth identities

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[1] Soja criticizes those approaches in which the notion of space is either regarded as a separate structure with its own autonomous laws or as the simple expression of the class structure emerging from the social relations of the production.

around new configurations of race, ethnicity and gender. Finally, they indicate to the emergent youth subcultures as site of symbolic resistance.

The return to the cultural studies in works of youth cultures allows for the elaboration of the cultural practices of youth as oppositional practices that are not necessarily framed within a limited conception of resistance against structural-economic confines. In this respect, the recent works of youth cultures provide insights into a larger framework of changing identities and politics. Nevertheless, these works focus on the analysis of contemporary youth subcultures that are informed by new struggles in such fields as aesthetic and cultural representations. They do not relate these new cultural and social tensions with the emergent contradictions of capitalism in the aftermath of 1970's crisis. Hence, the 'postmodern' successors of the theoretical heritage of Birmingham School on youth cultures and subcultures partially revise the theoretical confines of the school. They disregard the fact that Birmingham School has focused on the evolution of youth subcultures and counter-cultures within the context of '68 movement as a new wave of class struggle. They simultaneously ignore the representations of youth cultures as part of a larger debate of power, ideology and politics under the neo-liberal rule. The neo-liberal discourse advocates for the disappearance of classes and class struggle as form of social conflict in this new global era. Consequently, we may argue that the theoretical legacy of Birmingham School should be revised in the light of the new conditions of global capitalism. One should pay attention to the new cultural and aesthetic processes that fashion the dominant contours of youth cultures as fluid identities and active stylizations of life. But, the link between the theoretical legacy of Birmingham School and forms of class struggle should be re-established as well.

Apart from cultural studies, there has been a growing literature on youth culture since the 1970s which is marked by a 'youth as trouble' paradigm representing the youth as troubled or troubling (Griffin, 2001). As Griffin argues, this literature focuses on the youth problems confronted by the uncertainties brought by social changes with respect to employment opportunities and family relations. It mainly concentrates on youth problems such as teenage pregnancy or drug addiction.

The global transformation after 1970s has promoted the conditions of possibility for questioning the 'youth as trouble' paradigm and for differentiation in studies of youth culture. The studies focusing the youth culture in the 1980s bring forward the changing forms of socialization and problematize them framing the youth question in a pessimistic approach within the context of cultural fragmentation (Roberts, 2002; Baethge, 2002). These studies question the rise of an individualistic culture and the degradation of social participation in public life. Nevertheless, as Cohen argues, the literature on youth culture dating back to the early 1980s also contributed to the study of youth cultures by pointing at the representation crisis concerning youth identities and problematizing how to apprehend the youth question (Cohen, 1997).

The growing scholarly literature directed to the analyses of the global transformation after the 1970s had diffused to the literature on youth culture and had given rise to the notion of a 'global youth culture' reflecting the potentialities generated by the innovative capacity of capital in technology and information systems. For instance, Camaroff and Camaroff problematize the rise of a global youth culture that posits the youth both as a signifier of exclusion and an exploitable market or reservoir of consumers (Camaroff&Camaroff, 2000). Laegran gives an optimistic account on how technology and

social interaction intersect in constituting the technospaces within context of the internet cafes in rural spaces in Norway (Laegran, 2002).

There are examples indicating the limitations of cultural and classical studies on youth culture as well. For instance, Giroux makes an immanent critique of cultural studies by pointing to the limitations of aesthetic and textual criticisms (Giroux, 1998). He suggests that the new representational politics of youth appropriating the aesthetic and textual criticisms increasingly commodify and discipline the young bodies. Giroux advocates for combining the politics with an ethical pedagogy of representations. The radical studies of youth culture question the notion of 'global youth culture' and the possibility that locally distinct youth groups can ever be totally divorced from the processes of globalization (Griffin, 2001). There are limited studies on youth cultures within the context of higher education. For instance, Moffatt criticizes the existing researches on changing American higher education for not recognizing the decisive role of youth cultures in shaping the institutions. He points out the significance of leisure time in college culture, revealing the autonomy of the 'outside-the-classroom' college as the students experience it (Moffatt, 1991).

Moreover, some studies concentrate on the limitations of works on youth subcultures and symbolic resistance. For instance, Wright focuses on the counter-cultural social centres established by the Italian squatting movement and asserts the resistance of youth that combines the political and cultural claims and differs from the symbolic resistance that cultural scholars have described (Wright, 2000). These debates point at the limitations of some approaches that read everywhere the youth practices as resistance,

regardless of the context[2]. They also indicate the different meanings signified by the concept of resistance and that the analyst should discuss the particular contexts that give way to different forms of resistance. More importantly, they indicate a different form of resistance that differs from the symbolic resistance that cultural scholars have described. For instance, Wright's discussion of counter-cultural social centres exemplifies how rap culture could be appropriated within the context of overt political action, rather than symbolic resistance (Bucholtz, 2002).

Research question and framework

The intersection of the literatures on space and youth culture would provide a research framework for questioning how different forms of uses of space contribute to the construction of a sense of self and identity in youth cultures. I will elaborate upon the questions asserted by Richard Sennett in order to develop this point. Sennett underlines in *The Fall of the Public Man* (1992) how public life turns out to be a spectacle, a kind of voyeurism, decreasing the social participation and transforming the forms of sociability with the historical evolution of capitalism. He gives a historical account of how the superimposition of public and private imageries with the formation of a new capitalist, secular and urban culture mystifies and privatizes the public life. He argues that the notion of intimacy is displaced so that it starts to act on the public realm by simply denying that the public exists. In *The Corrosion of the Character* (1998) he problematizes how the new flexible capitalism, due to an experience of disjointed time, erodes the ethical values individuals place on their desires and on their relations to others.

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[2] For example, see McRobbie's discussion of changing modes of femininity (McRobbie, 1994b). According to McRobbie, her inquiry of the magazines and music produced by teenage girls and the way they buy and sell clothes reveals an alternative cultural practice with respect to the popular representations of femininity aimed at teenage consumers.

Interpreted within the context of this thesis, Sennett leads me to think about the social interaction and the forms of sociability in relation with the transformation of the space: How does campus space act on our subjectivities and how do we react? How are the ethical values carried through our social relations transformed and how do the aesthetic and cultural processes intervene?

I think that the conceptual frameworks and questions in this overview of the literature on space and youth cultures give us important insights about understanding the social change after the 1970s in Turkey. To reframe these literatures within a Turkish context, the post-1970 period is characterized by an uneven penetration of global flows, which fragment and differentiate social life[3]. The *coup d'etat* of 1980 assured the transition to a differentiated consumption society. While lifestyles started to differentiate spatially, the new urban spaces contributed to the reinterpretation of cultural identities at the level of everyday life through the mediation of market (Yenal, 2003). Cultural transformation in Turkey has broken the repressive power of the cultural identities led by modernist thought. Yet, cultural pluralization or fragmentation accompanies the aestheticization of everyday life and reinforces the detachment of images and symbols from their social and historical context, liquidating the collective memory (Gürbilek, 2001).

There are few studies on youth within the Turkish context relating it with culture and identity (Neyzi, 2001). Among them, Leyla Neyzi appropriates Şerif Mardin's works in her discussion of the construction of the youth in hegemonic discourses. She proposes to elaborate the construction of youth in Turkish context within a wider frame of age, lifecycle

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[3] There is a growing literature on the globalization and cultural transformation in Turkish context. I will mention an illustrative example of it underlining the urban space. Keyder (1999a) emphasizes the implications of the globalization and cultural transformation on the social texture and the emergence of new social and

and generation by contrasting her framework to what she refers as studies of age-based youth subcultures. According to Neyzi, the post-1980 period constitutes a rupture from the modernist discourse on youth and it hosts the emergence of a global youth culture. While Neyzi relies on the available classical literature on youth studies into Turkish context by emphasizing the role of generational identities and age culture, she neglects the relevance of Birmingham School. As she frame the works of Birmingham School as studies of age-based youth subcultures, her account is misleading for the fact that she does not recognize the class attributes of youth cultures that the school has described. Her account of the 1970s, furthermore, disregards the youth counter-cultures emerged within the context of political opposition of the 60s and the 1970s in Turkey.

Apart from the documentary and biographical narratives of the political climate of the 1970s, a number of observations on subsequent youth generations of 1970s and 1980s are available. For instance, Gürbilek and Erdem focus on the cultural dynamics underlining the youth generations of the 1970s and 1980s. Gürbilek discusses how the two generations have acquired their distinctive subjective formations despite the substantial continuities of the cultural dynamics between the two subsequent decades (Gürbilek, 1999). Gürbilek also underlines the cultural splits of the decade of 1970s and asks us not to conceive this decade as a cohesive unity. Erdem underlines how the identity of the youth generation of the 1980s have been shaped through the global transformations of post-1970 period and the reactions of the generation of the 1970s to these changes as well (Erdem, 1999). Lastly, Tura asserts how the generation of '68 has acquired its connotations in the different cultural and

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cultural tensions. Navaro-Yaşın (1999) and Öncü (1999) discuss how cultural identities become fluid as they are defined and redefined with respect to the changing notions of locality.

political climate of the 1980s and questions why the decade of 1970s does not constitute a meaningful totality in the social imaginary of the 1970s political generation (Tura, 1999).

In the thesis, I will try to interpret these conceptual frameworks and questions upon the research on the cultural transformation of Boğaziçi University. I suggest that this attempt would bring an opening and a different viewpoint in dealing with the analysis of the social and cultural transformation of the campus life. Existing arguments and debates in Turkey on universities and campus life within the academic medium problematize essentially the decrease of the state budget allocated to higher education or the central, bureaucratic and hierarchical governance. In fact, they refer either to a nostalgic and ahistorical notion of social (welfare) state or to an unproblematized notion of the 'public'.

They depict universities as the public sphere which is to be democratized with respect to the colonizing force of the capital and the state. Thus, they revolve upon the distinction between political and social realms, remaining within the modernist discourse. The modernist thinking is characterized by the main assumption that the social reality exists independently from the subjectivity and its knowledge could be objectively attained. It excludes the possibility that every account of reality is actually a narrative and an attempt to make sense of it, through which we construct a discourse on reality. Such a viewpoint does not reflect on itself and questions the position taken. The social analyst does not question how s/he constructs its research subject and how this subjectivity acts on reality.

Nonetheless, I will mention the arguments and debates on the structural changes of higher education in Turkey in order to give the background of the transformation of the campus space of Boğaziçi University. A number of scholars refer to the neoliberal policies within the global context in order to frame the transformation of higher education in

Turkey. Ercan underlines the escalating competition between individual capitals in the aftermath of the crisis of capital accumulation in 1970s and the transformation of educational realm through the uneven penetration of capital (Ercan, 2001). The commercialization of education differentiates between the universities, forcing them to behave as market actors.

The scholarly debates question how the social functions of the university have been subject to market-based demands and the learning processes start to be shaped through the incorporation of knowledge to the logic of the market as an economic input (Tekin, 2003). Özuğurlu traces the history of the establishment of the private higher education institutions back to mid-1960s as they breached the public education system. He discusses how Turkish private universities, though identified as non-profit foundation universities, transformed the education system into a commercial business as they are reopened after the *coup d'etat* of 1980 (Özuğurlu, 2003).

The existing governments had excused the establishment of the private higher education institutions in the mid-1960s as a response to the overwhelming demand of higher education due to the increase in number of lycee graduates. With the decision of the Supreme Court and General Assembly in 1971, these schools, including Robert College, had been closed and most of them had been transferred into the existing state higher institutions depending on their regions (Şenatalar, 1999). The diversity of the existing institutions of higher education had been brought into a uniform organization under the governance of the Council of Higher Education (*Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu*) and The Council of University Supervision (*Üniversite Denetleme Kurulu*) with the Act numbered 1750 in 1973. The Council of Higher Education had reflected to a limited extent the *coup d'etat* of

1971 and had been a prototype of the existing Council of Higher Education (YÖK) established in 1981 and included in the Constitution of 1982 (Türkcan, 1999). As a matter of fact, the social discontent had lead to the abolishment of the articles regulating the Council by the Supreme Court in 1975 with the application of Republican People Party and Ankara University. It may be argued that the political climate of the decades of the 60s and 1970s had been an influential force at the background in this period raising the anti-imperialist –and subsequently, anti-fascist- demand for independence and democracy.

A significant factor in assuring the implementation of neoliberal policies in the educational realm was the establishment of Council of Higher Education (YÖK) in 1981. With the emergency law of 1402 and security clearances instituted by the military regime, many members of the instructional staff were purged from the universities and the opposition of the academic world was oppressed. Throughout the 1990s, the contribution fees payed by students increased, the subsidies granted by university administration to social facilities decreased and the precarious employment was institutionalized in universities. The social opposition rising at the mid-1990s has mainly targeted these problems and reacted to the central and hierarchical governance of the universities. Parallel to the scholar debates, the radical opposition to the implementation of neoliberal policies tends to be expressed as a ruthless criticism of the transformation of the universities into corporate institutions and additionally, as a constant resistance against the state oppression targeting the social opposition. Lastly, a distinctive trait of the existing debates on universities and campus life since the mid-1990s has stemmed from the purge of instructional staff known as Islamist and the ban of headscarf after the declaration of National Security Council at 28th of February.

Research methodology

In concern with the research question, I argue that the cultural pluralization and the aestheticization of everyday life within the context of Boğaziçi University are significant especially in the post-1980 period. These processes transform social identities into liquid, floating ones and give way to new lifestyles associated with leisure and consumption practices. The subjectivating process operates in relation to the production of social space. While, the social space is significant in constructing the social identities, being student of Boğaziçi University implies differential meanings in the light of comparison between the generations of the 1970s and 1990s. These identities, I suggest, are bodily experienced in everyday life as well, through the various uses of space.

The chapters of the thesis are guided by a problematic of resistance within the context of cultural transformation bringing new power relations. The students clubs, for instance, are both sites of emergent leisure and consumption practices that make companies visible in the campus space and of symbolic forms of resistance. They are conceived by the university administration as a mark of the quality of education since Robert College. Yet, it is the post-1980 period in which the student clubs came to be marked as representing the students, narrowing the realm for genuine and radical alternatives going beyond the question of representation (who will represent whom?). Examples such as the demonstrations and activities –including leaving sculptures on the middle area of south campus- during the war on Iraq have probably contributed to it. What is the meaning ascribed to the student clubs and how it is emerged and transformed over time would be a valuable question.

Nevertheless, such examples may be illustrative for alternative appropriations of space which the imagination seeks to change. The Art Festival organized by student clubs

concerned with branches of art repeated for 12 years is among such examples. We see a photograph exhibition on the road, for instance, that we pass on everyday and normally, we never witness it. What does it signify for those who see it? Does it make any sense to them or constitute a genuine sense of difference? To put it differently, can we talk of a difference that goes beyond the confines of the logic of capital in the midst of diversity and plurality led by the campus space in the 1990s? Can we talk about it as an alternative practice which seeks to interpret, construe and transform the meanings emanating from space? Can we elaborate these practices within the context of a subculture? Or if these practices still reproduce the hegemonic relations, how will we posit their genuineness or difference?

The subsequent chapters will be respectively devoted to the research on the cultural representations of youth generation, leisure time and space. In Chapter II, it will be inquired how various uses of places give definition to the campus space and influence the constitution of generational identities in relation with the dominant representations of youth. This chapter also introduces a background of the spatial transformation since the 1970s, as it gives an account of the history of Boğaziçi University, beginning with the conversion of Robert College to university in the late 60s. Chapter III gives an account of the changing meanings of leisure time within the context of student clubs, with particular reference to the folklore and sports clubs. This chapter introduces the changing forms of resistance since the 1970s and emergent leisure lifestyles in the post-1980 period. Finally, Chapter IV has a specific focus on the role of representations of space in the 1990s, contributing to the spectacularization of the campus space. Within the context of the middle field, this chapter will inquire how the spectacularization of space affords visibility to bodily display and fashion.

All chapters elaborate the themes upon a comparison between the generation of the 1970s and the 1990s. The decade of 1970s is characterized by a transition between the generation of 68 and of 78, which are different political identities. In the case of Boğaziçi University, as I interviewed graduates of Boğaziçi University who studied in the decade of 1970s, the period after the mid-1970s is qualitatively different in contrast to early 1970s. I interviewed graduates of Robert College and scholars, and reviewed the records in order to trace the continuity of campus life inherited by the university and to detect the influences of the social imaginaries derived from the campus life of Robert College.

The *coup d'etat* of 1980 and the establishment of the Council of Higher Education in 1983 transforms the climate of campus life significantly. Besides, it is the period when the new buildings are constructed in the south campus and the north campus is being constructed. Most of the buildings are completed in this period (Kuran, 2002). I interviewed graduates who studied in the decade of 1980s and scholars in order to reflect on the 1980s. Additionally, I consulted the student records and the periodicals issued by the university administration and graduates' association (BÜMED).

I visited the administrative unit responsible for the building affairs which carried out the renovation and construction plans in Boğaziçi University. This unit was established in mid-1970s (Kuran, 2002). I made interviews with some members of the unit and investigated the plans. I think that their account give us a sense about how the campus space was represented in the official documents.

I conducted interviews with students of the 1970s in order to detect various forms of appropriation of space, whether some spaces were significant in the making of gender relations visible, in the operation of inclusion-exclusion mechanisms, in constructing

various meanings of being a student in Boğaziçi University, what the geographical remoteness to the city and to the neighborhood Hisarüstü had meant and how the campus space had represented the 'outside'… I try to bridge the gap of observation on everyday practices, by interviewing the scholars and key figures such as of the principals of dormitories and the principal of student affairs, in order to get an impression about the social relations carried out in campus life.

Finally, I focus on today's campus life by conducting interviews with some students who are currently enrolled in Boğaziçi University. In these interviews, I ask about different uses of campus space and leisure time. They help me to account for the critique to hegemonic representations and meanings and to what extent these elements could be elaborated as clues within a problematic of counter-culture. I also consult the written materials published or reproduced by the students including internet documents, periodicals, leaflets, and signboards in order to trace the transformation of youth cultures. Needless to say, being an M.A. student in Boğaziçi University, I found the chance to directly observe the student activities in the campus space. Moreover, as I studied as an undergraduate student between 1994-2000, my experiences retrieved from the participant observation since the mid-1990s contribute to the examination of the cultural transformation of the campus space in the last years.

I talked a total number of 26 interviewees, including a focus group discussion of five graduates. 21 interviewees were students of Robert College and Boğaziçi University at different periods. These interviews were unstructured conversations of approximately one hour. Among them, 15 were recorded.

II. TRANSFORMATION OF CAMPUS SPACE AND REPRESENTATIONS OF YOUTH GENERATION

The transformation of the university had given new definition to the lived spaces of the students in the campus. The uses of space attribute specific meanings to the places which are taken up by the students and transformed since the 1970s. They point at the forms of sociality, as the uses of campus space are socially defined in relation to students' needs, orientations and pleasures. The lived spaces are also determined by the representations of youth. Although the lived spaces are the realms of multiple transactions, they are put into the use of the incoming students beforehand and allocated for specific purposes.

I will portray the transformation of the university since the 1970s by the help of the changing definitions of lived spaces and representations of youth cultures. While the youth cultures would be inquired more detailedly in subsequent chapters, the transformation of lived space would account for the cultural construction of youth generations. Firstly, I will discuss the conversion of Robert College into Boğaziçi University that signified a politicization process for the generation of the 1970s. I will demonstrate that this generation took up different meanings passed down by the College and reframed within the 1970s as well. Finally, I will review the changes underlying the campus space in the post-1980 period. I will try to describe how the spaces acquired new definitions and give an account of the new produced spaces. This chapter will be a descriptive account of the transformation of campus space in order to provide a background for the examination of changing meanings of leisure and space, and their implications to the investigation of youth cultures in subsequent chapters.

The conversion of Robert College to Boğaziçi University

It may be argued that the history of Boğaziçi University dates back to the 1950s which witnessed the liberal policies of Democrat Party government concerning the higher education. It is in this decade that the transformation of Robert College into an institution of higher education had been put on the official agenda for the first time. According to Keith Greenwood, as he wrote in his article "A Brief History of Robert College", the college had its reputation in Turkish circles in the early 1950s as its graduates were universally recognized as social and economic elites of the country (Greenwood, 1963). In the mid-1950s, the American Board of Trustees consulted with the government to transform the reputed college into a university (Toprak, 2003). As the issue had been publicly debated and reacted, the then government of Democrat Party that had a bright view of the proposal did not allow to the establishment of an American university. The objective of Robert College to step up to a university was attacked especially by academic circles, which regarded the proposal as incompatible with Lausanne treaty[4]. Instead, the reputation of the college, along with the adopted policies of Democrat Party, led the college to succeed its project to step up to an academy (*yüksek okul*) in 1957 and to start enrolling students in 1959[5]. With the establishment of academy, it turned out that the education of Robert College in three divisions had been officially recognized as higher education. As a graduate of the college (E.T.) who studied at 1966-1970 suggests, it had been converted into a university with three faculties.

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[4] As Zafer Toprak states, the leading scholars had argued that permitting the establishment of a foreign university in an independent country would violate Lausanne treaty that had abolished the concessions granted to foreign countries. For them, approbating a foreign university implied the acknowledgment of giving a concession to foreign countries (Toprak, 2003).

[5] Until the foundation of Boğaziçi University, the lycee part of Robert College continued to serve in the Bebek (South) campus until as it had been transferred to its actual location in Arnavutköy.

Nevertheless, the Trustees continued to discuss the future of the college that had become a case in point in the 50s. A number of commentators indicate to different reasons. It could be nonetheless argued that the college had outlived its original mission and usefulness with the foundation of the Republic and it became immersed in financial constraints. In addition, the political climate of the 60s that promoted the anti-imperialist struggle weakened the public legitimacy of the American college. The discussion concerning the future of the college became an issue of public controversy, as it came to light in the late 1960s. The issue was also complicated due to the growing social opposition against the privatization of higher education in the mid-1960s. The private institutions of higher education on pharmaceutics, dentistry and engineering increased throughout the decade[6]. The march to Ankara against the private schools, organized by student opposition in November 1967 constituted a turning point that made the student opposition to leap up as well[7]. Students were demanding the socialization of these schools.

Due to the growing social opposition, Nihat Erim's government decided to close down these schools, including Robert College. At the time period, the college was already declared as immersed in financial burdens and the American board of trustees was discussing the future of the college. In the late 1960s, the future of the college was an ambivalent issue; whether to close down the academy (*yüksek okul*) part and if not, whether to transfer the academy part to Arnavutköy campus where the American College for Girls was located, remained undecided for a short period.

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[6] According to Şenatalar, the number of students enrolled in the private academies was quite higher than those enrolled in state academies and university concerning the same branches (Şenatalar, 1999).

[7] According to Harun Karadeniz, a prominent figure of '68 student movement, the march against private schools had a particular importance in the publicization of the student movement. The campaign put the issue in the agenda of the students in the leading universities (Karadeniz, 1995).

With the decade of 1960s, almost all universities in the country were seized by boycotts and occupations. The student opposition continued to radicalize its demands and to associate itself explicitly with socialist/communist ideas. Left-wing publications proliferated in the mid-1960s. We see the reflections of this process in Boğaziçi University as well.

While the opposition continued to grow up, as John Freely reports in *A History of Robert College*, the political opposition seizing the universities was felt in the campus as well (Freely, 2000). For instance, one of the visits of the American fleet illustrates how the public reaction to American imperialism may easily spread in the campus and influence the campus life. As E.T. narrates, the students reacted to the announcement inviting and offering facility for the female students of the college to join the party with American soldiers at a craft. The announcement was hung on the boards at the entrance of Hamlin Hall that was a pivotal location to get across at the students since the spacious building accommodated the dining halls of the students and the faculty, the offices of the deanery of student affairs and men's dormitory. Eventually, the party was cancelled due to protests.

The student reaction was so influential that social committee of the students stopped organizing the usual parties arranged in the Red Hall (today, Özger Arnas Hall)[8]. The Red Hall was frequented as a study hall or as a place to commune owing to the comfortable red chairs. A few graduates of Boğaziçi University whom I interviewed see the hall as a decent place for intimate talks or for couples to enjoy themselves. The hall was also used for unceremonious dance parties organized by social committee and where participants brought

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[8] Social committee is a student body similar to clubs. Yet, unlike the clubs that register members and have an executive committee, a committee is equal to the executive committee of a club. It does not register members. The students elect the members of social committee among the nominees who are voluntary to work. Social committee functions as the organizer of social activities that knit the students together.

their own records and decided to play. With the establishment of Boğaziçi University, social committee with renewed members would give an end to the interruption and start the parties at the most frequented canteen, known by the name of its operator as Kazım's place (today, named as "middle canteen", or "left canteen"). Some interviewees mention the canteen as a discotheque in reference to the dance parties.

The Robert College Student Union had an organized effort in the late 1960s to voice the issues concerning student life and to foster an intellectual medium along with the students clubs. Those who worked in the union were mostly the committed students of left-wing orientation[9]. The subgroups of the Student Union were contributing to foster critical debates and a political and intellectual medium. For instance, the subgroup called "symposium" (*şölen*) used to carry academic debates every sunday on specific subjects over years. Another subgroup used to call up books from storehouses in order to meet the needed resources at a low price. A subgroup of research used to conduct surveys on the social issues debated on the public agenda[10].

The Union used to participate in the general meeting of the faculty with a representative who has a voice in the meetings without the vote. It used to partake in the committee, which received the applicants who want to study at Robert College, as an equal member. It moved its proposals on examination to the administration on the prices of the

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[9] The student unions were legally recognized by the 1960 Constitution as the student bodies of the universities. The amendments in the law regulating the higher education permitted two student representatives to instruct on the subjects concerning the students (Şenatalar, 1999). The interviewee E.T. who worked in the union in late 60s tells that the members of the union board were socialists, while social democrats won the election in the academic year 1970-71.

[10] In the light of the interview with E. T., an example would be the survey conducted by the students of Robert College in the late 1960s. The survey investigated the people's attitudes with regard to the European Economic Community (EEC). The leading sociologists and intellectuals Muzaffer and Oya (Baydar) Sencer who were then faculty members in Istanbul University contributed to the survey by helping to frame research questions. The students of Robert College carried out the survey in collaboration with the students of İstanbul University and İTÜ.

meals at the dining hall or the heating problems. Besides, students were organized in the unions of faculties. For instance, the concern of the student union of administrative sciences could be the establishment of the course schedule by suggesting and reporting on new courses as well.

Hence, the activity of the student body rendered the Student Union an effective organ to reach the students and to carry the students' demands to the administration. The usual means to set an issue was the forum gathering the students at the Albert Long Hall (Great Assembly Hall or BTS) with the call of the union as the union could get permission from the administration to use the hall. The union could get even the support of the administration, for instance, to announce to the instructors and employees separately the meetings aimed at explaining the motives of a boycott decision on the grounds of the visit of the American fleet.

The debates on the future of the college involved many actors taking sides including the American board of trustees, the Turkish government, the boards of Robert College and American College for Girls, the students, the faculty and the alumni of the Robert College. The students militantly intervened in the debates. The college campus witnessed a series of boycotts and tensions between the students and the school administration during the time period 1969-1971. The uncertainty concerning the future of the college had persisted over the two-years period. The students strived to follow the process as the student representatives attended the general meetings where the school administration informed the faculty about the conjuncture. The college administration tended to close down the academy part of the college. The majority of students were supporting the preservation of the academy and its transfer to the state. Although the college administration tended to

transfer the college at last, it simultaneously came up with keeping the campus for the academy part and allocate Arnavutköy campus to new university. Subsequently, the students opposed to Arnavutköy campus.

The faculty and the alumni of the college, on the other hand, exposed conflictual reactions. Some arguments revolved upon an image of Robert College paired with the historical buildings and campus space. The letter of a graduate written to the American Trustees in order to request not to transform the College into a university is an illustrative example:

> For six years I was a student in Robert College (Class of 1933). I assure you I am not submitting this plea merely for sentimental reasons.
> Robert College is a mighty monument built and raised by devoted, dedicated men. Dr. Hamlin, Dr. Washburn, Dr. Gates, Dr. Hungtington, Dr. Fisher and many. Many others were educators with insight. They chose to stress character formation.
> ...
> I earnestly and urgently entreat you to reconsider the comparative merits of a university status, which will destroy Robert College on its own historical campus, keeping up its worthy traditions. To relinquish the Robert College campus and all that it stands for is the betrayal of an invaluable trust. (quoted in Freely, 2000: 177-78)

Similarly, the argument of the school administration in favour of moving the academy to Arnavutköy underlined the significance of this imagery. I will exemplify the case by a long quotation:

> The long-awaited announcement was to the effect that if the Ministry of Education approved the merger of the two lises, the American College for Girls would move to the Robert College campus in September 1971. The Yüksek [academy part of Robert College] would then take over the Arnavutköy campus. Engineering and science students would be bussed to Bebek for laboratories in Perkins Hall. This announcement was received by the faculty with mixed feelings, by the student representatives with undisguised hostility. The argument in favor of the College retaining the Bebek campus was that it had the longer tradition. Cyrus Hamlin, the founder and the first president, had labored with his own hands to build

Hamlin Hall. Was it for the current generation to give it away? The Bebek campus had been used by Robert College since May, 1871: the Arnavutköy campus by the Girls' College only since May, 1914. The full impact of the announcement was to come later. The first reaction appeared in red paint on the sidewalk just outside the Library and Gates Hall, proclaiming – 'Fascist Everton' [the president of Robert College]. (quoted in Freely, 2000: 180)

The student opposition developed its resistance against the College administration. As President Everton admitted, "much of the discussion … also challenged the authority of the Trustees; basically students, faculty and alumni want[ed] a larger voice in decision making" (quoted in Freely, 2000: 181). The students were claiming their right to decide the future of the college by attacking this imagery. They pulled down the oil-paintings of the founders hung on the wall, they teared out the dedicatory plaques, they knocked off the bust of Cyrus Hamlin. Slogans written by oil-painting appeared in the entrances of the buildings. Their demands also comprised the resignation of Everton or renaming of the buildings.

A series of forums, boycotts and demonstrations, including a forum resolving an eleven-day boycott, the march and street demonstrations in Istanbul and Ankara, also accompanied by a few cases of clashes between social democrats and revolutionists encouraged the administration to take the disciplinary measures. The administration tried to remedy by calling the police in some cases and suspending the school, sometimes for weeks. The subversive actions of the students endangered the hope that the U.S. Congress would allocate fund for the American Colleges (the two lycees). In reference to the inquietude of the American Board of Trustees, President Everton replied on December 8, 1970,

> … I have no intention of resigning and do not regard the request as representing the position of a majority of the students but rather of an extremist segment who are strongly anti-American and equally strongly nationalist. As Demirel [the prime minister] pointed out to us, they are really against the Government as well as against the Americans… Thank you for

your strong assurances of support and we will indeed let you know if we feel there are any practical ways in which the Trustees as a whole can contribute to the solution of the very complex problems which we face locally on the campus. (quoted in Freely, 2000: 185).

Among the faculty and alumni, minor –with respect to the reactions of students- and yet strong resistance against the move to Arnavutköy was developed as well. The situation was complicated as Nihat Erim government decided to close down all the private institutions of higher education including Robert College. Many hoped that Robert College would not be considered in the same status with the private academies that were not qualified and old-established. Yet, the expectations failed as it followed on that the decision included the college as well.

Fortunately, the government was not rigid in the decision. The minister of education Şinasi Orel who was acquainted with Robert College as he had studied at the college in the late 1940s was prepared to preserve the college as a university. As the then vice president of the college Abdullah Kuran narrates, Şinasi Orel expressed to him his desire that the qualified education of the college should be endured under the body of a university oriented to post-graduate programs (Kuran, 2002). Yet, the government was insistent on the allocation of Bebek campus to Boğaziçi University, in contrast to the demand of the college to keep Bebek campus for the lycee. The controversy on the future of the college came to an end as Robert College signed a protocol with Şinasi Orel on May 18, 1971 and a special law establishing Boğaziçi University passed the Assembly in 1971. The university started to enrol students by the academic year 1971-72.

The conversion of Robert College into Boğaziçi University became a political controversy in the 1960s under the influence of student opposition against the privatization of academies. Concerning the future of the college, the students of Robert College

participated and took side in the discussions as part of a larger debate carried out by the student opposition of the 1960s. They opposed to the decisions of the American administration on the basis of anti-imperialistic concerns. Thus, the controversy on the future of the college mediated the politicization of the students of Robert College in the late 1960s and passed down a sense of affiliation with leftist politics to the generation of the 1970s. The main concerns of the student opposition of the 1960s were influential in the subsequent decade as well. The dominant political discourse of the 1970s implied the continuity with the nationalistic and developmentalist paradigm of the 1960s as it underlined the anti-imperialist –and anti-fascist- demand of democracy and independence.

The lived spaces in the 1970s

Apart from the students, the faculty and the alumni who took part in the debates on the future of the College and who advocated for its conversion to a university in its old campus, laid claim to an old-established institution and its qualifications. The newly established Boğaziçi University undertook the physical adjustments in the campus space in order to accommodate a university on the basis of the experience of the College. The university inherited not only the old campus space and buildings to accommodate a new institution, but also the meanings embedded in the space. The student opposition had impressed the subsequent youth generation as it handed down its 'rituals'. For instance, the student forums held by the union transmitted an apprehension of politics and a conduct of political discussion. As the account of the conversion period demonstrates, it left its evidence on the space, though by clearing off the symbols associated with the American college. As the inquiry on the symbolic processes inscribed on the space reveals, new forms of social relations does not annihilate the space of the previous order, but they "change it into a space superimposed by new symbols" (Baykal, 2000). The transformation gave way

to a significant break with the College and transformed the definition and meanings of the places in the campus space. It brought about the emergence of new spaces as well. For these reasons, the years that staged the future of college as an issue of public controversy are "the omitted history of Boğaziçi University in the 1970s that we ought to uncover", as the founder president Abdullah Kuran explains in reference to his motivation to write his memoire (Kuran, 2002).

Abdullah Kuran took over the charge of founder president. In his memoire, he claims his mission in a developmentalist language to transform the new university into an effective tool to serve the country's development in every aspect. Kuran remained in charge till 1979. As is noted in the minutes of the meeting of the general faculty on October 14, 1971, the university initiated the first academic year with an eye toward the future:

> We are all asking, "Where are we going?" and Mr. Kuran believe that the future is quite bright. The major problem is financing: we cannot depend solely on the Turkish government, which will provide the most secure portion of our needs, but to achieve the sort of university we envision, with a large proportion of the student body in graduate studies, we shall need external funding... The first stage of this work is to collect ideas from the Faculty on educational objectives, departments, schools, proposals for extension and expansion[11].

The early 1970s witnessed changes in order to accommodate the new university in the old campus. The renovation projects aimed at structuring the old buildings in accordance with the needs of university education. Kennedy Lodge, which was the location of the presidency of the college, had been converted to a social facility for the faculty. Theodorus Hall, once dormitory and classroom for the Robert College Preparatory Department, had been converted to girls' dormitory. Anderson Hall and Washburn Hall

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[11] in Kuran, 2002: 108-111.

were readjusted, respectively, as the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (TB) and the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences (İB).

Alongside with the renovation projects, new buildings were erected in order to accommodate new courses and facilities. The computer center and the preparatory school were completed in the mid-1970s. The programs and courses were regulated and new programs of education and engineering were planned. The North Campus and new buildings, which were erected in the 1980s, were projected at this time period under the administration of founder rector Abdullah Kuran as well. During the decade of the 1970s, not only there had campus space been physically crowded but also the number of students, which counted 1015 in the academic year of 1971-72, had risen to 3354 in the academic year of 1979-80.[12]

The military *coup* of 1971 targeting the leftists and intellectuals hit the critical and intellectual pursuit that was institutionalized in student organizations of the college as well. The clubs of Robert College were temporarily closed down by the *coup d'etat* of 1971. The student unions were replaced by student representatives of the faculties. The productive collectivities in the unions endeavouring to foster an intellectual medium were dissolved and the representation mechanism lost its potential to penetrate student life. Nonetheless, the student clubs continued to be the places for socialization. They were gradually animated by new members. A number of clubs or their publication activities came to a halt with the transition, while new ones are opened. The student clubs have an influential role in conditioning both emergent youth cultures and spatial representations. Hence, I will briefly review the clubs in this section and discuss them in the second chapter of the thesis.

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[12] Numbers are taken from the Table of Student Enrollment by Year, 1971-2000 in *Facts and Figures of Boğaziçi University*, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Publishing, June 2000: 6.

The student clubs were attended by a significant proportion of students. For instance, folklore club which could be ranked among the most active ones had regularly more than hundred members throughout the 1970s. Among the clubs, a significant number constituted a medium that cultivated a sense of sympathy and involvement for the leftist politics. The interviews with the graduates who worked in *köy-koop*, cinema, theatre, folklore, speleology, mountaineering, photography and music clubs in the 1970s are illustrative. According to the interviewees, these clubs are experimental schools and, potentially, the open mediums to politicize discussions for the generation. I will refer to the forms of sociality cultivated at the clubs by shortly reporting the narratives on theatre club. The interviewee (K.İ.) who studied between 1971-77 and worked in the theatre club during the early 1970s for six years informs how theatre club runned the activities. He says that they used to interfere with any kind of work rather than adopting a division of labour. They succeeded in having a collection of theoretical books on theatre that were granted to the school later on or to buy expensive carpentry machines to make the stage props. The two small rooms in the theatre hall (ÖFB) stood for the clubroom where they stored a valuable archive of bills, drawings, photograph albums and masques of artistic value. Even though he admitted their lack of ideological foundations with respect to the theatre, he told of their excitement to stage plays. Explaining their motives, he says, "we were not in favour of romantic [understanding of] art for art, we tried to speak of something but we were not sectarian". For a graduate (T.G.) who worked in the theatre club during 1972-76, "the sociality of the people who work in the club meant that the university could not be kept within the bounds of courses".

There were already three canteens in the university, Kazım's place, "high society" canteen (*sosyetik kantin*) and terrace canteen. The canteen known by the name of its operator as Kazım's place (today, middle or left canteen) at the beginning of the 1970s was located under the building of Dodge Social Hall (ÖFB). It was the most frequented and known to everybody. It was also a political medium, as leftist students used it for socialization. The political symbols such as affiches invaded the canteen. Throughout the 1970s, the space had been used by leftist students as a meeting-place to see their friends or to have the recent news concerning the routine political activity. It helped to make sense of the space as the place of leftists. The leftist identity, however, did not necessarily refer to the political identity of an organization. Rather, the space was also the medium that constituted a sense of sympathy and involvement for political issues. These attributes were created through the sociality of the students. The students 'practiced' their sympathy and involvement to political issues by engaging in communal relations and in 'heated disputes concerning the future of the country' as K.İ terms. Hence, the particular use reflecting the constitution of leftist identity brought about a representational significance to the space and named it. As the interviewees who studied in the second half of the decade mentions, the place came to be known as left canteen. This canteen has still the same connotation in the 1990s.

As a graduate (C.İ.) studied during 1974-1981 suggests, the middle canteen was the medium to circulate the information about political events taking place outside the school. For C.İ., while the middle canteen represented the political identities, it likewise displayed the differences among the leftist students. The students who got into trouble with the police outside or involved into a clash among political groups evoked the observable precipitation

around the canteen when these students were returned. Students going in and out in order to hear about the news emblematized for C.İ. the political identity. For the interviewee, the space also displayed the interaction of "Anatolian" students and dwellers of Istanbul as the former in majority joined the political groups in relationship with leftist cadres[13].

The students who were not affiliated with politics also haunted the place. The place was also used for dance parties organized by Social Committee each Friday night where students brought their own records to play. For a graduate (L.S.) who studied between 1972-76, the composition of students attending this biggest canteen was heterogeneous. L.S. suggests that she frequented the canteen in the majority of her time spent in school. In contrast, K.İ., a friend of L.S., suggsets that L.S. used to 'hang out' in the "high society" canteen, indicating to this habit as a mark of distinction between the community of middle canteen and the other. The other canteen located under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (TB), for him, haunted by the "socialites". The connotations of calling someone "socialite" could range from being clueless, indifferent or apolitical to upper-class attributes including driving to the school, displaying fashion or being a college graduate.

The use of "high society" canteen connoted leisure time. As L.S. who spent time in this canteen towards the end of her school life narrates, she preferred to frequent the place to meet her friends. She suggests, the group were worried about the future as they were about to leave and they needed to idle away time. She remembers that they were playing card game for hours. According to her, the canteen was mostly frequented by dwellers of Istanbul.

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[13] Other interviewees replaced the distinction between Anatolia and Istanbul with the distinction between college and high school graduates in different contexts.

The third canteen[14] was located under Hamlin Hall which was the men's dormitory. In the light of the interviews, it seems that the place hosted the students who did not prefer to spend time in left canteen or in the "high society". While some interviewees assumed that terrace canteen attracted the students who stayed in dormitories, some others suggests that it was attended by social democrats. Finally, a small canteen, where students could have tea, opened at the building of computer center attracted mainly the students of industrial engineering as the department moved to the building.

The dining hall under Hamlin Hall served *a la carte* with elegant American service survived since Robert College. Students could select from among the dainty meals. Until 1974, the students paid fees during the prolonged transition period of the university. As the social composition of students started to change in mid-1970s, the dining hall went to offer to the students who could not afford a la carte, a cheaper choice in addition. The students boycotted the classes for a week, rejecting the discrimination between these students who could afford good food and the cheap choice, offering tasteless meals to the poorer. The club of Turkish cuisine gave a feast for the school during the boycott. The boycott had been the first political action undertaken by the students in the 1970s. The university administration annulled a la carte and improved the meals. But eventually, the dining hall lost its traits dating from the college.

The land amid the buildings was known as middle field and was used by male students as the grounds for playing soccer, thanks to the goal posts in front of the gymnasium hall and library building (now the headquarters of the rectorate). The benches at the side of the middle field (in front of the building of TB) known as steps to enjoy

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[14] This canteen is signed today as terrace canteen due to the name of the location in the 1970s and also known as the "high society" canteen (*sosyete kantini*) in contrast to the "high society" canteen of the 1970s located

sitting and looking at those who played soccer or athleticism. The space in front of the steps was used by students as the parking lot. A small number of cars parked at the lot was a common picture and helped to distinguish the students coming to school on wheels. The middle field has a particular significance in the 1970s. As a space of encounter, it provided a sense of familiarity among the students as they could run across each other, passing away time to eat a snack or enjoying the space. The middle field undergone a turbulent change in the post-1980 period nevertheless represented the public space of the university and remained as a space of attraction. I will set apart the third chapter to inquire the changing representations and meanings of space in relation to the middle field. Another place to enjoy was the location behind Men's Dormitory known as terrace (today called as scenery *(manzara))*. As the group of interviewees (focus group) who studied differentially in the second half of the 1970s narrates, they used the location to drink at nights, sometimes accompanied by an instructor friend.

The Red Hall and the library building were peaceful places to study. According to the focus group, the old library building furnished an impressive ambience with its inner decoration. Their narratives reveal that the spatial aesthetics of the old place contributed to the experiencing of the place as a pleasant environment. The interviewees cite particularly the reading hall in the midst of the library was furnished with large wooden tables with reading lamps. However, the narratives concerning the library reveal as well that the library was also attended as a space of leisure to enjoy the facilities. For instance, K.İ. narrates that the students enjoyed the audio-visual division of the library where one could listen to records with his friends. As the interviewee (F.A.) who studied in the late 1970s and early

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under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (TB).

1980s suggests, before the library had moved to North campus in 1982, the location of the library at South campus helped the students not to feel isolated while studying. One could have the chance to run across to a friend to have tea when he took a break. The Red Hall was also ranked as a study hall. The hall had been use for student talks and panels as well. Yet, the students sought to appropriate the hall as a good place to commune for hours owing to its red, comfortable chairs. K.İ. narrates that the Red Hall stood for a place for close friends or couples to enjoy and it was not appropriate for serious talks.

The classrooms were the mediums to establish unconventional relationship among the students and the instructors. As the university was not as crowded as today, the classes were not populated. The courses were occasionally attended by less than 30 people with absences. As a graduate (F.İ.) who studied during 1972-76 narrates, an employee could offer tea to the students who were taking course at that time in the classrooms of İB building or they could occasionally smoke during the courses. The crowded courses taken by all the students of a department or common courses took place in theatre hall (ÖFB) or in Great Assembly Hall (BTS). BTS also used for the meetings of the general faculty until 1976 and for the student forums.

Student forums held in BTS reflected a patterned activity as the location helped to frame the organizational make-up. In other words, the allocation of BTS for student use facilitated a high degree of comfort and organization when compared to the post-1980 period where students gathered forums outdoor or in indoor places such as middle canteen or study hall of I. dormitory[15]. As a graduate (Ü.T.) who studied during 1970-79 narrates, he was most impressed at the university by the crowded forums attended by the majority of

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[15] The use of BTS required the allowance of university administration. Nevertheless, the repetitive use of BTS for student forums since the college times in late 60s established a convention that persisted during the 1970s.

the students. In the light of his account, the conventional form included the establishment of a chair that guided the forum. The chair was supposed to reflect different views. Hence, the students from different political groups tended to chair the forum. The forums put a controversy into the agenda and attempted to resolve it in the light of the votes of the students. After the speeches appraising the issue, the chair called the students by name in order to appraise the pros and cons. In cases the forums prolonged, the chair could announce the tea break for an hour at the end of the day and the students took up the forum after the break.

The routinized and patterned activity reflecting the conventions characterized for Ü.T. the democratic medium: "The university was a medium where democracy was tremendously assimilated". If I have a democratic conduct in my directorship, in my life, it is because the university had influenced my conduct". Ü.T. suggests that the democratic culture of the forums had been gradually corrupted as the political opposition had been radicalized towards the end of the 1970s. He narrates his disturbance when he saw incidentally a student in the middle field carrying a gun in his waistline under his coat for the first time. Another disturbing event was the time when the rebelling students threw the stand of the chair around. Such events, as he argues, disturbed "the ambience of the school".

There were two dormitories (girls' and men's) at the time period. The interviewees dwelled in dormitories have not underlined the dormitory life. It may be deduced that the dormitory rooms were not places that knitted people together except prior acquaintance or friendship. As the focus group -all stayed in men's dormitory- mentioned, the girls stayed in dormitory had to inform the surveillant if she would be late to return to the dormitory.

The couples used to go together to the girls' dormitory and as the common expression goes, the girl put her name down as "late" informing the surveillant at a specified time that she would return to the dormitory later so that the follower could keep the surveillance.

The interviewee Ş.Ö. (1973-78) told me that there was no close relationship among the girls in the room she stayed. She remembers her roommates who used to be smart, spending their time making up or curling hair. The female employees carried the cleaning service in the girls' dormitory; they used to tidy up even the rooms and the beds. Ş.Ö. tells that her roommates got accustomed to leaving their beds and even the room bedraggled, while they themselves were dressed smartly while getting out of the dormitory.

According to the interviewee C.İ. who did not stay in dormitories, male students also used to visit the girls' dormitory in order to call their friends out with the help of a person announcing the name of their friends. As she suggests, the announcements were the motif of talks among the girls. As L.S. narrates, the dance parties at Friday nights also the object of subject-matter for both girls and men. The dance parties provided the opportunity for girls and men to check out each other. Although the student records of the 1970s give place to the pictures of flirting and embraced couples, the narratives of the interviewee portrays the boundaries of romance and sexuality within the campus space. According to Ş.Ö., kisses were not accustomed except "high society" canteen. As the focus group narrates, the couples used to romance in the middle field only at dark nights. An interviewee from the focus group tells that displaying romance in public could attract the reaction. As he encircled his arms to the shoulder of his partner in terrace canteen, a student approached and advised against.

The above account of the lived space indicates that the narratives of the students concerning the daily life in the campus reveal the appropriation of places for differential uses. These narratives denominate the spaces, attributes to them proper meanings and make sense of the particular uses of space. Although they do not tell how these spaces are produced, they nevertheless imply the dominant contours of youth cultures in the 1970s. These narratives points out how the use of space relates to the constitution of various forms of sociality.

Different uses of space distinguish the forms of sociality and identities, while they also culminate to the social interaction of differences in a small campus populated by a few thousands of students. The narratives reveal that particular identities, such as "socialite" or "leftist", are associated with particular places. The circles that fashion these identities have their place to pass away time in the campus. Thus, different forms of sociality remain largely undisturbed. Almost all the interviews reveal cohesive narrations of friendship sustained throughout the university life. In addition, the majority of the narrations underline a single group of friends or a group of certain significance. Yet, these identities allowed interaction among different groups in the 1970s, as one could establish friendship with members of another group. The narratives shed light to the descriptions of different forms of sociality –i.e. "they used to go to x canteen", "there, the Anatolian students strived to imitate the leftists". It could be assumed that these descriptions mediated the interplay and negotiation between different representations of youth generation as marks of identification and distinction. One should investigate, therefore, the emergent forms of sociality with particular reference to the dominant discourses and representations of youth generation in the 1970s.

Cultural construction of youth generation of the 1970s

The construction of youth identities of the 1970s in Turkish context should be elaborated with respect to the dominant representations of youth and to the political/ cultural climate of the decade. In the early decades of the Republic, as in the Western world, dominant representations constructed the youth as a transitional passage between childhood and adultness (Cohen, 1997; Neyzi, 2001). As the image of youth reflected the state of the nation and its future, it was expected that the concern with youth problems would provide the solutions to the nation's problems as well (Griffin, 2001). These representations depicted a youth facing the uncertainties brought by the social changes associated with the entry to job market or independence from parents and its deviance.

Yet, there is a major difference in Turkish context. Kemalist ideology underlined a representation of youth with a revolutionary reference as it constructed a cult of youth assigning it the primary role in the preservation of the regime (Ahıska, 1999). Hence, the rhetoric of youth movements in Turkey "underscored the independence of the Turkish nation-state and the "duty" of youth to dedicate their lives to the construction of a future society, whether envisioned as the recuperation of the early Kemalist period, a socialist utopia, or a Pan-Turkic haven" (Neyzi, 2001: 420). The dominant discourses representing the youth within the paradigm of youth as trouble cropped up only after the military *coup* of 1980. A panel organized by the university administration in 1983 is illustrative. The topic of the panel was the problems of youth and drug addiction (Student Record of 1983).

However, with the *coup d'etat* of 1971, a representation of youth as threat to nation appeared in the dominant discourses and the violence spreaded throughout the country provided the legitimization of this representation. A propaganda book prepared by a

ministerial committee upon the order of the Prime Ministry in 1973 explained the spirit of

the military *coup* with reference to such a representation:

> The university and faculties had turned out to be the shelter of the criminals,
> the store of arms and explosives. The delinquent and criminal youth were
> hiding in the university buildings and were protected by the professors
> sympathizing with them. (*Türkiye Gerçekleri ve Terörizm*, 1973: 45)

As an instructor of physics whom I interviewed says about the attitude of the faculty

with respect to the disciplinary measures in the late 1970s, the adult culture of Boğaziçi

University shaped within this climate reflected a decisive disavowal of the violence in the

school, while acknowledging the right of the students to defend their political views. This

narration also conforms to a cultural construction of age in Turkish context, which

"acknowledge a stage of potentially unruly behavior, particularly among young men, who

are referred to as *delikanlı* (those with wild blood)" (Neyzi, 2001: 415). Yet, according to

Neyzi, "wild blood" is to be channelled along the lines of acceptable behaviour.

Consequently, the dominant representations of youth portray the youth generation of the

1970s through the cultural construction of age. It depicts youth at once as the locus of

political agency and deviance. Hence, the youth is expected to perform its tasks dictated by

the needs of the nation and, yet, it should be disciplined to bear its responsibilities.

The above account in relation to the representations of youth would guide us to

recover how the dominant representations of youth are reframed through the cultural

construction of age within the context of Boğaziçi University. For instance, while the

attitude of the students not to attend the classes as a sign of *efelik* or manhood, as a female

interviewee mentions critically, an instructor of economics whom I interviewed suggests

that the faculty excused the absence of the students in the classes or exams and helped them

to make up rather than pushing the students to attend.

It could be moreover interpreted that the representation of youth through cultural constructions of age and generation allowed the predominance and legitimacy to the political identities in a university of liberal tradition. However, the political identities in question are prevailingly those that are not associated with political organizations. In other words, these representations implicitely favoured the forms of sociality that modestly strive to speak of something concerning their area of interest, while excluding the political cadres and radical politics of the 1970s. To give another example, K.İ who worked in the theatre club narrates that the club had staged a play about which they assumed a significant political ascent. The rector who attended to the spectacle invited the members of the club in the aftermath of the play. The members had surmised the invitation of Abdullah Kuran a danger since, for them, it was the first play of political significance staged in the university in the early 1970s. After a week, Abdullah Kuran had congratulated them for they had attained the status of a university club and started to stage significant plays.

The cultural outlook of the youth generation in Boğaziçi University has changed in line with their class background and the cultural and political climate of the 1970s. The scholarly debate concerning the representations of youth in Turkish context mostly tends to omit the class-based formation of youth cultures. Since the academic works in relation to the cultural construction of youth generations are limited in number, the line of thought represented by Leyla Neyzi could be regarded as the significant works that illustrate the scholarly debate on youth cultures in Turkey. Even her account does not take into account the class-based formation of youth cultures.

The legacy of Birmingham School brings forward the manifestation of counter-cultures within the European context of '68 movement. Its contribution consisted of

highlighting the construction of middle class-based youth cultures, as well as working class-based subcultures. Concerning counter-cultures, the researches paid attention to the cultural construction of leisure time and youth cultures that developed new forms of resistance through the appropriation of leisure. In contradistinction to working class, middle class youth could succeed to take advantage of the leisure time and blur the distinction between "compulsory" activities and leisure activities. Birmingham School argued that the counter-cultures of the 1970s sought to discover new forms of life, work, family and "non-career". While the formation of counter-cultures deserves attention within the context of the Turkish youth generation of the 1970s, Birmingham School's framework should be nonetheless revised in the light of the cultural construction of age and generation. The dominant representations of age and generation in Turkish context supports the hegemonic culture in a different way, when compared to European context.

Boğaziçi University enrolled nearly a homogeneous group of students throughout the 1970s when compared to the post-1980 period. Despite the fact that it is difficult to define the criteria of class background, it may be asserted that the family and education background of the students were mostly alike: the upper and middle class families and college graduates. The majority of the students dwelled in Istanbul. A significant proportion of Robert College and American College for Girls graduate attended the school as well. Finally, the university enrolled students from the upper circle including names such as Güler Sabancı or Cem Boyner.

The campus was isolated from the city. In the mid-1970s, the neighbourhood Rumeli Hisarüstü had not yet neared the campus. In fact, it had not even round the abutment of the Boğaziçi bridge constructed in 1974. The buildings had drawn closer to

Etiler but the distance from Etiler to the school had to be walked unless anyone driving to school hitchhiked. Hence, the students preferred to come to school by way of Bebek gate. In the decade of the 1970s, places of entertainment such as bars, cafes or restaurants were few in number. Students used to eat fish at Aşiyan and in Bebek where there were a few places to drink. The relationship with the outside world was mainly carried through the political activities of students, especially by means of the leftist cadres. It was the leftist cadres that publicized Hisarüstü neighbourhood in the school through their relationships where established houses were cooperatively made by the support of the revolutionaries. The isolated nature of campus space from the city, in addition to what the campus life offered to the students, helped the assimilation of campus space as a life world. As the majority of the interviewees affirm, the students spent time in the campus all the time, whether they had classes or not.

As the students' narratives revealed the fear from the "violence outside the campus", the campus provided a sense of security. In addition to the assimilation of campus space as a life world, the sense of security helped to manifest the desire to enjoy the space. The words of L.S. is illustrative: "We [she and her friends] would go to the terrace every time. Especially, we were bursting with energy in the spring. We could not know what to do, whether going to play tenis or …". As an interviewee states, the students in the campus "felt as they were at home". This intriguing imposition of the imagery of intimacy over the campus life, however, did not give way to a narrative of freedom as in the 1990s[16]. Rather, bodily appetites were channelled to the spaces where their exposure would be appropriate. As the spatial narratives implies, the places had signified their proper meanings defined by

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[16] In contrast, the imposition of such imagery of intimacy to the public life ironically evoked an image of the campus as a space of freedom.

their uses. Men could play soccer in the middle field, girls could play tennis at the court, and couples could kiss at the "high society" canteen or romance at nights, students could dance at the middle canteen at Friday nights.

I will refer to Nurdan Gürbilek's account of the cultural climate of the 1970s in order to develop this point. Gürbilek begins her narration of 1970s by questioning the cultural dynamics that enable the arabesque music performed by Orhan Gencebay. As this idea inspires Gürbilek, she asserts that the decade of 1970 reveals an outburst of desire, contrary to the popular idea that underscores this feature as the characteristic of the 1980s. Nevertheless, in the 1970s, the desire could only be expressed by repressing it within a discourse of renunciation, rendering the desire impossible to satisfy. Reminiscent of the outburst of pornographic movies in the second half of the decade, she argues that the 1970s had split up in its nature:

> On the one hand, there was a voice which had faced up to compete with power, by an energy provided by a desire that would never be fulfilled, calling for expecting something from the remote tomorrow rather than today. On the other hand, a second call which, refusing to renounce, also not having this possibility, accepts beforehand to restrain itself, to be obscene and comic rather than colliding with the law for the sake of the woman of his desires. (Gürbilek, 1999: 29).

Gürbilek's account is an effort to discern the cultural transformation of the 1980s and to trace it back in the 1970s. For her, the 1980s are conditioned by the state *coup* and violence as it gave way to the new cultural atmosphere born into the emergent market relations. Yet, she particularly problematizes the fact that the cultural transformation could manifest itself with the promise of freedom and autonomy. Her account could be useful in interpreting the youth generation of the 1970s in Boğaziçi University that largely embodied that promise in the post-1980 period. Her narration, as it may be interpreted, indicates that

the peculiar context of the cultural and political climate of the 1970s circumscribed the emergent experiences and identities and disciplined them through the dominant discourses. The emergent identities were rather manifest in the 1980s, though in shifted forms and meanings. I would argue that the campus life of the 1970s prepared the ground to the emergence of new experiences and identities commonly identified with the post-1980 period. Concerning the youth generation in Boğaziçi University, two factors are involved: the relative homogeneity of class composition and the emergent forms of sociality subsumed up within the dominant representations of youth in the 1970s.

The lived spaces of the campus allowed the students to dance at the canteen, to enjoy the pleasant and decent ambiance of the library and Red Hall, to take pleasure from the classes sounded as a venue of people in a café, to play tennis at the courts or watch the players. The students consumed the need to enjoy the campus space, as the lived spaces fashioned the need by making visible various forms of sociality. For instance, as Ü.T. had envied in those years, the students who stayed in dormitories and enjoyed the campus space much more than those who spent less time in the campus. The relatively homogeneous class composition of the students helped the adoption and transmission of the cultural tastes and intellectual styles offered by the university. To exemplify, they include the cultivation of sports including athleticism and tennis, club activities, selected and requisite courses such as art history or humanities and a 'cosmopolitan' outlook transmitted by the faculty cadre of the university. They constituted a significant factor, distinguishing the cultural medium of the university from the cultural and political climate of the 1970s.

Yet, the cultural and political climate of the 1970s put limitations on these emergent tastes and styles as well. As the inquiry demonstrates, for instance, the public display of

sexuality had been confined into particular location and places. To consider a different case, the reaction of the leftist groups with regard to a group of students naming itself as Sportsmanship Brotherhood is illustrative. In the light of the interviews, Sportsmanship Brotherhood corresponded to a young society of fraternity or masonry embracing male members only. The group accepted its member winning through ordeals such as carrying a bucket of water from the seaside in Aşiyan to the campus or hitting a stranger. It comprised members of upper class including known businessmen of today such as Cem Boyner and members of poor families, who were very bright and successful. The group had also relationships with a few instructors including Mustafa Dilber who was the then dean of the student affairs and an old member in the 60s in Robert College. The ludicrous activities of the group made them quite visible in the campus. In the mid-1970s, however, the reactions of the leftist groups led to its dissolution.

The politicization of youth generation of the 1970s gave way to the construction of various forms of sociality in the campus space. These experiences sought to cultivate a way of being, putting an emphasis on the everyday communal life. Manifesting themselves especially in student clubs, they sought to cultivate a productive cultural medium and perform activities of political significance. The theatre club staged avant-garde plays, in collaboration with the members of the music and folklore club, that were also publicized outside the university[17]. They tended to develop alternative forms of communality and thus, enlarge the scope of the politics to the everyday life of campus. One has to take into account that these practices are even more significant in the second half of the 1970s when

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[17] For instance, the play "Marat/Sade" (1975) staged by theatre club is later on performed on municipal theatre *Istanbul Şehir Tiyatroları*. The play written by Peter Weiss, narrated the clash between individualistic and the socialist (*toplumcu*) thoughts, represented respectively by Marquis de Sade and Jean Paul Marat,

the left politics had got radicalized and compelled by violence. It could be also argued that they sought to develop alternative forms of "non-career". For instance, the interviews reveal that the members could continue to partake in the club activities after the graduation or some could adopt his experience gathered in the club as a life work. These attributes are relevant for the political cadres as well. Consequently, it is relevant to treat these identities with reference to the emergence of counter-cultures.

These vitalities sought to perform works of artistic and political value and they thus tended to blur the distinction between the high and low culture through these works. For instance, the folklore club gave effort to appropriate the dominant representation of folklore as a popular form of art consumed by the urban middle class as a way of developing resistance and counter-culture against the corruption of imperialist culture (see Chapter III). Yet, these experiences remained obscured by the dominant discourses of politics and representations of youth. They were eclipsed by the modernist identities led particularly by Kemalist ideology[18]. To put it differently, they could only manifest themselves through these discourses by profiting from the potentialities of these political projects. These practices could be thus viewed as precursors of the cultural transformation in the post-1980s.

Transformation of the university in the post-1980 period

The military regime and the Council of Higher Education brought significant changes concerning the regulation of university staff and administrative structure. The personnel inherited from Robert College continued to work during the decade of 1970.

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popular leader of French Revolution. Marat figured the criticism of French Revolution as the revolution of the bourgeoisie and not the people (*Student Record*, 1976).

[18] A number of commentators discuss the leftist youth identities of the 1970s within the modernist/Kemalist paradigm, see Tura, 1999; Somay, 1999; Ahıska, 1999 and Neyzi, 2001.

Nevertheless, they were transferred to the status of officials by the year of 1982 with the law enacted by the military regime. As a controller of the personnel department reports concerning those days, the majority of the employees had quitted in 1984 and a total number of 385 officials were employed in addition to the small number of 47 official remained (Boğaziçi'nden Haberler, 2003).

Such a change also indicates the extinction of the cosmopolite culture of the personnel once employed in Robert College established to educate the minorities during the Ottoman Empire. A significant number of educated staff with minority identities were replaced throughout the years by the uneducated staff of officials subject to different working conditions due to the constitutional changes regulating their rights after the *coup d'etat*. The constitutional changes regulating the work life also comprised instructional staff. Another significant transformation brought by the military regime and the Council of Higher Education established in 1983 was the change of the administrative structure of the university decreasing the level of participation in various aspects.

The university both enlarged its campus space and started to enroll an increasing number of students with the beginning of the 1980s. The university had started to physically extend to new spaces with the inclusion of new lands. Meanwhile, the construction projects planned during the administration of the founder rector Abdullah Kuran had been realized and begun to serve in the North Campus under the headship of the third rector Ergun Toğrol appointed by the military regime in 1981. The North Campus accomodated the library building, the building of engineering and science laboratories known as *Kare Blok*, the dining hall having the capacity to serve 2.000 students, girls' and men's dormitory, the building of Education Technology (ETA) and the building of Faculty

of Education. Concerning the South Campus, the outdoor swimming pool had been established and the campus space had been expanded with the inclusion of new plots. Among them, the parking lot, the wood lot, the parcels of green belt, the lot where the facilities of BÜMED is located, the lot allocated for tennis courts, the center of preschool education and the university medium, and a partial lot of the building of academy of foreign languages can be enumerated.

Besides, the campus space of Uçaksavar where the halls of residence allocated for the faculty had been erected and the land of Kilyos campus had been included as well. The administration of Ergun Toğrol had envisaged the campus space of Uçaksavar as the location of the buildings of academy of foreign languages and vocational school (Boğaziçi University Press). The land of Kilyos campus which constitutes today the biggest area (59 % of the total area) of the university had been allocated for the social and educational facilities. The increased campus area of the university was 7.4 times bigger than the area inherited from Robert College. Thereupon, the campus space of Hisar was included in 1990. In turn, the number of students enrolled to Boğaziçi University escalated to 11.000 students with 1980s and then, stabilized at the number of 9.000, while the total number of staff increased to 2.000.

The development of the university in the 1980s reflects the early signs of the transformation culminating in the 1990s to the dominant discourses depicting Boğaziçi University within a paradigm of the "entrepreneurial university" and transforming it into an image divorced from its process of becoming. For instance, the first catalogue presenting the academic qualifications of the university since its establishment had been prepared under the headship of Ergun Toğrol in the 1980s as well.

The neo-liberal ideology as represented by the first prime minister Turgut Özal with the transition to civil administration in 1983 after the *coup* was quickly felt in the campus life[19]. For instance, new clubs such as management club and research on motor and cars club were opened in the early 1980s. In the early 1990s, the students could even test the luxury cars on the middle field before it was turned into a lawn in 1992, during the days of motor show organized by another club, machine technology or BÜMATEK. The management club roused the new type of activities which were then diffused through campus life in various aspects. The activities realized in 1984, for instance, included talks with state bureaucrats, businessmen and faculty such as the privy councillor of the prime ministry Adnan Kahveci, the president of TÜSİAD Ali Koçman or the mayor Bedrettin Dalan. The club organized a number of visits to leading firms and seminars of export and import. It also undertook a panel on the promotion of consumer's rights, an exhibition of advertising and a course of instruction on computer programming, and parties (Student Record of 1984). The club had reached to 200 members with the opening.

On the other hand, the civil administration did not give way to the dissolution of the climate of emergency. While the political opposition was pushed to go underground, the jails were filled to capacity. The establishment of Higher Education Council (YÖK) brought a multiplicity of disciplinary measures of strict regulation to university life. As an instructor who had been purged from Boğaziçi University with the emergency law of 1402 narrates, the establishment of YÖK and its strict measures such as dress rules had disturbed the faculty which were accustomed to the liberal climate of the university. As a graduate who studied during 1978-89 narrates, for instance, a group of students who hanged a

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[19] I assume that Özalist urge to "turn the corner" (*köşeyi dönmek*; to make wealth in the easiest way) was an early form of this mentality which was associated with corruption, favouritism and swindle.

bulletin on the callboards of the university criticizing the *coup* of 1980 served their time for more than a year.

The campus life has experienced a turbulent change, especially in the 1990s. The existence of private companies in the campuses became visible especially in the South Campus. Their access to campus is either facilitated by university administration and related institutionalizations such as the association of graduates (BÜMED) or by student clubs. They create a constant visual motion with the opened stands for marketing or promoting goods. The banners of freedom carries logos, similar images connoting commercial advertisements or commercial advertisements themselves clothe the walls. Private banking companies hand out forms, while the number of ATMs within the campus increases.

Various student clubs compete for a continual sponsorship of companies a great deal. One of the main reasons for the university administration's establishment of a council to regulate the club activities with a new statute has been the concern with sponsorship. Even those who never contract for sponsorship acquire propositions. The cinema club has acquired one from the banking company Yapı Kredi within the framework of company's effort to make a contract with cinema clubs in all universities in Istanbul, based on a research findings that university students are attracted by cinema.

In the mid-1990s, the fact that the contractor clubs started to make small fortunes had been rumored among the circles of student opposition as I witnessed. The students were presenting the issue as a sign of corruption that covered not only the clubs, but also the university administration as well. As an instructor of economics suggests, the students in these clubs were engaged in generating financial resources and profiting individually by

making wealth. The financial contribution of the clubs to university foundation (BÜVAK) had escalated to 117 billion (TL) in 2002 (BÜVAK, 2002). The clubs had to transfer a percentage of their earnings to the foundation fund allocated for student clubs who do not have significant resources and for other student activities.

There were also organizations in the 1990s which could be viewed as alternatives to the sports festival and dance parties. The Art Festival had been organized by a dozen of student clubs in each spring since 1991. The festival used to take place in the south campus, providing the opportunity for differential uses of the space including the outdoor exhibitions and activities in the middle field, in the location known as scenery and even on the sidewalk of the road giving entrance to the middle field during a week. The rock festival and *Taşoda* Concerts helped music groups to perform and, occasionally, transformed the location known as scenery (known as terrace in the 1970s) and the space behind BTS into a concert and dance platform[20].

The significant changes in campus space also underscore the transformation of the middle field into a lawn in 1992. With the change, the middle field had turned out to be a space of attraction for couples to romance, for students who wanted to play volleyball or Frisbee or else, simply to spend time. Increasingly taking on an iconographic character, it became part of the cultural capital of the university administration as the latter strived to marketize the image of the university to attract market students or companies. The middle field had turned out to be a landscape or scenery in the picture. The imaginary association of the university with an image of landscape had been also supported by the retrieval of an image of Robert College divorced from its historical and social context. As one can easily

detect today, the emblem of the university signs its foundation date as 1863. This trend had been started under the headship of the third rector Ergun Toğrol with the celebration of 125th anniversary of the university in 1988 (Toğrol, 1988).

The imposition of two images –of the middle field and of Robert College- within an eclectic narrative of the history of the university had reinforced, in turn, the urge to marketize the image of the university. For instance, the presentation of the Garanti Culture Center that will be erected in Uçaksavar campus is illustrative: With the erection of the center, the university "will carry its tradition derived from the 1800s, transforming "Boğaziçi University Cultural and Sports Facilities" [Uçaksavar campus] into a completely modern facility, forward in the 2000s with exemplary opportunities" (BÜVAK, 1999). In addition, new constructions that undertook in late 1990s were increasingly in contrast with the image of a historical landscape. Among them, Mithat Alam Film Center, the new faculty building in the location of the old heating center, and the constructions established with the aim of rehabilitating the North campus can be enumerated.

Henceforth, it is possible to conceive why the university administration and related institutions such as the graduates' association BÜMED and the university foundation BÜVAK recovered the old buildings from the dust of the history. An example would be the use of the old names with the names of the donors together as in the case of the renovation of girls' dormitory in the South campus. The annual report of 1999 published by the foundation refers to the renovated building as Theodorus Hall and announces its naming as Zeynep Birkan-Ayşe Birkan Girls' Dormitory after the renovation. The renovation of Great Assembly Hall had been accomplished in the same year and the building began to host

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[20] *Taşoda* is the popular name of the music center that features transcription rooms and studio for amateur groups behind Hamlin Hall. The center had been constructed in the 1980s under the headship of Ergun

Albert Long Hall Classic Music Concerts sponsored by Yapı Kredi Bank, as well as by academic organizations.

Conclusion

The inquiry of youth cultures of the 1970s reveals that the politicization of the youth could be traced back to the 1960s. The dominant political discourse on youth in the 1970s continues to reflect the main concerns of the student opposition of the 1960s. The youth cultures of the 1970s were culturally split. On the one hand, they implied the counter-cultural styles which were reflected on the intellectual and artistic production and the way of living through which the students tend to explore alternatives to what they conceive as the dominant individualistic culture in the campus space. On the other hand, they indicate to the early emergence of leisure lifestyles through which students engage in playful exploration of new cultural tastes. The campus life of the 1970s prepared the ground to the emergence of new experiences and lifestyles commonly identified with the post-1980 period. As it will be showed in the next chapter, it could be argued that the youth cultures of the 1970s paved the way for the lifestyles of the 1990s that are increasingly informed by consumer cultures. The described transformation of the university in the post-1980 constitutes a background to examine the youth cultures of the 1990s with reference to the changing representations of leisure and space.

Toğrol.

III. CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LEISURE AND YOUTH CULTURES

It is possible to observe the transformation of youth cultures through the changing representations of leisure in Boğaziçi University. As the university had inherited an institutional background from Robert College, it persists the riding concerns of the American college to cultivate extracurricular activities, though under different forms and meanings. The student clubs have played a significant role in giving way to changing representations of leisure pursuits. I suggest that the student narratives of club activities concerning the clubs reflect the changing youth cultures since the 1970s.

As the scholarly literature on youth cultures highlights, the transformation of leisure pursuits resonates with the broader processes including the cultural fragmentation and aestheticization of everyday life. The scholarly debate commonly emphasizes that the cultural and aesthetic processes inform the formative aspect of leisure time in two ways. These processes give way to new symbolic structures that shape the youth cultures. Hence the youth is regarded at once as the site of symbolic resistance and of exclusion through global changes in capital accumulation and consumer culture. I will try to portray correspondingly the dominant contours of youth cultures in two axis.

First, I will focus on the changing forms of resistance since the 1970s. Among the clubs which tended to cultivate new forms of cultural and symbolic resistance throughout the 1970s, few could be enumerated in the post-1980 period as pertinent to the discussion. Although there are a number of rewarding attempts including the occasional activation of old clubs of political significance and new ones established, only *Alancılar* could institutionalize the quest of developing new forms of resistance in the folklore, theatre and music clubs. One might also refer to the emergent forms of resistance in the post-1980

period which can not be treated within the confines of symbolic resistance. But I will limit my discussion within this framework in order to highlight the cultural and aesthetic processes relevant to the broader context of changing youth cultures that constitute the dominant modes in the university. Here, I assume that the account of folklore club, which provides insights about theatre and music clubs as well, is illustrative. In the case of folklore club, the changing cultural representations of folklore reveal the transformation of forms of sociality and resistance. Secondly, it is possible to observe that the student clubs makes visible the companies in the campus space as they mediates the visualization signs and symbols such as logos. The clubs increasingly partake in these processes by inviting the sponsor companies to the campus. There are two consequences of the penetration of capital into the fabric of everyday life.

On the one hand, the club activities increasingly take on an active sytlization of life through which the bodily display and consumption practices comes to the foreground. The distinction between club and non-club activities tends to be blurred. The club activities turns out to cultural practices of the students that experiment new tastes and sensations through bodily excitement and pleasure. On the other hand, the club activities become subject to different techniques of power. The involvement of companies and university administration in the 1990s brings new mechanisms of control. I will carry out my discussion in reference to the sports club. The sports club may illuminate the multiple aspects of transformation brought along by cultural and aesthetic processes.

Inquiry of cultural representations

Numerous studies on youth cultures highlight the centrality of leisure activities especially in the post-1970s period, which is characterized by global economic, political and cultural transformations. For these scholars, the transformation of leisure pursuits

parallel the general expansion of cultural sphere (Giroux, 2001). The expansion of cultural sphere can be referred in two senses. First, it points out the enlarged market for cultural goods and information. Second, it indicates that culture becomes a formidable force, especially by diffusing various images, in producing, circulating and distributing information about the ways of purchase and consumption of goods. In short, it indicates to the culture transforming all sectors of the global economy.

The transformation of leisure pursuits also reflects a qualitative shift that extends the range of leisure lifestyles and transforms lifestyles into an active stylization of life through which young 'de-centered' subjects enjoy the playful exploration of transitory experiences and surface aesthetic effects (Featherstone, 1991). On the one hand, studies on youth cultures tend to inquire the symbolic structures informing particularly the youth subcultures and new forms of symbolic resistance (McRobbie, 1994). They stress the fluid and fragile nature of the youth identities, as they are always open to change, to transformation and to realignment. On the other hand, these concerns resonate with the cultural and aesthetic processes that increasingly inform the consumer culture and posit the youth as a site of exploitable market of consumers (Camaroff&Camaroff, 2000).

Finally, the overriding concerns with leisure activities concerning the youth cultures studies emphasize the formative aspect of leisure time through which young people learn, work at and negotiate different tastes and sensations to construct distinctive lifestyles. Then, it may be asserted that the cultural and aesthetic processes play a significant intermediary role in educating the youth into new styles and tastes.

While the leisure time as a central concern for the youth cultures studies, there are limited studies on the leisure activities of the university students. Yet, we may assume that

the legacy of the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies of the 1970s might inspire the research on the transformation of youth cultures in the universities. Birmingham School had given a particular importance to the counter-cultures led by the educated middle-class in the 1970s. Thus, it provides a valuable legacy that could be translated into the framework of the post-1970s period. Concerning the leisure time within the context of higher education, Moffatt indicates to the relevance of leisure time and youth cultures to the researchs on higher education (Moffatt, 1991). As he suggests, the autonomy of the "outside-the classroom" college is often neglected in the scholarly literature on American colleges and universities. According to him, the youth cultures had marked the American colleges for "in the late nineteenth century the American undergraduates themselves invented the youth culture of 'outside-the-classrom-college' naming it "college life" and passing it down to future student generations" (Moffatt, 1991: 44).

We can think of Moffatt's remarks within the context of Robert College as it had passed on an educational heritage to Boğaziçi University in the 1970s. In the case of Robert College, the school had promoted a liberal understanding of education that underlined the extra-curricular activities of the students[21]. The College administration and the faculty figured out these activities as complementary to the educational life. The College's view of liberal education emphasized the forming of character, the education of moral and physical powers to develop the habits which will determine the actions of the alter life (Greenwood, 1963). In the words of the then president of the College Patrick Malin in the 60s, the

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[21] The memories of George Washburn reveal the emphasis on the cultivation of extracurricular activities. Washburn was the son-in-law of Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of the college. He served as the instructor and the president (1877-1903). See his biographical account *Fifty Years in Constantinople* (1909). For his statements concerning the extracurricular activities, see also *Kuruluş Yıllarından Kesitler* (1963).

extracurricular activities "help[ed] to develop well-rounded students, broaden interests, cultivate good sportsmanship and give direction to leisure time"[22].

We may assume that the above account of Robert College indicates to a cultural representation of leisure activity. In contrast to Moffatt's statement concerning the American colleges in late nineteenth century, Robert College had tended to transmit an American tradition into the missionary education in the Ottoman Empire and the early Republic. We may think of the cultural representations of leisure activity in terms of power relations and trace the changing meanings of leisure activity as the transformation of power relations. To develop this line of thinking, I will briefly refer to the scholarly debate on the studies of cultural representation.

A number of commentators apprehend the notion of cultural representation in terms of power relationships and social practices. To give a common definition, the cultural representation is "the process by which members of a culture use a language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning" (Hall, 1997). For these commentators, the meaning is neither embedded in things that we represent as concepts nor constituted by the speaker. Rather, it is constructed. We construct meaning by interpreting what the cultural representations seem to speak us. Hence, the cultural representations involve coding of meanings as signs. We interpret these codes by decoding or 'reading' them. Stuart Hall designates this approach to the cultural representation as constructivist approach to the meaning. Drawing from the contributions of constructivist approach to language such as semiotics and semiology, the scholarly debate enlarges the notion of cultural representation to the social analysis of power relations and

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[22] Quoted from the president of Robert College Patrick Malin's speech at the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the school in 1963 (*Kuruluş Yıllarından Kesitler*, 1963: 17).

social practices by 'reading' into the signification systems including signs, symbols and images.

The scholarly concern with cultural representations is correlated with the global changes in the post-1970 period and the concomitant aestheticization of everyday life. The aestheticization of everyday life, having a longer history, denotes the concentration of signs and images which saturate the fabric of everyday life within this context (Featherstone, 1991). Hence, in a new social fabric of multiple significations and simulations, the cultural representations deserves particular attention for the social analysis. The scholarly debate underscores the formative role of cultural representations as power/knowledge relations that intervene in daily realm of activities and transactions. For instance, Timothy Mitchell argues that the very multiplication of significations is generated by modern governmental power (Mitchell, 2000). Mitchell appraises the Foucaultian notion of bio-political power to indicate to the role of cultural representations as formations of knowledge and power. For him, the cultural representations not only produce new significations for the body, but also produce the body within the struggle between different formations of knowledge and power.

Similarly, Henri Giroux discusses the role of cultural representations as pedagogical forces (Giroux, 2001). For him, the dominant representations embodied in Hollywood films, ads, and various other images for instance signify the youthful bodies as a site of spectacle and objectification (Giroux, 1998). These representations fetischizes and marginalizes the body in a commercial display, demonize the youth, limit their sense of dignity and capacity for political agency. As a pedagogical force, the cultural representations make claim on certain histories, memories and narratives. Therefore, the

cultural representations can be also viewed as the realm of struggle and they could be alternatively utilized to inform a progressive pedagogy of youth according to Giroux. The cultural representations influence how individuals take up, modify, resist and accommodate themselves to the relations of power.

Lastly, the notion of cultural representation could be evaluated in terms of youth identities. For Giroux, the cultural representations tell us "both the story of events and its unfolding as narrative" (Giroux, 2001). In other words, they assert how we should make sense of them. They assert the subject positions which individuals take up. Giroux's account echoes that of Stuart Hall who discusses the question of identity with reference to the role of cultural representations. Hall reflects on the question of identity as various lines of thought recurrently criticized the notion of integral and unified identity (Hall, 1996). Hall asserts that identities are "about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being. ... Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside the representation" (Hall, 1996: 4). Thus, the identity should be regarded actually as the identification –as well as exclusion, for it entails the recognition of what would be identified with only through the relation to what it is not. In addition, identification processes are never complete, always open to change and realignment according to Hall.

The youth cultures are the means of structuring and embodying forms of sociality but they are also the ways that these forms are experienced, understood and interpreted. They comprise "the maps of meaning" that render things meaningful to its members (Clarke et al, 1993). In the light of the above account, it may be assumed that the cultural representations of leisure mediate the forms of sociality that one invests in or identifies

himself with. The cultural representations furnish the signs and images that young people negotiate over these meanings as shared values and appropriate as marks of distinction. I will inquire the forms of sociality cultivated by the folklore and sports clubs since the 1970s through the changing cultural representations.

Representation of folklore as "people's culture"

Alongside the transformation of campus space, the significance of the use of leisure time differed for subsequent generations since the 1970s. The student clubs continued to operate with the conversion of Robert College to Boğaziçi University in 1971. Although the *coup d'etat* of 1971 led to a temporary closing down of the clubs and to a temporary slowdown in the activities, the student clubs continued to be the places for socialization. The first half of the decade constituted a period of transformation with respect to the clubs. By 1973, for instance, sportsmanship brotherhood, philately, german, translation, audio-visual, chess, social service clubs and the scouts could be enumerated among the clubs inherited Robert College (Student Record of 1973). They took place among the clubs that came to a halt with the conversion. Some clubs such as Robert College Players simply changed their names by simple translation into Turkish. The inactive clubs were gradually animated the incoming members.

The cultural and political climate of the 1970s constituted the genuine conditions for the politicization of youth generation. Several of the student clubs in the 1970s became experimental schools and medium for politicization. Particularly *köy-koop*, cinema, theatre, folklore, speleology, mountaineering, photography and music clubs were potentially open political mediums. Due to the presence of the leftist cadres, they mediated as channels between the students and politics outside the school. I will mainly resort to the narration of a graduate (G.Ş.) who worked in the folklore club between 1974-1981 and continued to

contribute to the club as a trainer even after she had graduated until 1983 in order to outline the main characteristics and the nature of the folklore club in the 1970s.

The folklore club had succeeded to attract a large number of students throughout the 1970s. Throughout the 1970s, the number of club members had attained an average of above 100 members. At the end of the academic year 1972-73, the number of active members was registered as 73 and at the end of the academic year 1976-77, the number of members was 95, including 54 active, 30 passive and 11 honorary (voluntary graduates) members[23].

The folklore club underlined the folklore (*halk bilimi* - the science of the people in literate translation from Turkish) as a social science that cultivates the knowledge of the people's culture and their social problems. As the head of the club in the academic year 1973-74 states, "the folk dances and folkloric music should be used to fascinate the students and newcomers should be oriented to real folklore"[24]. Although different political views had imposed their distinctive influence on the activities of the club, the club carried out throughout the 1970s its engagement to present the realities of the country with the help of the folkloric dances.

The folklore club took part in the organizations outside the university throughout the 1970s. According to G.Ş., the folklore club used to visit the workers in strike as a natural task in the mid-1970s when the workers' strike had became widespread. She adds, however, that when different political views had been differentiated on the ground of the club, this activity of the club turned out to be a contested issue as some members of the

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[23] The numbers are taken from two different issues of Folklora Doğru. For the former, see "B.Ü.T.F.K. Genel Kurulu Toplandı", *Folklora Doğru*, no. 35, 1974. For the latter, see "BÜFK'ten Haberler", *Folklora Doğru*, vol. 4, no. 46, 1977.
[24] "B.Ü.T.F.K. Genel Kurulu Toplandı", *Folklora Doğru*, no. 35, 1974: 33.

club adopting a distinctive political view rejected to join to a specific visit. Hence, the task of visiting the workers' strikes turned out to be a voluntary activity. The folklore club also took part in the organizations such as festivals arranged by municipalities, solidarity events organized by political and cultural associations. The club also organized domestic trips and joined in the festivals abroad during the 1970s.

The club had inherited its bureaucratic organization from Robert College. The organizational structure of the club was based on the division of work. The club had five subcommittees (*yarkurul*) including press, folkloric costumes and fixture, folkloric music, instruction (*eğitsel çalışmalar*) and folk dances which had, in turn, their own executive boards. Only the "active" members could vote in order to elect the board of the club. The club imposed the criterion for members to be active as taking part in more than one subcommittee.

Hence, the bureaucratic organization of the club had been effective in directing the newcomers to take part in the effort to institutionalize the club activities. As the above-cited number of honorary members indicates, the club had also succeeded to cultivate an institutional culture that assured the transfer of knowledge between generations. Joining merely in the teams performing folk dances was considered as utilizing the club. Rather, from the viewpoint of the then club head in the academic year 1973-74, the club encouraged its members to take part in a subcommittee "to prepare something for the club by their own"[25]. The organizational structure of the club, according to G.Ş., prevented the political cadres to join to the club for pragmatic reasons and to impose their political views.

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[25] "B.Ü.T.F.K. Genel Kurulu Toplandı", Folklora Doğru, no. 35, 1974: 33.

Though for different motives, its members had willingly operated the bureaucratic organization of the club.

The structure of the club in some cases could undermine the collectivity as well. For instance, the subcommittee of instruction had been playing a particular role in defining the perspective of the club. It was entrusted to work up the folk dance spectacles and to offer them to the members who would perform the folk dance. According to G.Ş., the subcommittee of instruction was the brain of the club that laid the intellectual basis of the activities. She declares that this subcommittee attracted the political cadres who were more inclined to reflect on the political meaning of folklore.

Hence, the subcommittee had been usually the site where different political views could influence the themes represented by folk dance spectacles. As G.Ş. tells, the spectacle of a specific folk dance, for instance Bitlis, with dancers dressed as employers and workers is an illustrative example. Such an interpretation indicated to the representation of the people as a class-based society, to the antagonism between the two classes and to the contradictions of urban life on the basis of exploitation imposed on the workers. G.Ş. assumes that the performers could not embrace that representation of folk dance since it distorted the "authentic" form by bringing it to an urban context and differentiating between employers and workers.

The political identities tended to dominate the folklore club in the 1970s. According to Ş.Ö. who studied during 1973-78 and joined the club during 1974-76, the administration changed hands between the supporters of different political views. As G.Ş. tells, the tension between those who are affiliated with TİP-TSİP and Halkın Sesi (a Maoist tendency) turned out to be a clash as the supporters of TİP-TSİP broke into the clubroom after the members

of Maoist group won the election in 1976. She remembers how she had been frustrated as the supporters of opponent political view opened fire when the club members attempted to visit the house of their trainer who lived in Hisarüstü neighbourhood. The club had established relationship with the Alevi community of the neighbourhood to learn the Alevi folkloric dance Samah. The clash between two political groups had not rooted in the club and those who had fired off were not students of the university. She narrates how this incident had a saddening effect on her, as she was not affiliated with any political group and her identity, as a member of the folklore club, had not been recognized.

The clash opponent political views led to the divide and the supporters of TİP-TSİP quitted. An unintended consequence was the prevalence of a harmonious ambience in the second half of he decade. Although the Maoist identities were influential, the club could cultivate collaboration. In the words of G.Ş.

> There was a harmony but it was in a sense the result of negotiations. We, those who were sensible to politics, but not directly engaged in an association or party said that you can not use here [the clubroom] as the place of a political view. Here there were some people who used to sleep or political magazines were stored in the clubroom in 1976. We asked to eliminate them so this place would be allocated for common use and such a pressure would not be imposed on the newcomers. But naturally, the newcomers became the close circle, kin view.

The folklore club adopted a theatrical interpretation of folk dance performances in accordance with the popular form emerged in the 1970s. The search for new forms of staging the folk dances led to a theatrical interpretation of the performance named as "presentation" (*sunuş*) targeting to represent the folkloric culture within a holistic view. According to the folklore club, "the folk dances should be exhibited in their contemporary forms or within a narrative form / textual framework by arranging them choreographically without erasing their specific complexions and structural attributes. The text may treat any

element of life as a topic; love, wedding, strike, migration, production, independence war, etc."[26].

The folklore club performed spectacles of folk dances and folkloric music in the 1970s with an eye to introduce the facts and the problems of the country. An illustrative example would be the performance of folk dance introduced by the club in 1974. This performance aimed at pointing out at the economic and social problems of the country by submitting them to the audience. The human portraits of workers or peasants formed the scene. The "presentation" of the local folk dances profited from visual materials, statistical facts, and poetical texts, texts of *türkü* and realistic poems. The introduction of particular local folk dances was preceded by the utterance of these texts on the scene. The text involved short monologues in order to represent the fictional thought isolated from life and to give the facts about the country. The spectacle intended to "present Turkey of the 1970s to the audience which is ignorant or aware but uninterested"[27]. For the folklore club, the representation of the folk dances and folkloric music as elements of national culture mediated the purpose of conveying political messages.

As I mentioned above, the performance enacted in 1974 is illustrative. Each performance of folk dances was preceded by the utterance of texts. Although the folklore club had a concerted effort to publish its researches on folk tales, folkloric costumes, local customs, lays and folk songs, the folk dances were picked from the classical repertoire of folk dances schematized on the basis of the boundaries of particular provinces. The view concerning the presentation of folkloric culture aimed at distinguishing between the

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[26] Gülay Günlük, "Halkoyunları Sunuş Denemesi Üzerine", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 5, no: 51, 1980: 64-65.
[27] Levent Soysal, "Halk Oyunlarını Sunmak", Folklora Doğru, no. 42, 1976: 14-17.

mystifying bourgeois thought and reality, and appropriating the folklore as the "real" elements of national culture.

The folklore club worked on an elaborated version of the presentation of folkloric culture within a narrative form during a spectacle they put on stage in 1979. This work reflected the attitude regarding the folklore as the national culture inherited from the past and yet, identifying its dual nature. The narrative form helped to differentiate between the elements of dominant culture and subordinate culture. The folklore club exerted an effort for "merging, unifying the elements of folkloric culture with the people, the man [and] the past with today"[28]. The work narrated the cultural structure inherited from the past and the contemporary structure accommodating the inherited elements of folkloric culture with the help of short monologues and poetical texts. The poetical genres such as *divan*, folk poems and tales as well as the examples of contemporary poetry and music were used to contrast the elements of dominant and subordinate culture. Lantern slides and excerpts from the interviews made by the club with people from diverse social backgrounds such as tradesman, worker, officer, student and housewife were utilized in order to reflect the material conditions of the producers and the production processes of folkloric works.

The spectacle also involved the introduction of the folklore club; its aim and projects as the performers shared their self-reflexive questions about folklore on the stage. Correspondingly, it illustrated the quest of the members to construe the folklore as an integral part of their identities for they questioned their own practices[29]:

> 2. character: ... What shall we take as a basis in evaluating our past heritage of culture?
> 5. character: We speak about "folklore", "people's culture". Who are the people?

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[28] Gülay Günlük, ibid, 64.
[29] "BÜFK Geleneksel Yılsonu Gösterisi Sunuşu 1979", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 5, no: 51, 1980.

2. character: We make collections. We pick up lays, poems, embroideries, rugs. We write various traditions, wedding rituals, how the home remedies are made. What will happen with them? What will they help? How shall we use them today?
3. character: We dance, we sing lays. Will the dances, the lays remain alike? Or, did not they change up till now?
4. character: What would be the situation of folk art with respect to the contemporary theatre, poesy, novel, cinema?

The above account reveals that the folklore club sought to make claim on the national culture and to develop a political practice by appropriating the national culture as people's culture. It adopted the dominant representations of folklore and the popular forms emerged in the 1970s. However, the narratives of folklore practiced by the club endowed its activities a political significance as well. The performances of folk dance and music implied for the club the realization of a political task to produce the alternative knowledge of national culture and to disseminate it. Although the club adopted the popular forms emerged in the 1970s, it tended to resist and modify them by cultivating alternative forms of sociality within the club and solidarity relationships among the political and cultural associations through folklore. The inquiry into the popularization of folklore in the 1970s would reveal the differences and contribute to the discussion of the folklore club within the framework of resistance. Such an account may also uncover the limitations on resistance that are unrecognized by the folklore club in the 1970s and inspire valuable questions to reflect on the political theory.

The emergence of folklore as a popular form of art
The popularization of folklore has roots in the institutionalization and nationalization of folklore since the 1950s. As Arzu Öztürkmen indicates in her work *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* [Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey] (1997), the evolution of folk dance movement in Turkey in the 50s led the institutionalization of

folklore associations in universities and popularized the performance of folk dance in cities as a new cultural form in the 1970s and 1980s. While the cultural movements such as theatre with a particular reference on realistic arts, for instance, were revived in nonacademic circles, the folklore associations began to diffuse in universities in the 60s. Similarly, the students of Robert College found Turkish Folklore Club in 1959 and started to publish their research on folklore in the periodical *Folklora Doğru* (towards folklore) since 1969.

While the researches on folkloric culture such as picking, collecting and arranging folk music and dance revived in the 50s declined, the performances of folk dances began to draw more audience in the 1970s. This tendency was nourished by the evolution of regional, national and even international festivals and competitions. Alongside the state institutions, Turkish National Student Federation was among the organizers as well.

The student associations such as Turkish National Student Federation, Istanbul University Student Union and National Turkish Student Union had already established their folklore branches in the 1960s. As it could be drawn from the memories of a '68 student leader Harun Karadeniz, these associations were also engaged in the '68 movement (Karadeniz, 1975). An important characteristic of '68 movement had been its emphasis on nationalistic discourse as a means of articulating the independence of the country and the people's interests against the anti-imperialist forces and their allied classes in the country exploiting the national resources. The (Kemalist) populism as a reaction to popular Western culture of American origin was the most important feature of the movement; the generations of the 60s and the 1970s incorporated the predominant Kemalist notion of pre-capitalist "people" to the anti-imperialistic discourse (Somay, 1999).

The tradition of "performing folklore" (*folklor oynamak*) established in the 1970s had evolved as a new cultural form originating from the incorporation of performances of folk dance into the urban life. According to Öztürkmen, this popular form reflected three characteristics. First, it constituted the performances of various local folk dances one after another moulding them with an eye to construct the various performances as an "integral activity" representing a whole.

Second, it tended to institutionalize a "national repertoire of folk dances" picking over some dances and figures and establishing them while omitting others. While the folk dances performed by the local people in the 1930s had conserved their local attributes, various dances and figures came to be schematised within the boundaries of provinces. The performers turned out to be a rising generation born into this tradition, learning the folk dance in the urban primary and high schools.

Thirdly, while voyaging out in order to join the folklore festivals, sometimes motivated by the ideal of "representing Turkey", had spread, the organizations that went abroad inspired from the forms of folk dances practiced in foreign countries. These festivals inspired a choreographic interpretation under the name of "mise en scene". The choreographic interpretation of the performances intended to aestheticize them without modifying the folk dances and figures. The emphasis on the authenticity kept to overwhelm. For instance a theme such as a rural wedding or harvest time accompanied the spectacle of folk dances. Ultimately, these interpretations contributed to the emergence of folk dance spectacles as a popular form of art for the urban audience of middle class in the 1970s.

Yet, an important note should be added to Öztürkmen's account. Öztürkmen argues that these spectacles had acquired a "national" character in the 1970s since they were evolved in the cultural medium generated by the national state and within its institutions. The State, however, occupies the only subject-position in her analysis, bringing forth the danger of shadowing the unique experiences of the performers or the audience concerning the concerted effort to appropriate the folkloric culture as a means of resistance, though within the boundaries of nationalistic imaginary. Boğaziçi University Folklore Club illustrates such a case in the 1970s.

Resistance through the appropriation of folkloric culture

During the course of the 1970s, the club elaborated the cultural representation of the folklore as the "real" elements of national culture and reframed it within the context of Marxist debates on culture[30]. The main impulse had been the Maoist influence which brought forth the debates on culture and national culture in the second half of the decade. These debates culminated to the construction of folklore as people's culture which inherits the national and democratic elements. In the words of the folklore club,

> The [socioeconomic] structure we live in is marked by the dependency to foreign countries and the feudal relationships that are the trace of Middle Ages. ... The dominant aspect of the [cultural] structure is "non-national", cosmopolite. The existing structure, on the other hand, rest on various feudal institutions ... In short, it advocates and supports the impediments before a democratic structure[31].

Hence, the presentation of folkloric culture had been reframed within the context of anti-imperialist struggle. It gave way to a political attitude that strives to root up the

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[30] Folklore club underlined the connection between relationships of production and culture, identifying the development of forces of production as the driving force of cultural change. The definition of culture as the sum of material and moral elements also included the antagonism between "dominant culture" and "subservient culture" -the latter associated with the subordinate classes. This definition is reflected in the article written by subcommittee of instruction; "Kültür Üzerine 1", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 5, no: 50, 1979.

[31] Eğitsel Çalışmalar Yarkurulu, "Kültür Üzerine 2", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 50, no: 51, 1980: 57-58.

national and democratic elements within the folkloric culture and to appropriate them in order to construct a new culture to resist the corrupting imperialist culture. This attitude had been rooted in the view that the anti-imperialist struggle signified a class antagonism against underdevelopment and sustained the demand of national development.

The members of the club did not challenge the framing of folklore within this context which adopted the pastoral themes focusing on the disentanglement of feudal relationships, agrarian question or the means of production fading away. As G.Ş. tells, she could not embrace the choreographic interpretation of folk dances thematizing the class antagonism and relationships of exploitation in urban context. In contrast, the particular reference to pastoral themes and the recognition of folklore as "the totality of the national culture inherited from the past" facilitated the acknowledgment of the nationalization of the folklore.

An important factor had been the background of the performers which were born into the cultural medium of the 1970s popularizing folklore. In the light of the interviews, it may be assumed that a significant number among the students who frequented the folklore club in the 1970s had already performed folk dance in high schools. A measurable proportion among the members was graduates of American colleges. For instance, both Robert College and American College for Girls had folklore clubs which tended to be politicized mediums towards the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s[32].

The representation of folklore in the 1970s constituted a realist mode. The cultural representation of folklore in the 1970s drew its strength from a narrative form that

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[32] For instance, a graduate of American College for Girls (L.S.) who studied in the university between 1972-76 mentions that she had participated in folklore club in her freshman year in the college: "There had been debated political issues, say, people changed their books, thus and so. Later, sad to say, I dropped since it had

distinguishes between the real and the imaginary by presupposing a notion of reality in which the "true" elements of folklore —national and democratic elements- are identified with the "real". This form of narrativity is "intimately related to, if not a function of, the impulse to moralize reality, that is, to identify it with the social system that is the source of any morality that we can imagine" (White, 1980: 14). To remind, the dance spectacles aestheticized the folk dances within a choreographical interpretation and introduced a theme without, assumedly, violating "the authentic form".

This mode of representation also informed the construction of identities. In the 1970s, it is possible to observe that the cultural representation of folklore revolved around the political discourse of '68 that represented the student youth as the petty bourgeoisie having common interests with the people against the imperialist forces and their domestic collaborators. The narratives of folklore moralized the folkloric culture in order to distinguish the true elements within the folkloric culture against the corrupting culture of imperialism and to convey them to the people. One can remark that such a representation of folklore also imported the representation of the youth as the revolutionary vanguard acting on the name of the people.

Yet, it is also possible to remark different identities striving to assign meanings to the folklore and to the activities of the club. The representation of folklore as people's culture, therefore, provided the source of ethics and meanings, while it subordinated the emergent identities to its language. For instance, even though G.Ş. distinguishes the club activities from political activities as she states that the folklore, as well as theatre, cinema or music is apolitical by definition, the recognition of folklore as a social science provided for

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been recurred to that topic and, as I did not regard the subject matter so. I did not go to folk dances in the sophomore year because I could not identify myself with that medium".

her an intellectual ground to the club activities that she carried out. She believes that the intellectual background helped her to render the folk dance and folkloric music meaningful by "grasping its essence" and the folklore club endowed her a political sensitivity.

The identities constructed through the representations of folklore eclipsed different cultural practices of the club by subordinating these practices to the mere function of representing the truth of the folklore. It can be interpreted, however, that these cultural practices also constructed certain forms of sociality. For instance, G.Ş. argues that the club elevated a different form of sociality based on solidarity with comparison to the campus life that cultivated an individualistic culture based on class distinction. Nonetheless, she tells that this communal identity did not prevent the establishment of friendship with those who were collegiate or the children of families with higher income; that is, those who symbolizes the individualistic culture in the campus space. Still, this form of sociality indicated to a mode of living for her. She narrates how the members of the club dedicated their time to watch together to sew the folkloric costumes, to have a rehearsal or to prepare the presentation of folk dances.

It could be further suggested that the folklore club strived to develop an alternative style of performing folk dance and music on the basis of a different form of sociality with regard to the understanding that popularized folklore among the urban circles. In the 1970s, the popularization of folklore contributed to the emergence of a folklore market composed of associations, festivals, competitions, and performers, instructors, musicians and costume designers. For an increasing number of people involved, folklore provided the means to earn money (Öztürkmen, 1998). Taking into account that going abroad was significant then, the folklore associations could earn from the festivals as they take the participants

abroad in consideration of a small amount. For instance, the festivals abroad symbolized their way of living as well according to her; they used to travel by bus day and night, usually sleeping in the bus and eating canned food while performing their dance show on the visited cities. Since the Student Affairs Directorship had allocated a small budget to the student clubs, the club members had to generate their own resources by selling the collars they made or the authentic costumes in the festivals abroad. As Ş.Ö tells, they also used to sell their right to bring importable electronic ware. For her, this feature of the club indicated to a common conception shared among the members and pointed out that they "had to live in a small way". Yet, these cultural practices had been conceptualized as dissident practices against the popular forms cultivated by the folklore market only in the post-1980s period.

Representations of folklore as art and ethnicity

The cultural representation of folklore moved on an imaginary of folklore beyond the nationalist boundaries in the 1980s. The folklore club sought to practice new means of expression through the narratives of folklore in order to represent the shifted concerns. It sought to contest the dominant representations of folklore as the authentic culture and oppose to the conventional approach to folklore rooted in the 1970s.

The attempt to adapt the epic poem "Boş Beşik" written by Afşar Timuçin as he had inspired from a folk tale of nomad is illustrative. Timuçin had interpreted the tale by appropriating the symbolic meaning of migration in order to symbolize the nomadic as the spirit of man that constantly struggles to unfold himself to the world and to realize himself through his grieves, happiness and hopes[33]. The narrative of "Boş Beşik" reflects the effort of the club "to refine on the form of narration in parallel to the change of the content in

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[33] Afşar Timuçin, "Boş Beşik İçin Notlar", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 5, no: 54, 1983.

order to speak of something new"[34]. The recognition of folklore itself as the narrative, rather than a mediator to transmit the knowledge within the narrative form acted out on the stage, represented a major step taken forward to represent folklore as art.

With the 1990s, the explicit identification of folklore with art is accompanied by the representations of folklore as the expressions of local cultures and ethnic identities. Lying claim to develop new forms of opposition, *Alancılar* assume a break from the "nationalist paradigm" in two axes: the recovering of the notion of ethnicity as the constituent element of the political axis and the conception of folklore as an artistic expression. For them, the practices of the folklore club performed through these axes gives way to a dissident identity. Their criticisms underlined the assimilationist and monolithic character of the nationalist paradigm that repressed the local cultures and ethnic identities, and sustained the popular forms evolved in the 1970s. They assumed that the popular forms constructed a signification that underlined the national unity as the dancers performed various figures and dances synchronically within the same framework of presentation and staging.

To note, *Alancılar* -as it is called in the vernacular language of the university students- showed up as a core group in the folklore club, as well as theatre and music clubs, during the 1980s. The group generated a discussion on the ground of clubs and led to a divide at the end of the 1980s[35]. These clubs came to be identified with *Alancılar*. I will mainly refer to the narration of a graduate (T.K.) who participated in the folklore club in 1986 and still continues to contribute to the cultural politics perpetuated on the ground of

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[34] Gülay Aydın, "Boş Beşik Anlatısı Üzerine", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 5, no: 55, 1983.

[35] In an interview with the theatre club made by Amatör Tiyatrolar Çevresi (a circle of amateur university theatres in which theatre club also takes place), the interviewee suggests that "We think, a change in a real sense realizes in 1988. The year 1988 is the determinate beginning point for theatre players of BGST and the club" (quoted from "BÜO Röportajı" in published booklet on university theatres).

the folklore club and *Boğaziçi Gösteri Sanatları Topluluğu* (Boğaziçi Society of Performance Arts - BGST)[36].

For *Alancılar*, the break from the nationalist paradigm points out the cession of political theory of revolution of the 1970s that refers to the mobilization of the people's interests as they are represented by the revolutionary vanguard. Rather, they assert a cultural identity, reframed within the context of a political project that assumes the representation of the ethnic identities in the struggle to make them recognized. Hence, the "*alancı*" paradigm acts as a normative ideal for the members of the group. The group endorses the communality on the basis of everyday life, assists the collective dwelling in the university dormitories or in the neighbourhood and confines friendship among the group. In other words, the everyday practices of the members of the group signify the performative instances that construct the "*alancı*" identity.

The discussions generated on the ground of the folklore club, which led to the break with the old paradigm, should be elaborated within the context of the cultural and political climate of the post-1980 period. The clubs in the university were still frequented by a generation of the students that were to an extent influenced by the politicization of the late 1970s. The *coup* of 1980 and the state of emergency consequently cleared off the political medium by pushing the political activities underground. As a graduate (F.A.) who studied during 1978-1989 narrates, there had been certain attempts that tried to "create the political alternatives and resist the military junta starting from the life worlds", while some others

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[36] BGST, founded in 1995, includes the units of theatre (Tiyatro Boğaziçi), music and dance and accommodates the graduate members of folklore and theatre clubs who adopted the arts as a life-long profession. These units "adopt the principle of exchanging their resources and experiences with BÜO [theatre club] and BÜFK [folklore club] which gave birth to these units" (quoted from the footnote in Saysel, 1996: 384).

gave effort to re-evaluate the leftist politics through self-criticism[37]. According to him, these attempts could be regarded as "the interrogation of life itself without being too much engaged into a political discourse". His account matches the information given by T.K. as he tells that the discussions perpetuated among the core group on the ground of the folklore club were nourished from the experience and self-criticism of those who were once affiliated with old-established leftist traditions.

The "paradigmatic transition" signified for *Alancılar* the attempt to develop a new vision of resistance or opposition. The oppositional identities are to be constructed on the realm of "the folklore market" or the "cultural realm" as the products of the activities peculiar to that realm. They are the multiple products, subject to change as the oppositional attitudes on determinate realms should renew themselves over against the market and dominant forces that struggle to subsume the opposition and void its meaning.

The definition of an oppositional identity on the basis of a determinate realm constitutes the main reference of the *"alancı"* paradigm (the paradigm that advocates to conduct the politics in accordance with the peculiarity of a determinate *realm*) –Hence, *Alancılar* derive their name from the term "realm" as T.K. acknowledges. As he tells, the oppositional identities constructed through the old paradigm are dramatized identities that affirmed their leadership for the people in spite of the people; the *"alancı"* paradigm can be rather "defined as opposing in order to spread the forms of opposition and not to take over the power".

It could be assumed that the decade of the 1980 indicates to the shift of the resistance to the cultural realms in accordance with the lack of old power of the politics. As

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[37] F.A. ended up in prison in course of his study at the university. His case is exemplary of the climate of the 1980s. F.A. and his friends served their time for more than one and half year because they posted affiches in

Nurdan Gürbilek acknowledges in *Vitrinde Yaşamak* (2001), this shift can be considered as a reflection of the process in which the culture got fragmented and the distinctions between high and popular culture got blurred in the 1980s. Yet, as she suggests, the cultural transformation experienced in the 1980s does not only signifies the evolution of culture industry, to an urge but also to a repressed desire, a lack or deprivation:

> If the experiences, deprived from the world of potentialities called culture up till now, came to a search of a cultural identity without being subordinated to an elite language; if the vitalities, subsumed up till now within the political projects, profited from their potentialities but also subordinated to their languages, could claim their right on their own in the cultural realm, this is to be explained only through the promise that the 1980s rendered possible (104-105).

To put it differently, the 1980s point out the expansion of the cultural sphere blurring the distinction between high cultural consumption and popular forms of consumption. As the account of the folklore club of the 1970s demonstrates, folk dance spectacles are transformed as to the leisure consumption of the middle-class audience provoked by the metropolitan city cultures. The cultural transformation of the 1980s indicate to the flourishing of diverse forms of leisure consumption and to the re-appropriation of the traditional forms of high culture through the industries of advertising, marketing, design, fashion and architecture. On the one hand, diverse forms putting emphasis on the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and the accessible are provoked by the culture industry. On the other hand, the cultural consumption is nonetheless shaped by the urban audience that in turn fashioned its needs within the consumption of experiences and pleasure.

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the campus against the military junta.

The process in which the culture got fragmented can be viewed as contributory to the dissolution of old power of politics and the integrity of political identities. It provides new signification processes took up, resisted and modified by the emergent forms of opposition. We witness a temporary animation of student opposition in the late 1980s with the spread of student associations established in the universities and the rise of workers movement. The students had succeeded to circumvent the emergency laws that annihilated the political rights as they profited from the lack of code regulating the student associations. On the evidence of the interview with T.K, *Alancılar* not only strived to establish a new form of opposition on the basis of folklore and theatre club, but also on the ground of campus space as well. As he tells, they disfavoured the initiative of student association formed by the leftist students in the university, arguing that the association as a "ready made" realm of opposition granted by the political system would marginalize the student opposition.

The above-mentioned contextualization points out the experiential feature of the process through which the folklore club sought to establish a new paradigm. The club had a heterogeneous character gathering various concerns and, yet, it sought to perform innovative works distinguished from other folklore association at the 1980s. According to T.K.,

> When we [*Alancılar*] came, the club were not at the zero point. On the one hand, it performed folk dance spectacles exactly in common with the [folklore] market, without having any difference. But, on the other hand, it practiced more avant-garde, more artistic works; that is, the works that sought to answer the question how this dance activity could be performed in the city.

The folklore club strived to distinguish itself from the folklore associations that primarily targeted the success in the dance competitions or going to festivals abroad,

transforming these activities into the means of business[38]. The chorus did not confine itself to vocalize Turkish lays polyphonically and it also included the world folk songs into its repertoire. Questioning the change that drove the associations to surmise new choreographic interpretations as innovation, the club performed a dance spectacle "*Kentekondu Çöp Masalları*" in 1987. The text, inspired from the *novel "Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*" written by Latife Tekin, narrated the problems of migrants slumming in the city, their confrontation with the urban life, their efforts to survive and, consequently, the transformation of their identities. It was a tentative "dance theatre" or "modern dance" in which the theme of "migration to the city" is narrated by the help of symbols and metaphores and performers improvised the scenes by aid of dance figures and music[39]. It depicted the slummers building and rebuilding their houses and the concomitant transformation of identities in the city.

Yet, the dance spectacle "*Kentekondu*" had not been successful due to the lack of knowledge on artistic skills and experience to decide how to stage a theme according to T.K. In the aftermath of the spectacle, as he tells, the core group went to take up discussion on the works produced by the club in the "traditional" line, reproducing the dominant national paradigm. Both the "classical" folk dances spectacles and the folk songs concerts, according to them, were based on the same cultural framework that appropriates the folkloric elements and assimilates them through modification and translation into Turkish. The discussion were drawn to extremity and led to the dissolution of the heterogeneous and crowded community of the club. In the academic year 1988-89, the number of members worked in the club scaled down from more than hundred to twenty or thirty members.

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[38] BÜFK – Eğitsel Çalışmalar Yarkurulu, "Folklor Derneklerine Bir Bakış", *Folklora Doğru*, vol: 6, no: 56, 1987.

Search for new resistance forms through fragmented cultures

With the dissolution of the heterogeneous community of the club, a crisis of cadre prevails in the early 1990s and conducts *Alancılar* to take up with a "professional" discipline and extend their activities to full time all along the week. While the folklore club would subsequently attain the same number of member with the 1970s, the style of work and discipline prevailed during the 1990s though loosened with comparison to the initial stage. With the 1990s, the organizational structure of the club transforms as well.

The club removes the old bureaucratic structure including subcommittees and executive boards and replaced it with the units of dance and music. In contrast to the 1970s, the folklore club quits the understanding of working with trainers that did not partake in the collectivity of the club in order to develop its genuine strategy and conception of working, and to allow its members to participate actively and creatively (Saysel, 1996). Again compared to the 1970s, the folklore clubs establishes more organic solidary relationships with various cultural organizations through their voluntary contribution to popularize their view of cultural opposition.

In the early 1990s, the folklore club seeks to appropriate the folkloric elements anew by interpreting it within an artistic framework. The chorus recovers the movement "Anatolian pop" of the 1970s, identifying this genre as a dissident alternative. The group establishes musical essays on lay arrangements under the influence of this genre. For the folklore club, "the vocalization of certain pieces with respect to this understanding does not prevent the creativity and it also gives way for the technical progress as well" (Saysel, 1992: 296).

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[39] "KenteKondu Çöp Masalları Dansı", Folklora Doğru, vol: 6, no: 56, 1987.

Simultaneously, the folklore club performs two dance spectacles *"Dağlarda Kar Sesi"* and *"Yel Doladı Dillere"* re-elaborating the traditional folk dances. The performers express the story with dances and by aid of acting. According to T.K., the cooperation with theatre club inspires the folklore club to learn from the "dramaturgy"; that is, how to work out an attitude with regard to the argument revolving around a specific theme, how to transmit it to the audience or whether it is possible to get across the audience. These spectacles constitute the products of the recognition of the club activities as art. They also put an end to the engagement of modern dance through the intention to break off from the old paradigm, as they elaborated the stories around the pastoral themes[40].

Instead, the folklore club incorporates new themes including sexuality, the popular myths of everyday life concerning the role of gendered identities, the dreams of upward mobility and prosperity, and the aesthetics of everyday life. For instance, the performance of dance theatre *"Düğün"* (1992), inspired by Lorca's story *Bloody Wedding,* underlines the discussion on marriage, sexuality and forbidden love by dislocating the traditional conventions and perceptions. The folklore club adapted Lorca's story into a narrative that does not allow moralizing the discussed themes; the adapted story depicted an imaginary realm where the wizards construct and direct the happening, the bride seduces another man and as two men dies, the bride joins the wizards[41]. The understanding of producing dance theatres in collaboration with theatre club (the members of both clubs danced on the scene) had been perpetuated with the performances of *"Galip Sokaklara Talip"* (1994), *"Düşlerin Gördüğü İşler"* (1997) and *"24:00"* (1998).

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[40] "Galip Sokaklara Talip Üzerine Ömer F. Kurhan'la Söyleşi" (interview made by Mutlu Öztürk in May 1996), *Folklora Doğru*, 63, 1998.
[41] For the theme of "Düğün" see *Folklora Doğru*, 61, 1992.

The folklore club adopts a narrative form in the 1990s, which incorporates the imaginary realm and aestheticizes reality in order to depict and criticize the popular images and myths. As in the dance theatre *"Düğün"*, the adapted text narrates a story that does not allow moralizing. In the dance-music spectacle *"Düşlerin Gördüğü İşler"*, the story narrates five women contrasting their everyday life with the fanciful environment of the fortune-teller that the women visit. The story depicts ironically the actual happenings between the women and their husbands and the dreams of the women that the fortune-teller seems to realize imaginarily. Yet, "as the dreams approach to its end and the women return to the actual life, there occurs a naive solidarity among women"[42]. Finally, the dance theatre *"24:00"* narrated the story of a day in Istanbul, depicting the violence embedded in the everyday life with recourse to the practices of pleasure and discharge carried out by the crowds of the city[43].

Alancılar strives to develop an opposition not only on the basis of the folklore club, but on the campus as well. For them, the decade of the 1990s constitutes the period in which the effects of depoliticization became apparent on the rising generation lacking interest in cultural-artistic activities. They reframe both student opposition and cultural representations of folklore in the light of questions concerning the characteristics of audience, cultural identities and needs fashioned by the new cultural and political climate (Saysel, 1996).

The cultural representations put forth by *Alancılar* asserts new identities. Concerning the student opposition, *Alancılar* suggest organizing an opposition on the ground of dormitories and departments, allowing the mass participation of the students. On

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[42] "Düşlerin Gördüğü İşler Üzerine Kerem Karaboğa İle Söyleşi" (interview made by Mutlu Öztürk in July 1997), *Folklora Doğru*, 63, 1998: 386.

the evidence of the interview with T.K., for instance, they initiated the resistance against the prescriptive regulation in the dormitories by putting their big outworn wardrobes outside the rooms. This move against the assumed necessity to obey the setting of the dormitory rooms as it had been prescribed by the dormitory administration had spread and repeated by other students that wanted to open up more space in their rooms[44]. As T.K. adds, *Alancılar* organized mass demonstrations in the early 1990s –referring to the warfare against Kurdish movement and the problems experienced in the campus space, associated with the dismantling of public education by the neoliberal policies[45].

Concerning the folklore, *Alancılar* claim the political significance of local and ethnic cultures. The music unit at first works up the concert "*Kardeş Türküler*" (1993) by vocalizing the Turkish, Kurdish, Azerbaijani and Armenian music[46]. Underlining the theme of "the fraternity of the peoples", the club includes Kurdish-Turkish Alevite *semah* lays, Caucasian (Pontos, Georgian, *Laz*) and Balkan (Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian, Serbian, Albanian) music into its repertoire throughout the subsequent years. As T.K. informs, the discussions result in piecing the units of music and dance together and institutionalizing the dance-music spectacles[47].

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[43] Burcu Babaoğlan, K. Eksen, "24:00", *Folklora Doğru*, 64, 2002.

[44] As *Alancılar* also inspired other dwellers of the dormitories, the dormitory administration had to renounce. Yet, the renovation of dormitories and the furnishing of the rooms in late 1990s put an end to this custom.

[45] T.K. asserts that *Alancılar* never equated their activities with the activities of a political party; that is, they circumscribed their activities in the campus space with the realm of student opposition as they distinguish it from the broader scope of politics of a political party. Considering the shift of the political conjuncture with respect to the post-1980 period and the appearance of student opposition actualizing relatively broader affect in the universities in mid-1990s, they retain their stance illustrated by the interview with T.K.. Hence, other political groups have largely regarded them as a community adopting a pragmatic group attitude in the campus space.

[46] "Kardeş Türküler" had turned out to be a spectacle of dance-music performed by BGST since 1995. BGST performed the spectacle "Kardeş Türküler" on the ground of various political and cultural organizations in 1995, recorded two albums of "Kardeş Türküler" and still performs the renewed versions of the spectacle by its own.

[47] To enumerate, folklore club performs "*Karola*" (1995), "*Seyran*" (1996), and "*Göçmen*" (1997). After the graduation of old members, new members perform "*Horevo*" (1998), "*Düş Yollarında*" (1999) and

Questions of representation: liberating practice vs. domination

The cultural representation of folklore as art and ethnicity could be elaborated with reference to the scholarly debate on globalization and concomitant cultural and aesthetic process. The recurrence of local cultures and ethnic identities with the globalization remain an important locus of discussion in the scholarly literature. The scholarly debate reveals the connection between the compelling notion of "local" and the transformation of capitalism in the post-1970 period, underlining the operation of global capital accumulation processes through the articulation of local cultures (Dirlik, 1996) and the taking effect of forms of representation coming along with the global flows through the notion of difference (Harvey, 1990a). According to these scholars, the global capitalism not only brings cultural homogenization, but also the cultural heterogenization by the recomposition of the diversity.

The scholarly literature also reveals the controversy concerning the approaches to the thesis of cultural homogenization and assimilation of the local with globalization. Some argues against the notion of "multiculturalism" as the ideology of global capitalism. Many articles discuss the multiculturalism as a liberal command to "honour" and "tolerate" the racial, cultural and ethnic differences (Yeğenoğlu, 2002). The argument follows that it serves to maintain the universalizing activity and mechanisms of capitalism as the "esteem" and "tolerance" to the particularity of the other disguise the Eurocentric distance to the other and constructs the sovereignty and authority of the self (Zizek, 1997). The politics of multiculturalism asserts a projection of culture on the basis of the ethnicization of the national identities and the reconstruction of ethnic origins (Ayata, 1999); it opens up,

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"*Günebakan*" (2000) that were worked up with an emphasis of educating the new cadre of the club. For the latter see, B. Kurt, Tanır, C. (2002).

therefore, the spaces for the cultural expression of differences rather than providing the political participation (Kaya, 1999).

The above-mentioned account might contribute to the discussion of cultural representations of folklore in the 1990s. The representations of ethnic identities constitute a resistance of political significance for *Alancılar*. They have drawn their stance largely from Kurdish movement, which represented the resistance against the monolithic and assimilationist characteristics of Turkish state and brought forth the question of ethnic identities since the mid-1980s. Then, the representations of folklore as ethnic identity turns out to be the representations of the representations –asserted by Kurdish movement – culminating to the multiplication of signification processes.

Actually, one can assert that the cultural representations are always subject to various interpretations and multiple signification processes. For instance, Timothy Mitchell indicates to the modern governmental power as the source of this very multiplication. Concerning the representations of the body, he questions the fact that "the difference between the body and its meanings will be increasingly accepted as the fundamental difference, and political debate will begin to occur only between alternative representations of the body" (Mitchell, 2000: 25). Hence, it may be asserted that the resistance practices of *Alancılar*, insofar as it is confined within the boundaries of symbolic structures, would give way to a political debate between alternative representations of the identities.

This problematic of representation could be enlarged with reference to Harvey's account. As Harvey would suggest, the new struggles in such fields as aesthetic and cultural representation may mirror the fundamental contradictions of capitalist political economy in the post-1970 period (Harvey, 1990a). For him, the shifts in the experience of time and

space as the product of capitalist imperatives to accelerate capital turnover time and to annihilate space by time give way to new modes of representation. The rising speed of capital circulation arouses what Harvey terms as the experience of time-space compression and dissolves the spatially fixed meanings and human memories. His argument is twofold. On the one hand, the aesthetic and cultural processes may facilitate the capitalist penetration into all aspects of cultural and political life. On the other hand, new modes of representation, by giving primacy to space over time, could also allow new ways of thinking and new possibilities for social and political action. Then, the question would not be whether the politics of Alancılar is multi-culturalist or not, but it would be how they practice it.

To return to the folklore club in the light of the above discussion, *Alancılar* articulate their political project to a discourse of aesthetics, by limiting its scope to the confines of what they conceptualize as the "cultural realm". Actually, the practices of the club produce the effects that reach beyond the limits of the "cultural realm" and acts, for instance, on the campus space. However, *Alancılar* cultivate a form of sociality that locates the artistic performance to the centre. They suggest with reference to theatre club:

> We think that the artistic and the political imagination should be distinguished from each other. Dramaturgy or political view unwittingly brings along the sharpness and the conventionalization. The acting as a non-conscious (bilinç dışı) process, however, should be rendered flexible ... The acting people [in the play "Mutfaktakiler" staged in 1997] perpetuate their lives neglecting the war but, in fact, the war affect them more than they could figure out. Allright, is everyone playing in *Mutfaktakiler* against the war? It cannot be said so. You have to make readings and to dispute with people for months in order to determine such a dramaturgy before the play. And it is quite unlikely to carry these discussions to a theatrical ground[48].

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[48] Amatör Tiyatrolar Çevresi, "BÜO Röportajı", published booklet on university theatres, 10.

The above-quotation should be interpreted in line with their emphasis on the institutionalization and the lastingness of the forms of opposition as they lay claim to, indicating to the effort to educate the members as the cadre of the club by cultivating their artistic and technical skills.

Then, in contrast to the 1970s, the folklore club cultivates a cultural identity that serves as a mark of distinction from others in the campus space on the basis of a different notion of ethics in the 1990s. It promotes a stylization of daily life on the basis of artistic performance and dissident identity rather than generating a style of being when compared to the ethical values generated within the framework of a political discourse in the 1970s. I will accomplish my discussion on the transformation of forms of sociality since the 1970s tending to inform various stylizations of life. For this purpose, the folklore club could be contrasted with the student clubs which came to be associated with sponsor companies. These clubs gradually expand the range of leisure lifestyles through which the bodily display and consumption practices comes to the foreground in the 1990s.

Emergence of new leisure lifestyles

The sports club may illustrate the transformation of club activities that tends to shape the cultural practices of the students in experimenting new tastes and sensations through bodily excitement and pleasure in contrast to the 1970s. While the sports club of the 1970s took up the conventional forms and sustained them to a large extent during the 1970s, its activities are increasingly intermingled with those of the companies in the 1990s. The transformation of the sports club that their activities are not primarily motivated by a struggle over the meaning of their realm of activity, namely, sports. Rather, the motivations of the members to join in the club significantly change. The range of activity not only broadens and diversifies, but the effects of the activity are diffuse and scattered. Hence, it is

required to focus on the changing forms of the activity organization and to reconstruct the meanings of the activity through the reading of these forms. This viewpoint does not indicate to a precise discontinuity between past and present; on the contrary, it calls for investigating how the past meanings are reappropriated and transformed as well. I will concentrate on the narratives of the interviewees and the cultural practices that regulate the activities of the clubs in order to reveal how the cultural representations on the ground of the sports club are constructed.

The review of the sports club would also illuminate how the forms of sociality implicated in the clubs merge with other non-club leisure activities. The club rooms turn out to be the recreational places to sleep, to pass away time, to watch world cup of football in television or to drink. With the conversion into a lawn, for instance, the members of aviation or speleology make tries opening their parachutes at the middle field or practicing rappel on the stairway of I. Men's Dormitory (Hamlin Hall) in order to play around or to make themselves visible. In contrast to the folklore club, the sports club provides the opportunity to hunt after the emergent forms of sociality as their activities call in the participation of students. These forms display the transformation of lifestyles into an active stylization of life through which the students enjoy the playful exploration of transitory experiences and surface aesthetic effects.

The case of the sports club illustrates how the perception of membership is transformed. Being involved to the community of the club has plural connotations. Yet, while the sports club distinctly implies for its members in the 1970s the accomplishment of the sports activities, it comes to denote additionally an internship for a business career introducing the management skills and the professional relationship with business world in

the 1990s. In contradistinction to the 1970s, the forms associated with the organization of the sports activities acquire new meanings in the post-1980 period as the range of the activity broadens and diversifies. It is important to inquire into the disparity of the graduates' narratives about the sports club. On the one hand, the practicing of sports activities in the campus is ascribed a ceremonial status of a social custom to be preserved in the 1970s. On the other hand, the deformation led by the clubs that organize party at any occasion and devalue the amount sponsored by the companies indicates to the lack of convention regulating such activities in the 1990s. The transformation is the outcome of the shift in the meanings of club activities.

In fact, the sports club is distinguished from other student clubs in that its statute regulates it as a committee elected by the licensed athletes of the university teams without the enrolment of members. A graduate (S.O.) who studied between 1973-80 and joined in the sports committee, as the name still remains, tells that the athletes decided upon the members of the committee each year during the election took at Great Assembly Hall (BTS - Albert Long Hall) in the 1970s. The crowded population gathered in the hall, according to S.O., included not only the licensed athletes, but also the participants of the teams that were arranged out of the classes and competed in the leagues organized by the committee. In other words, the sports committee used to coordinate the sports activities of the university teams under the headship of sports affairs and to organize the sport competitions for the volunteer students in the 1970s.

The narration of a graduate (Ş.Z.) studied between 1994-2000 and worked in the committee reveals that it transforms into a club in the post-1980 period. It could be suggested that the initiation of the sponsored parties at Kennedy Lodge in the 1980s

triggers the process that ends up with the membership of non-athletes at the late 1990s. The members of committee discussed whether to exclude the aspirants that already gathered experience in organizing the activities of the club and concluded to accept them. She underlines that the sports club had solidified its organizational structure capable of effectuating various activities in the early 1990s:

> There operated exactly a corporation system; that is, to delegate and share the tasks, to take decisions. There is an executive board that assembles regularly and takes decisions. There is a docket; the decisions are carried out and followed up, they are reviewed in the following meeting. There are the subcommittees and two or three people responsible [from each subcommittee]. The subcommittees are constituted from those who aspire to enter into the sports club.

Field Day inherited from the days of Robert College turned out to be Sports Fest in the 1970s. As distinguished from Field Day, Sports Fest included the sports competitions such as table tennis, volleyball, basketball, as well as athletics, with the participation of teams coming from Turkish and foreign universities. Yet, it continued to connote the athletics until the mid-1980s; for instance, the then head of management and economics club in the academic year 1983-84 mentions that "there was only the party of *Field Day*" in the early 1980s[49]. The middle land in the south campus traversed everyday had been arduously transformed into the field of athletics for four days, while the other sports competitions were located at Dodge Hall or outdoor basketball field behind the Faculty of Administrative Sciences and Economics.

Apart from Sports Fest, the arrangement of the leagues of soccer, volleyball and basketball constituted the main activity of the sports committee in the 1970s. According to S.O., the soccer games were spectated by the many sat around the middle field and roused

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[49] Interview with Mehmet Güleşçi in "İK 50 Yaşında", *Dinamik*, no: 36, Summer 2003.

exhilaration. The games took place in the midst of the campus, for him, were coalesced with the campus life. Indeed, the interviewees who narrated the campus life in the 1970s mention in the first place the soccer games with respect to the use of the middle field. In the post-1980 period, the main activities defining the sports club both shifted and diversified.

Sports Fest is converted to a big business and an outdoor recreation. The leagues of the 1970s are transformed into the night tournaments of volleyball and basketball at Dodge Gymnasium Hall (ÖFB) which, in turn, stopped towards the end of the 1990s. Snow Fest, an organization similar to Sports Fest, used to take place during the winter break at Uludağ. The party organizations that are expected to bring in a significant proportion of the committee's revenues used to take place at the commencement of the academic year, at spring and during Sports Fest. Ş.Z. tells that the above-cited organizations, as well as the coordination of the university teams including the issuing of the licenses, the arrangement of training or transportation of the athletes, constituted the main activities of the committee. However, she confesses that the latter does not proceed regularly since some sports loose their popularity and the new sports adopted such as sailing or snowboard shift the location of the activities outside the campus and appeal to a limited number of students who disport themselves.

The shift of the main activities of the club reflects the change in the forms of organization. These forms are to be read as the content disclosing the sliding meanings of the activities for the members of club community and their changing significance for the campus space. I will refer to Sports Fest as an illustrative case. Sports Fest starts to transmit differential connotations in the 1990s in comparison to its old connotation of outdoor athletics on the middle field. The organization provides the opportunity to the companies

for advertising and promotion in the campus. The logos could be crossed on the bills and banners spread in the campus and, latterly, on the giant outdoor play equipment or giant replica of commercial products brought by the sponsor companies[50]. The intensification of the visibility of logos in the campus had been already triggered by the sports committee that arranges every year the prize competition in order to select the logo of Sports Fest. The logo competition, apart from the advertisement of the festival, helps to distinguish the organization by converting it into a label.

The logos of Sports Fest –a different cartoonlike figure of a sportive animal each year- help to label the organization as a center of attraction, making a gratifying participation unnecessary. The logo facilitates publicizing the image of the festival widely so that even those who do not attend would recognize. Hence, the visibility of Sports Fest had not decreased in the second half of the 1990s as the sports committee started to organize the festival in the aftermath of the final exams. In contrast, the festival used to take place during the academic year before the final exams from the 1970s till the mid-1990s.

The labelling, as Naomi Klein suggests in her well-known book *No Logo* (2000), does not only indicate to the investment into the capital stock but also to the merging of the sponsorship activities with the cultural and social experiences. The label does not imply the product any more; it stands for the opinion, attitude, value or experience. For her, the labelling points out the ambitions of the sponsor companies to become the activity itself, rather than to sponsor the activity. The argument applies here not only to the sponsor companies, but to the sports committee as well.

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[50] The outdoor play equipment could include an acrobatic skateboard ground, a platform to make acrobatic jumps with the help of bungee cords or inflatable pool where players on surfboard strive to throw the adversary. In the midst of them, you would descry, for example, a giant can of "Lipton Ice Tea".

The presence of giant objects endorses the conversion of the middle field into a recreation ground that the transients could enjoy sitting and spectating beach volleyball on the grass or the animation activities with the accompaniment of the loud music and announcement of the animators that invite the transients. Ş.Z. affirms the presence of sponsor companies for they are conducive to augment the popularity of the festival, although she suggests taking measure against the pollution created by the noise and the sight by limiting the space that the companies physically occupy. In fact, the animation activities such as tug of war (*ip çekme*) or sack race (*çuval yarışı*) in the 1980s prefigured the shift of Sports Fest since the 1970s. According to Ş.Z, the sports committee had accepted the demand of the companies for greater visibility in the campus space since the animation activities undertook by the committee were amateurish and short-lived and the companies could afford great amounts. She adds that the step team, which could not compete during the festival, had already decided to perform spectacles during Sports Fest and, hence, has initiated the new sorts of activity.

The case of sports committee reflects how the club activity merge with the leisure and consumption practices as the club appropriates various signs and symbols emanating from the consumer cultures as marks of distinction. For instance, the motive of the club to organize the welcome party at Pascha and latterly at Laila, as Ş.Z. explains, is striking[51]. For her, the student clubs, which arrange parties at any occasion outside the campus, distort the meaning of the welcome party since the issue in question is that less parties should be arranged at the campus in order to render the parties effectual.

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[51] These nightclubs could be viewed as the most prominent locations of night life which stand for the cultural symbols of the global city of İstanbul. Laila had been subject to a political demonstration attacking it as the symbol of a distinct lifestyle associated with the global and rich elites.

She says that sports committee prefers to organize the welcome party at Pascha – and latterly, Laila- as an opportunity provided for the enrolled students came to Istanbul recently. Pascha, as the then most beautiful nightclub of Istanbul according to her, had been exclusively bidding a favourable offer. She assumes, moreover, that the committee used to pay attention to advertise the party at the campus, utilizing especially the university radio, despite the fact that the sponsor companies pressed for extensive advertisement[52]. She informs that these parties could gather thousands of students for several times.

Conclusion

The inquiry of changing cultural representations concerning folklore and leisure sheds light on the transformation of youth cultures. The account of the folklore and sports clubs illustrates that the cultural and aesthetic processes take over in the post-1980 period and generate the conditions, which could be referred as the aestheticization of everyday life. The latter is apprehended in two senses: the decrease of the distance between art and everyday life and the concentration of the signs and images saturating the fabric of everyday life.

The folklore club illuminates the changing forms of resistance. While the folklore club strives to develop a cultural resistance against the popular culture through the appropriation of the dominant representations of folklore in different decades, the two forms of resistance should be distinguished in their contexts. For the folklore club of the 1970s, the representation of folklore as "people's culture" signified the political attitude to act on behalf of the political struggle fought by the working class in line with the anti-imperialist demand of democracy and independence. For the folklore club of the 1990s, the

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[52] According to her, the companies succeeded to make the committee accept to resort to big radio agencies or to hand on bills to shopping malls at the end.

representation of folklore as art and ethnicity implied the constitution of an oppositional identity against the Kemalist and nationalistic paradigm of the 1970s, influential in the post-1980 period. While both of the two forms of resistance remained within the symbolic realm, they nevertheless imply different meanings of resistance. The sports club exemplifies the transformation of the student clubs that came to be associated with the sponsor companies and relationship to business world. In contrast to the folklore club, the sports club gives an account of the changing youth cultures that indulge in experimenting new leisure pursuits at the expense of tradition and continuity.

It is argued that the activities of the students clubs in the 1990s have an effect on the fabric of campus life that extends beyond the realm of club activities. While they contribute to the increasing range of leisure lifestyles, they also increasingly open up space for companies and mechanisms of control. In the next chapter, I will continue to discuss the lifestyles associated with leisure and consumption practices and focus on the mechanisms of control brought by the university administration to sustain the dominant representations of space and image of the university.

IV. SPATIAL AESTHETICS, LIFESTYLES AND "MIDDLE FIELD" IN THE 1990s

The south campus had undergone a turbulent change since the 1970s, especially with the conversion of the middle field into a lawn in the early 1990s. The analysis of the conversion may give us glues for understanding the spatial transformation and the concomitant processes of identity construction in Boğaziçi University. It also illustrates how the middle field transforms into a new space and acquires new meanings.

In the course of research account, I will try to argue that the case study of the middle field could be apprehended as elucidative of the cultural and aesthetic processes that contribute to the emergence of new lifestyles in the 1990s. The representation of the middle field as a landscape helps the university administration to market it as the image of the university. As the middle field increasingly takes an iconological character, it transforms into a space of public display as well. The space not only exposes the students to the display of taste and fashion, but also affords pleasure and satisfaction derived from looking. But, first, the inquiry of the middle field requires rephrasing the account of Lefebvre concerning the production of space. Second, before giving an account of the iconology of the middle field in the 1990s, I will mention about the 1970s in order to compare the changing spatial meanings between two decades.

The production of space

The study of the middle field aims to provide an account of the cultural and aesthetic processes penetrating the everyday relations as part of the broader question of the production and transformation of space. The production of space, for Lefebvre, must be explicated as the result of intermingling relationships among representations of space, representational spaces and the spatial practice. These three moments of space denote

respectively the conceived, the lived and the perceived realms. Each contributes in different ways to the production of space according to the existing mode of production and historical period. The space produced also serves as the means of reproduction. While it is a medium of flows and exchanges of goods and commodities, and of written and spoken words, signs and symbols, it contributes to the reproduction of social relations of production.

Conceptualizing the space as a product and producer, Lefebvre's account provides a perspective to deploy the broader conception of the everyday world of production within this inquiry of the middle field. The production of space involves not only the material production or the making of things, but also the self-production of the human being. The latter implies the production of bodies –of experiences, needs and desires. Indeed, one can even assume that Lefebvre anticipates the current invocations of the notion of "bio-politics" within the context of the everyday world of production[53]. The reference to Foucault's notion of bio-politics would help to clarify the production of space further in terms of relations of knowledge and power, intervening the daily realm of activities and transactions. Foucault considers the bio-politics of the population and of the individual as a regulatory discipline and control to adapt the capacities of the bodies as both productive and docile forces[54]. I suggest that we can read the accounts of Lefebvre and Foucault together in order to think of the relationship between space and body. I will briefly refer to Stuart Hall's interpretation of Foucault in order to consider Lefebvre and Foucault together.

Stuart Hall appropriates Foucault's contribution in order to develop a broader approach to the question of representation (Hall, 1997). According to Hall, Foucault

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[53] Michael E. Gardiner, the editor and contributor of the special issue of *Cultural Studies* on "Rethinking Everyday Life" which is a tribute to Lefebvre's theoretical legacy affirms such a position. For him, Lefebvre's legacy "might have much to offer the increasingly frequent invocation of the biopolitical" (Gardiner, 2004: 147).

unleashes the conventional conceptualizations of representation from the confines of language (semiotics) and discourse (semiology) by inserting the historicized conception of discursive formations within relations of knowledge and power. According to Hall, Foucault is concerned with how body is constructed through struggles between different discursive formations of knowledge and power. Hall reads Foucault's account as a discursive approach to representation and he interprets Foucaultian notion of discourse as a system of representation that is put to work through relations of knowledge and power.

The above-recapitulated account of Foucault may lead us to think of the production of space as a bio-political process, regulating the social conduct in practice as well. We may assume that Lefebvre, in turn, conceives the interplay between the representations of space and the representational spaces as relations of knowledge and power. For Lefebvre, the representations of space have substantial role in the production of space as they intervene in and modify the spatial texture. They intervene by way of construction; that is by way of architecture –to be understood as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture. The representation of space is the identification of what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. Lefebvre, therefore, apprehends the notion of representation as a tool for the analysis of space, as the substitute of ideology and knowledge since, both informing the spatial textures, they become indistinguishable.

Hence, the notion of representation encompasses discourse but it is not mere discourse or text according to Lefebvre. Once the representation of space deciphered, for instance, the space "refers us back to a creative capacity or a signifying process" (Lefebvre, 1974: 115). The representational space –the locus of the body- has the potential of

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[54] M. Foucault "Right of Death and Power Over Life" in *History of Sexuality, vol. I*. trans. Robert Hurley, London: Penguin Books; see also F. Keskin (1997) "Foucault'da Öznellik ve Özgürlük", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 73.

influencing not only the representations of space, but also of functioning as a material productive force concerning the spatial practices (Harvey, 1990b). It is in the representational space that new meanings or possibilities for the spatial practices are imagined. The production of space, then, is related to the question about how relations of knowledge and power, as they regulate the productive or creative capacities, operate. Such a problematic of space, in fact, could be situated within the historical context of capitalism in the post-1970s period. Lefebvre's discussion of the society of bureaucratically controlled consumption could be regarded as an attempt to problematize this new historical context.

Lefebvre had discussed the society of bureaucratically controlled consumption that encapsulates the images and symbols and what they refer in the eyes of the spectator/consumer, in his *Everyday Life in the Modern World* (1968). We can assume that his account anticipates what many commentators referred as the aestheticization of everyday life in the post-1970s period[55]. Signs are seen to lose their referent and shifted to signals that "command, regulate and control the behaviours" (Lefebvre, 2000/1968). In other words, Lefebvre claims, the harmony of language and reality, of significant action and learning is lost. The society of bureaucratically controlled consumption tends to be switched to a closed circuit. Yet, it never becomes a closed system, since there is always something that intervenes, a contradiction or 'an outcry that fissures the structure'. The representational spaces are the realms where new creative or productive vitalities emerge, the old relations dissolve and new relations are produced. They are potentially the differential spaces, according to Lefebvre, linked to the "clandestine or underground side of life".

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[55] The aestheticization of everyday life is referred in the Chapter I and III.

I would conclude my account of the production of space by briefly referring to the question of resistance. I will explain Lefebvre's conception of resistance by contrasting it with de Certeau's account. It is the project of de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) to seek exclusively a theory of the lived space, in the quest of hidden practices of space below the thresholds at which visibility begins. He seeks the practices that are developed and insinuated themselves into the networks of surveillance and combined in accord with unreadable but stable tactics. De Certeau adopts Foucaultian notion of disciplinary power –the panoptic surveillance- that "operates according to the discursive codification and regulation of practice through observation and description" (Burkitt, 2004: 215). According to de Certeau, these practices are specific form of operations, the "styles of use", that are registered to the visibility of the city as mobility and concealed by the mechanism of the observational organization.

For both Lefebvre and de Certeau, the symbolic representations contained in space at once display and conceal the social relations that produce the lived space. They consider the question of visibility as a modern phenomenon rooted in the history of capitalist urbanization. Both Lefebvre and de Certeau problematize the primacy of the visible, provoked by modern architecture, as an influential force on the lived space. Hence, they discuss the symbolic representations in relation to the question of power and domination. For both of them, the lived space has to be deciphered in order to disclose the resistance practices that remain hidden. They have, nonetheless, different conceptions of resistance in relation to space.

For de Certeau, resistance practices are "written" to the opaque mobility of city and they are to be deciphered. Although they are developed and insinuated into the networks of

surveillance, they are not regulated by the panoptic administration. They are the tactics of the weak played on within "enemy territory" and, thus, they are temporal interventions which transform into a favourable situation for the weak. For Lefebvre, in turn, resistance is a question of revolutionary transformation and involves the reappropriation of space, which should be accompanied with the production of a new space. While Lefebvre conceives spatial practices in relation to the production of space, for de Certeau they consist of the ways of appropriating places. Thus, de Certeau conceives them as practices that transform places into space. Actually, we may consider de Certeau's conception of resistance practices as a contribution to Lefebvre's account of the production of space. De Certeau's account provides the tools to inquire how the lived space –the representational space- functions as a material productive force concerning the spatial practices. It leads us to think of such practices which take up, resist and modify the representations of space. Therefore, the production of space does not exclude the resistance in de Certeau's sense. Yet, the question of resistance in relation to the reappropriation of space, as Lefebvre would indicate, remains unanswered.

The iconology of space

I reframed above Lefebvre's account within the historical context of post-1970s period. To repeat briefly, I assume that the post-1970 period constitutes the particular conditions that destabilize the referential systems of meaning. In fact, according to Cosgrove & Daniels, such a condition highlights the iconographic method as central to the inquiry of space (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). As they state, "the post-modern apprehension of the world emphasizes the inherent instability of meaning, our ability to invert signs and symbols, to recycle them in a different context and thus transform their reference" (7).

The term "iconography" implies a theoretical and historical study of the symbolic imagery. While, the interpretation of symbolic imagery reaches back to Renaissance, the iconography as the source of sociological analysis has attained a larger scope ever since. Cosgrove & Daniels constructs a genealogy of the iconographic inquiry, following from the art historian Erwin Panofsky to ethnographer Clifford Geertz, to John Berger and Raymond Williams who came from a variety of disciplines including geography, fine art, literature, social history and anthropology (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988). The "iconographic interpretation" or, as Panofsky replaced after, the "iconological inquiry" treats the changing modes of perceiving and representing space. The iconology refers to a criticism that regards language and images as "enigmas, problems to be explained, prison houses which lock understanding away from the world. ...[I]nstead of providing a transparent window on the world, images are now regarded as the sort of sign that presents a deceptive appearance of naturalness and transparence" (Mitchell, 1986: 2; quoted in Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988: 7). The iconological interpretation, in short, may allow the study of changing modes of perceiving and representing space through the reading of the signs and symbols, and of the symbolic acts implicated in the lived space, by way of interpreting how they produce different images of the space.

This statement affords the possibilities for a case study of the middle field by interpreting the various and differential uses since the 1970s, including how the students 'map' the field by opening stands, hanging out, sporting, gathering or sitting. These acts also point at the contestation of the meanings concerning the spatial practices. The 'symbolic works' contained in the middle field refer to the fragments of discourse and images about this space, circulating through various media as well. The statement offers the

possibility of studying space within the cultural context where the acts, producing meanings in the space, embrace forms of sociality, identifications and differences. The change of the spatial texture with the conversion of the middle field into a lawn would mediate the study in questioning how the fragments of discourses and the images provoked by the university administration are related to the 'symbolic works' of the students and spatial practices.

Meanings of public space in the 1970s

The middle field is the main space where students could encounter each other in the 1970s. The campus space consisted of the offices, the faculty buildings, the dormitories, the refectory, the canteens and the library gathered in the south campus, when compared to the 1990s. The middle field, then, is the site where students could run across and exchange greetings, for instance, as they come out of the library or class. The steps in front of Anderson Hall (TB) and the barriers in front of Dodge Hall (ÖFB) were locations where students could enjoy sitting and looking around. In a university with numbers of student ranging from one to three thousands in the 1970s, the middle field as the space of encounters afforded the students what the interviewee G.Ş. terms as the sense of a "small place". The term implies for her the sense of community and familiarity gathered through the experience that everyone knows each other or, at least, sees each other.

One can only situate and make sense of the daily experience and the uses of the middle field within the cultural context of the representation of space. The middle field, as the land amidst the buildings, had been marked by the presence of the students and various activities throughout Robert College time. The buildings, erected one by one, had formed a quadrangle within a period of sixty years[56]. Students used to play sports in the middle field.

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[56] Hamlin Hall (1871), Albert Long Hall (1891), Theodorus Hall (1902), Dodge Gymnasium Hall (1904), Washburn Hall (1906), Anderson Hall (1913), Washburn Social Hall (1914) and Van Millingen Library

The American rituals such as the graduation exercises (*mezuniyet töreni*) or Field Day also took place there. Celebrated since the late nineteenth century, Field Day consisted of organized competitions of field sports among the students and it included rituals such as the election of kings and queens among the students. Hence, it may be assumed that the space had served as the yard of the college.

In the 1970s, inherited rituals such as the graduation exercises had continued to take place in the middle field. Acquiring new meanings, Field Day transformed into Sports Fest organized every year with the participation of teams from other universities. The goal posts in the field and the occasional soccer games marked the space as the soccer field. The space was the locus of student demonstrations as well. One can discuss the meanings of various uses through the narratives of the interviewees concerning the campus life in the 1970s. As de Certeau suggests, "everyday stories are treatments of space" for they tells us what one can do with it and make out of it (de Certeau, 1984: 122). I shall rather benefit from these narratives to reveal how people made sense of the place[57].

Concerning the middle field, almost all interviewees remember that the main activity there was soccer playing. They mention it not as an event which they make sense of. In other words, what were important for them are not the soccer games, but it is the fact that the games took place in the middle field. They tell it as if the games used to take place there naturally. Such a narrative seems in contrast to that of the interviewee S.O. who makes sense of the effort of the sports committee and of the soccer games as the

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(1932) form a quadrangle. These buildings are referred today as, respectively, I. Men's Dormitory, BTS, I. Girls' Dormitory, ÖFB Gymnasium Hall, İB, TB, ÖFB (offices, theatre hall and Özger Arnas/Red Hall) and Rectorship building.

[57] The place, for de Certeau, delimits a field; one imagines the place as the distinct and "proper" location of something done. Take for example the statement "I used to sleep *there* when I was a child". Therefore, the place "excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location" in contrast to the space (de Certeau,

participation of the students making up their leagues with the presence of a populous audience. Yet, it also confirms the narrative of S.O. who states that "the soccer was all the time regarded as identified with the school". It may be assumed then that the soccer games, as well as watching them, were the spatial practices that realized the representation of the middle field as the university yard. These practices served to naturalize the games as the ordinary activities of the students who spend time in the courtyard of the school.

Actually, the middle field contained multiple meanings. It oriented the students to come with the motivation of running across with people, eating a snack outdoor in public or enjoying the space. These are the ways of appropriating the places, the multiplicity of places since all acts, even walking as de Certeau suggests, select and fragment the space traversed (de Certeau, 1984). The barriers in front of Dodge Hall, for instance, where the students sat consisted of a range of places. As S.O. mentions concerning the attendance of the crowded audience watching the soccer games in the field, the stone extension of the basement in front of Hamlin Hall that makes a large step with the land was another place to sit. The places were selected, invented or transformed as the students acted and composed a pathway out of them.

The middle field also served as the medium where politically motivated students could assert themselves[58]. The 1970s provided a particular context to inquire the spatial meanings of the middle field, since the political opposition of the 1970s influenced the formation of youth cultures. It is possible to observe that political identities sought to

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1984: 117). *Space is thus the practiced place. A street, for instance, geometrically defined by urban planner is transformed into space by walkers.*

[58] Though in a different context, Meltem Ahıska mentions her memory of a political demonstration at Boğaziçi University in the late 1970s: "While we were demonstrating at the *yard of the university* in order to protest the massacre at Kahramanmaraş, an elderly instructor who followed up "the events" had said later 'so

appropriate the place as a realm of struggle since the late 1960s, with the rising student opposition in the campus.

Hence, the representation of the middle field as the courtyard of the university shapes the middle field on the basis of ritualistic uses of the space. The sense of small place led the students to make sense of the spatial practices as communal values. These practices wrote out the middle field as a public space. Yet, although these practices could be viewed as the tactics of using the space; they did not transform the representation of the space as the yard of the university. These ways of appropriating the places remained ignored within the representation of the middle field.

The iconology of "middle field" in the 1990s

The conversion of the middle field into green area and cement pathways in the early 1990s is significant, as it opens the space to different meanings. As the middle field transforms into a space of attraction, the iconological inquiry of the space gives us insights into the youth cultures of the 1990s. The representations of the middle field help to fashion the dominant contours of youth cultures by fixing the spatial meanings. In other words, these representations contribute to the emergence of new lifestyles through which students tend to display their bodies and sexualities through dress, demeanour and gesture. They work as pedagogical forces that educate the students to experiment new tastes and styles through leisure and consumption practices. I will inquire these aspects in this section severally. First, I will give a brief account of the representations of the middle field through architecture. I argue that these representations serve to spectacularize the space and, correspondingly, transform the forms of sociality. Second, I will trace the aesthetic and

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you joined the anarchists too'" (Ahıska, 1999: 14; my emphasis). The preference to name the middle field as the university yard is intentional in order to indicate that the demonstration had took place in the university.

cultural processes, which culminate in the transformation of the middle field, back to the 1980s. Finally, I will try to discuss how these representations help to impose a spatial control, although student activities on the space contest the spatial meanings and modify these representations.

Representations of the middle field through architecture

The contemporary urban design reflects how urban design proposals are shaped as part of functional, as well as aesthetic concerns. For instance, the streetscape design including the street furniture, sidewalk materials, width and shape counts on how it would determine the experience of a place and the level of pedestrian activity, and in what sense it would define the quality of the 'street life' (Levy, 1998). Concerning the middle field, I could not have access to the information on the landscape design carried out in the academic year 1993-1994 by a consortium of companies. Yet, the members of the unit of building affairs as I hold conversation with them explain their motivations. For them, the construction is designed to step up the weak drainage of the field, turning to slush in winter times, and to ward off the dust raised by wind, causing damage to the historical buildings. It may be interpreted therefore that the design intended to upgrade the quality of space by promoting an enjoyable pedestrian activity and protecting the historical surroundings. Accordingly, the then president of the university Üstün Ergüder announces the construction of the middle field in monthly bulletin of the university administration with an emphasis on the aesthetic value of the space replacing the old slushy square (Boğaziçinden Haberler, 1994).

The architectural project embedded in the spatial texture gives information as well. The roundabout on the driveway and the sidewalk crossing through the side from Etiler gate to Aşiyan distinguishes between the driveway and the field. In contrast, short posts

distinguished between the old field and the driveway. The field is transformed into parcellized green area and cement walks that extend from the midpoint that forms a round center to the buildings. The contrast between driveway and field, as well as the cement walkways on the field, emphasize the space as a pass-through area from the driveway to the buildings. The frontal spaces of ÖFB (Dodge Gymnasium and Social Hall), Men's Dormitory (Hamlin Hall), BTS (Albert Long Hall) and Rectorship building (old Van Millingen library) are cobblestones. In a sense, they provide smooth transition from walkways to buildings, accentuating the historical buildings. The cobblestone walk also mediates vehicular entry that is inhibited or allowed by a barrier and security lodge at the entrance to the field. The cobblestone area in front of BTS and at the corner of Washburn Hall (İB) stairway makes roundel and enlarges this area, making temporary parking possible. Finally, short lamp-posts alongside the walkways, garbage receptacles and benches adds to its functional and aesthetic quality to lodge the students.

One can discuss the implications of this architectural project with reference to the urban revitalization designs and gentrification projects in the city of İstanbul in the post-1980s period. For many commentators, these designs and projects, which apparently aimed at recovering of the authenticity of historical places, illustrated new social and cultural tensions revolving upon the cultural identity of the city[59]. These projects deploy the cultural representations of urban space that make claim on history and cultural narratives, and reconstitute the past.

Moreover, these representations also contribute to the production of new urban spaces as they are incorporated into the symbolic economy of the cities (Zukin, 1995). As

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[59] See Bartu (1999) and Keyder (1999b).

cultural capital, these representations are appropriated by the urban economy, especially marked by the rise of financial capital, service sector and new real estate market. Urban spaces transform into new arenas for realization of value (Soja, 1980). For Zukin, the urban spaces do not acquire new meanings solely in connection to the economic factors. These representations also serve to manipulate the symbolic languages of exclusion from and entitlement to new urban spaces. Concerning the city of İstanbul, the transformation of urban spaces is closely connected with the uneven penetration of global flows and differentiation between social lifestyles (Keyder, 1999a). The revitalization and gentrification projects, which transform urban spaces into sites of leisure and cultural consumption, contribute to the spectacularization of these spaces (Bartu, 1999).

Concerning the middle field, the architectural construction significantly shifts the meanings that the middle field conveyed since the 1970s. It transforms the middle field into a landscape in the 1990s. The transformation of the spatial textures overlays the space as a pass-through area and a temporary lodge of spectacular character. More importantly, the spectacularization of the middle field mediates the capital accumulation and cultural consumption processes. It nearly turns into a commodity which is to be marketed and rented by the university administration and student clubs. As a cultural image, it tends to signify a space of display, leisure and consumption. I will try to illuminate the spectacularization of the middle field in the post-1980 period.

Spectacularization of space
The spectacularization of the middle field is interrelated to the capital accumulation and cultural consumption processes that penetrate the campus space in the post-1980 period. The middle field not only becomes a commodity. As a cultural image, it is also incorporated in "the ways in which the purchase and consumption of commodities, an

allegedly material act, is increasingly mediated by diffuse cultural images (via advertising, display and promotion)" (Featherstone, 1991: 96). These forms of consumption points to the consumption of signs or the symbolic aspects of goods as the major source of satisfaction derived, including the leisure consumption as in theme parks or recreational centres where individuals are motivated to seek experience and pleasure.

Throughout the 1990s, the middle field has been occasionally the stage where the luxury cars, ready for driving about around the field, are exhibited. There, the members of aviation club could promote their image by trying their parachutes or radio club might publicize itself in ten-meters long and five-meters wide field tents brought by Camel Trophy. One could run across the giant outdoor play equipments during Sport Fest or a giant Nescafe ball, for instance, during the Air Fest organized by aviation club. The signs and symbols concentrated on the space also escalate due to the visual presence of companies, either handing out the promotion goods or leaving their imprints in the form of logos[60]. Banking employees wander near their stands, seeking to hand the credit card forms to students.

The middle field turns out nearly a commodity which is to be rented and marketed as the image of the university in the 1990s. It becomes rented as the site for filming television broadcast, advertisement or song clip. As the interviewee Ş.Z. who worked in the sports committee in the second half of the decade tells, it is also 'rented' by the student clubs. When the clubs negotiate with companies for sponsorship, they negotiate the rent of space per square meter. The companies, in turn, could use the space to open stand or to

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[60] For an argument that discusses the concentration of sponsor logos in terms of the implications of labelling to the capital accumulation and cultural consumption processes, see the account of Sports Fest in this thesis, Chapter III, p. 101.

display an advertising object. The picture of the middle field is, moreover, distributed through various media including television and newspapers. It functions not only as the picture of the university, but also the picture of any university as it might be run up against a news item concerning the university students.

The university administration intensively makes use of this picture in presenting the school in order to attract the market students and the companies. The neo-liberal restructuring of higher education is reflected on the growing emphasis of the 'competitive assets' of the university including the unique composition of historical buildings, spatial aesthetics of the middle field and scenery of the bosphorus shores. The words of the president Üstün Ergüder illuminates: "The distinctive place that Boğaziçi occupies in the world of higher education is matched with its unique and historic location on the shores of the Bosphorus" (quoted in Özkul et al., 1994).

The recent change of the university entrance system guides the university's use of the picture as well. Under the global conditions of intensified competition and commercialization, universities become more entrepreneurial and aware of their images. Boğaziçi University takes place among the institutions which compete to attract the students ranked among the highest scores. For this purpose, the university administration arranges orientation days for the senior students of high schools or organizes presentation days to the potential students. Concerning the presentation issues, the university administration makes extensive use of the picture of the middle field through various media. For instance, the 20-minutes presentation CD of 2003 available to the potential students who participate in university presentation days includes the interviews with undergraduate students that tell about their university. It is striking that students

interviewed at the outdoor spaces have only fragments of south campus on the background, exhibiting pictures of the historical buildings and the middle field. The closing scene is a distant panoramic view of the space while the president's speech is simultaneously heard.

Middle field as space of public display

As the above analysis demonstrates, the representation of the middle field as a landscape mediates the transformation of space into an object of display. Yet, the spectacularization of the middle field gives rise to its transformation to a space of display as well. We can consider this transformation within the context of the changing campus space since the 1980s. The spectacularization of space is the result of the cultural and aesthetic processes that are brought by the uneven penetration of global flows in Turkey in the post-1980 period. Namely, the cultural fragmentation and the aestheticization of everyday life provide the conditions for the emergence of new lifestyles. These lifestyles unquestionably emerge in interaction with new urban spaces. Contrary to older conceptions of lifestyles closely linked to class, age and normativity, the new lifestyles could be regarded as the active stylizations of life in which individuals are able to draw from a wide repertoire of symbolic goods and styles. These stylizations could draw from a range of repertoire including "fashion, the cinema, advertising and the infinite suggestibility of urban iconography" (Featherstone, 1991: 100). More importantly, it can be said that, concerning the youth cultures, these lifestyles blur the distinction between youth and adult styles and complicate the inquiry of youth identities.

The urban space of the city as a spectacle is the metaphor dating back to the birth of modernity and the transformation of urban space, as reflected by the theorists of modernity (Rendell, 1998). It refers to the changing relationship between viewer and viewed, annihilating the sense of familiarity attributed to the space and the concomitant

transformation of the forms of sociality in the public spaces. On the one hand, the spectacularization of urban spaces transforms them into new sites of public display and mediates spatial articulation of lifestyles through imitation, distinction and domination. On the other hand, it indicates weakening of public life which implies the lack of contact with 'strangers', individuals other than family and friends (Sennett, 1974)[61].

The spectacularization of urban spaces, accompanied with the spatial differentiation of lifestyles, is the distinct feature of the 1980s in Turkish context (Gürbilek, 2001). We can see the traces of this process in the campus space of the university as well. With the 1980s, the transformation of the campus space underscores the new definitions of space as site of leisure, display and consumption. The student records of the 1980s exhibit the pictures of a flock of stands covering the alley between İB and Men's Dormitory at the landing of İB stairway. The proliferation of the stands of packaged tours set up either by student clubs or tourism companies parallels the changing scope of student clubs, introducing to the campus life tea and talks, parties and relations with business world. In the 1980s, the south campus starts to make visible a bodily display of taste, which is reflected in dress, demeanour, walking, speaking and gesture. The emergent forms of sociality act as cultural intermediaries to educate the students to enjoy new tastes and styles. For instance, the tastes of a new social elite in the city of İstanbul, which are introduced to the campus space, could range from parties at the new-fashioned nightclubs such as Maslak Venue or Pascha to new favourite sports including American football, sailing or snowboard. There are other

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[61] Sennett discusses the weakening of the public life in relation with the transformation of urban spaces in the early nineteenth century Europe. In contrast to the medival and Renaissance spaces, the overpopulation in the metropolises with migration transforms the public places into the realm of gathered strangers, indicating to the change of the latter's identity as well. It advances new codifications of sociality with an emphasis on surface appearance, display, fashion and eroticism. The outcome is the constitution and growth of a 'psychic interior' that calls into question everything experienced with the impersonal. The individual attributes meaning only in relation to the personal relevance and withdraws from social participation.

examples indicating how the middle field increasingly takes on the characteristics of a space of public display in the post-1980 period, before the conversion of the middle field into a lawn in the early 1990s. For instance, the Auto Show organized by machine technology club (BÜMATEK), where the luxury cars exhibited and tested on the middle field, has been initiated before the construction of the middle field in the academic year 1993-94.

Yet, bodily display also requires to be looked at, a visual reciprocity with other students. The campus space, then, turns out to a medium of exchange of looks and gazes, contributing to the constitution of gender identities and to the appropriation of signs and symbols as marks of distinction. The new spaces of display not only expose the students to the display of taste and fashion, but also afford pleasure and satisfaction derived from looking. It also mediates the spatial articulation of different lifestyles. Here, one has to remind the overpopulation in the campus from the beginning of the 1980s, the concomitant rise in the proportion of non-Istanbulite students and the respective increase in the number of students graduated from ordinary high schools with the change of entrance examination (once requiring achievement in English) in the mid-1980s[62]. Correspondingly, the proportion of the students residing in dormitories increases from the mid-1980s, reaching to the highest level of (approximately) 2.500 in the first half of the 1990s, with the lowest proportion of residence area per students[63].

To repeat, the spectacularization of urban spaces also weakens the public life as it annihilates the sense of familiarity attributed to the space and produces isolation. Its

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[62] The number of student population gradually increases in the post-1980 period. It increases from more than 3.000 to 5.000 between 1980-1985. It rises to 9.500 at the early 1990s and peaks to 10.500 in the academic year 1992-93; data taken from *Facts and Figures in Boğaziçi University 2000*: 6.
[63] ibid, 70 and 157.

implications on the campus space can be exemplified by the attitudes of the students regarding the occupation of the building of rectorate by a group of young communists in spring 1992. As my informal interviews with graduates and instructors reveal, the three-day occupation and its brutal repression by the police is merely spectated by the students, without seemingly arousing any reaction. According to C.T. who studied in the first half of the decade, however, the seizure of the building aroused the curiosity among the students about the identity and the motivations of the occupants.

C.T. assumes that "the middle field had acquired a political meaning in those days". As she says, the students were averted by a mining disaster and the death of several miners because the occupants hanged banners on the buildings, protesting against the disaster. As she adds, the brutal repression of the occupants by the police as they beat them to death and their subsequent exposure of severe penal sanctions shocked the students. Here, it is important to underscore that the students, indeed, regarded the event as a spectacle. I will quote C.T.'s narrative of the event as she witnessed the reactions of the students sitting on the steps as well:

> The police aligned in a semi-circle of 10 meters cordoned off [the entrance of the building]. There were an unbelievable number of policemen and many police vans; some vans were waiting there as well. It seemed that it was somewhat close on a *coup d'etat*, and this was escalating the tension. You don't know for instance how many people are there. They are singing songs; the molotov cocktails were thrown out. But on the other hand, it was a kind of entertainment. People take their tea or coffee. [When returned they say] Did I miss anything? What did they say? People read fabric banners...[64].

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[64] *"10 metrelik yarım çember halinde polisler kordon altına almışlardı. İnanılmaz miktarda polis vardı ve bir sürü minibüs arabaları vardı; bir kısmı da orada bekliyordu. Neredeyse darbe yapılıyor filan gibiydi, o da gerilimi çok arttırıyordu. Kaç kişiler içerde mesela, bilmiyorsun. Türküler söylüyorlar, molotoflar atılıyor. Ama bir yandan da, 'entertainment' gibi bir şeydi. Herkes çayını, kahvesini alıyor. Birşey kaçırdım mı? Şimdi ne söylediler? Millet şeyleri okuyor falan."*

As the words of C.T. illustrate, the students standing around or sitting especially on the steps where they could spectate longer constituted the audience. It is possible to detect that she recovers the reactions of the others as well. Her detailed account of the scene displays her mental distance to the event: "it was a kind of entertainment". Why? Sennett would tell that isolation is directly produced by one's visibility to others. But from whom? The displayed spectacle makes visible not only the occupation, but also the spectators. It could be suggested that she withdraws her from the intimate observation that makes her visible to the students gathered next to her on the steps. It was an entertainment for them, not for her. Actually, the case illustrates how "isolation in the midst of public visibility and overemphasis on psychological transactions complement each other" (Sennett, 1974: 15).

Then, one needs to question why she states that the middle field has acquired a political meaning since it does not make sense to her. It seems that C.T. underlines the police violence that put on a political meaning, rather than the political significance of the occupation: "Perhaps, it started as an entertainment but the conclusion had been more political". Although the case needs broader evaluation of the post-1980 change, it may be argued that it reveals the constitution of what Gürbilek terms as a 'politics of speech'. Hence, it is possible to reveal that the political symbols such as banners, slogans, songs or molotovs are recycled within the spatial context where the scene takes place and transformed into referential signs –acting like codes rather than having political reference. The case displays the shift of the signs and their replacement by new signs of political significance such as police violence or clash distributed by new media in the post-1980 period.

As stated above, the aestheticization of everyday life contributes to the spectacularization of space and the concomitant transformation of forms of sociality. It parallels the constitution of a politics of speech that moves the references of language away from the familiar or the experienced and calls, even provokes, what is spoken and how it is expressed (which image or metaphor would be used) into its order (Gürbilek, 2001). The occupation both reveals the changing discursive formation of politics and it makes the territorial control visible as the official authority is contested.

The above analysis reveals the social implications of the representation of the middle field as a landscape. One has to remember that a landscape is "a cultural image, a pictorial way of representing, structuring or symbolizing the surroundings" (Cosgrove&Daniels, 1988: 1). It is produced by the spatial practices culminating to depict the space as a landscape. The image of landscape helps the exchange of the space for nostalgia, leisure and consumption (here, I have in mind the graduates' day and sponsored activities of clubs)[65]. In addition, it is also exchanged as a space of attraction. Secondly, the cultural image of landscape, which transformes the middle field into a space of display, accentuates the visibility. The spectacularization of space both promotes visibility to various identities and imposes a spatial control by immobilizing the opaque mobility of space into a transparent image.

Hence, the visual power of a landscape is not derived from the fact that it is a spectacle, but from the primacy of the gaze that it promotes. As Lefebvre indicates, the predominance of visualization primarily serves to conceal repetitiveness (Lefebvre, 1974:

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[65] The interviewee from BÜMED explains the use of the middle field, four or five times in a year, for these organizations of the association by telling that "the graduates' day calls campus, a place that they [graduates] might live nostalgia again". Graduates' day transforms the middle field into a recreational ground, a theme park where sponsored leisure and consumption facilities are offered to graduates and their children. BÜMED

75). The middle field is seen to represent the student mobility and complexity due to a continual crowd activity[66]. It is this repetitive, routinized and patterned social activity that constitutes the identity of a particular place. A study on the location of crowds in the early nineteenth century English towns comments that the spatial distribution of repeated crowd activity is not only symbolic in itself, but it could influence the activity's symbolic content as well (Harrison, 1988). Hence, it could be argued that the interplay between the representations of space and the lived space might culminate into a symbolic significance that the architectural project would never have intended. I will try to illustrate how the student activities might contest the spatial meanings of the middle field, although they do not challenge the spatial control imposed by the representations of space.

Spatial control and contestation of spatial meanings
The conversion of the middle field into green area and cement pathways in the early 1990s is significant also because we may argue that it opens the space to different meanings. The middle field comes to symbolize the university as a space of freedom for the generation of the 1990s. It is the place where the students display their sexuality as well (Ertürk, 2002)[67]. It has a particular significance in the imaginings of the university. For instance, the narration of the interviewee C.T exemplifies:

> Perhaps, a very long time of our lives had passed away there. Even if I didn't go together with someone, I used to take my *Leman* [a humour magazine] and read lying down there. Or I remember that we were playing

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also uses the cobblestone area in front of BTS to organize reunion meetings of the graduates –the dinners that gather graduates each five years.
[66] BUİK (2003) "Üstün Ergüder'le Akademik Kariyer ve Boğaziçi Üzerine". Interview with Üstün Ergüder made by management and economics club at 6 July; available at http: www.buik.net
[67] A research on the narratives of sexuality among students notes that the visibility of sexuality evokes the connotation of the middle field as a space of freedom, as the students discuss the sexuality in public display in terms of freedom and affirms it (Ertürk, 2002).

also backgammon. We have spent long time there, we have even done our reading there[68].

It is the place where students play around and, sometimes, drink secretly in day times. As the interviewee A.S studying since the early 1990s narrates, the students could laugh by throwing nylon bags filled with water from the upstairs of I. Men's Dormitory especially to the girls that might scream aloud or to their friends. The middle field could be also the meeting-place for the students who expect to find each other without making a date and go outside the campus to have a party.

Alternately, the middle field is the place for having a party at the evening especially in springtime. According to C.T., sitting in the green and singing with the accompaniment of guitar, wining and dining overnight is usual in the 1990s. In the words of A.S., one might run across a crowd of people overnight who play and sing, drink or set up their table in front of the men's dormitory to play card under the lamplight:

> The campus was more crowded [in the 1990s]. You would see a lot of people when you go there around five o'clock on Friday evenings. You would not schedule your weekend. You would come down south after five o'clock at evenings, you would hang out there. Then let's go to Taksim or somewhere else; people are organized and they would go. ... In midweek, I had gone down for little small talk before going at home. It was five o'clock when I came down to the lawn. It was five o'clock when I left there in the morning, I went to tumble to an empty bed in Men's Dormitory[69].

We may think of these narratives as a 'night discourse', implying a nocturnal imagining of the middle field which contributes to the image of the middle field as a space of freedom. The term "night discourse" indeed points to a different context, that of the

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[68] *"Belki hayatımızın çok uzun bir zamanı orada geçti. Biriyle olmasam bile Leman'ımı alıp orada yatar okurdum. Ya da tavla da oynadığımızı hatırlıyorum. Orada çok vakit geçirirdik, hatta okumaları orada yapardık."*

[69] *"Güney kampüs daha kalabalıktı. Cuma akşamı beşte gittiğin zaman bir sürü adam görürdün. Haftasonu programı yapmazdın. Akşam beşten sonra güneye inerdin, orada takılırdın. Ondan sonra haydi Taksim, şu bu, insanlar organize olur giderlerdi. ... Hafta ortasıydı, üç beş muhabbet, sonra eve kaçarım diye aşağı*

tactical consumption of street space by public and subversive art such as street posters, graffiti and billboard banditry leaving its evidence behind (Cresswell, 1998). Concerning the middle field, the night life of the campus is available to the view of students and the stories come into light as they are told. Hence, it becomes incorporated into the semiological repertoire of the space. The night discourse of the middle field is "a form of production – there is material product in the form of the image itself and the meanings that it encourages" (Cresswell, 1998: 273).

All these cited examples are not necessarily common practices to all students. Rather, they reveal the imagining of the middle field as a free space. Finally, the middle field could be imagined as a space of freedom since it has an image commonly associated with the tables set up by the student clubs and political groups to assert themselves. The repetitive and routinized activity endows these identities and their locations in the middle field with representational significance. For instance, the location of tables set up by the student clubs, as well as by companies, influence the way they present themselves and how they are perceived.

The cobblestone area at the corner of the field facing İB and Men's Dormitory provides place for the alignment of tables along the borders of this area. It accommodates the tables set up by student clubs enjoying sponsorship and relations to business world, and by companies distributing promotion goods and publicizing their activities. Until the establishment of Coordination of Student Activity in the mid-1990s, the space was used to display luxury cars in Auto Show or big tents of Camel Trophy which are banned from the space later on. The place is also a trespassing area for those who go to İB and to the "high

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inmiştim. Akşam beşti çime indiğimde. Çimlerden kalktığımda sabah saatin beşiydi, gidip 1. yurtta boş bir yatağa devrilmiştim."

society" canteen[70]. The walking line is conducted by a stairway in front of İB where students crowd, sitting or standing to pass away time. All add up to the connotation of that corner as a space of display where students exchange looks and gaze, making out of themselves an object of display. For the interviewee A.S., the barriers in front of Men's Dormitory is the location where students sit and "make themselves public" (*piyasa yapmak*). The expression implies that the students sitting there assert themselves by simply marking the place as their location, so that they would exchange looks with people around and become visible to their friends. Hence, that corner area signifies the location of a sociality for students who were generally identified by others as "*tiki*" or "*ciks*" in order to denote the upper-class attributes or a showy display of fashion.

In contrast, clubs expressing a dissident identity and political groups have their stands at the frontal area of ÖFB, near the middle canteen where political symbols tend to plenish. Hence, the spatial distribution of student activity distinguishes the different forms of sociality. It assigns particular locations to different students who, in turn, appropriate the place as their own zone. Then, it may be suggested that a 'subversive' use would embody a symbolic significance in challenging the meanings embedded in the space. I remember for instance my friends who spontaneously decided to tease the AIESEC stand set up by management and economics club. AIESEC is an international association of students that establishes contact between students and companies for probation abroad and advance in business career. The tactic was simple. A table, brought in a minute, is set up alongside AIESEC stand and furnished by printed bills imitating those on the side. Yet, the logo with its symbol and words got through slight modifications, barely revealed at a glance,

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[70] See "high society" canteen in the 1970s and afterwards in Chapter II, p. 38 and footnote 14 in p. 39.

expressed exactly the opposite meaning. Hence, the fake stand could succeed to attract the students that fronted towards AIESEC stand and enjoyed the frolic as they discovered it. Consequently, the students had to pack up indignantly as the security personnel congratulated my friends for their peaceful and passive protest.

A few qualifications are in order. While it is relevant that the spatial distribution, symbolic in itself, may fashion an activity's symbolic content, it is equally relevant that repetitive and routinized activity is caught in surveillance as far as they become spatially visible. To give a recent example, the committee coordinating the student activities (ÖFKK) established in 2001 issued a new regulation concerning the club activities and their spatial distribution. In a sense, it sanctioned the routine locations occupied with stands by banning the opening of stands elsewhere in the space. The ban concerning near İB building and the frontal gate to Red Hall is told to ward off the disarray in front of the faculty building and seminar places. The size of bills is also regulated to array the inflation of visual signs at the space. The university administration formally disallows unsanctioned bills and stands, and thus recognizes only the clubs as student activity. Although the political groups could contravene by opening their stands that are disallowed, the result is that their activity is usually patterned by the space and restricted to particular locations.

The use of the lawn may hold the same principle as well. The lawn provides a challenge to the practice of middle field as a pass-through area prescribed by walkways conducting the pedestrians and vehicles to walk on these routes, rather than the lawn. However, sitting on the lawn or playing games makes the boundaries of that area trangressable. The lawn could be crossed to walk up to a friend or to move along to play. Yet, the warnings of the security personnel not to play on grass, especially on the lots near

to rectorate building and BTS that are not populated so often, conduct the students to restrain their movement. Hence, they tend to restrict themselves to play on lots where the crowd is present and move towards the unpopulated lots where security personnel would otherwise warn.

The surveillance principle is actually inherent to the production of space. As Lefebvre discusses, the domination of the lived spaces by the activities defined in terms of exchange value is accomplished through the representations of space and spatial practices. Yet, the enhanced surveillance and regulation practices help to the dominance of particular representations while others are at the risk of being marginalized (Fyfe & Banister, 1998). Concerning the campus space of Boğaziçi University, the surveillance and regulation practices introduced in the 1990s could be considered within such a context. The university administration enhanced the security control especially in the second half of the decade: the security personnel provided by private companies, the close-circuit television cameras and the turnstiles at the gates, the establishment of wires along the outer walls of the campus space and the id control could be enumerated. It may be argued that the surveillance and regulation practices are correlated with the entrepreneurial image of the university, with its associated spatial practices of consumption and capital circulation. The middle field is illustrative of these practices. An important implication of such surveillance practices, however, is the fact that they contribute to the dominance of particular representations of space. To put it differently, the surveillance principle, as the regulation of social conduct, becomes internalized by the 'users' of space. For instance, the surveillance principle is also relevant in regulating the social conduct. The control at the gate spatially regulates the entry to the university and cites symbolically the control at the campus space. The students are

subject to the control not by listening to the security that warn them, but by showing their id or gravitating towards the turnstiles without being forewarned.

Conclusion

In the post-1980 period, the middle field turns to a space of public display, leisure and consumption. While the 1970s' generation seeks to appropriate it as a public space, the subsequent generations seek to overlay it new meanings. The symbolic significance of the middle field still keeps its connotation as a public space in the 1990s, but it transforms its meaning into plurality and diversity. The representation of the middle field as a landscape both simulates such an image of diversity and helps to picture the middle field as a space of attraction. The spatial practices, which transform the middle field into a space of attraction, contribute to the penetration of companies into the campus life and various cultural consumption processes as well.

I argued that the spectacularization of space taking place in the 1990s contribute to the emergence of new lifestyles. The middle field provides a semiological repertoire that is appropriated by the students as the marks of these lifestyles. These lifestyles tend to point to a de-centring of identity and engagement in the aestheticized and playful exploration of new tastes. They also lead the students to perform new leisure and consumption practices introduced to the campus space by student clubs associated with sponsorship and companies. With an enhanced surveillance and regulation in the campus space during the 1990s, the representation of the middle field as a landscape serves to highlight particular experiences and knowledge of lifestyles, while others are at the risk of being marginalized. Consequently, it is possible to reveal an important difference with comparison to the 1970s. On the one hand, the spatial transformation of the post-1980 period invites a multiplicity of actors from graduates to companies that intervene in and modify the spatial texture. On the

other hand, we simultaneously loose sight of the subjects embodying the cultural and aesthetic processes that produce the space.

V. CONCLUSION

The transformation of universities has become a public controversy particularly in the last decade in our country. The restructuring process reflects the historical change of capitalism in the aftermath of 1970's crisis of capital accumulation. It exposes the universities further to the logic of market and leads to the commercialization of universities. The crisis of capital accumulation in the early 1970s had provoked the expansion and concentration of capital into social realms and the realignment of social relations in accordance with the market logic. The students, the faculty and the workers are increasingly exposed to the preferences of capital; the communal bonds dissolve while new forms of sociality prevail. The relations of capital fix these preferences culturally as the routine obligations of everyday life.

I assumed that Boğaziçi University could be an example in inquiring the transformation of the social relations of everyday life and the campus space brought along by the restructuring process of higher education. The thesis is intended to provide a theoretical framework to discuss the transformation by underlining the role of youth culture in shaping the universities. It aims to shed light on the active participation of students in shaping the social relations within the campus space. I argued that the inquiry of cultural representations as relations of power and knowledge demonstrates how emergent forms of sociality and lifestyles lead the students to adapt themselves to new relations of power and control.

The inquiry of changing youth cultures in Boğaziçi University reveals that the cultural fragmentation and aestheticization of everyday life are significant since the 1970s. The youth cultures of the 1970s are elaborated in Chapter II and III within the context of

students' narratives of lived spaces and the folklore club of the 1970s. These chapters demonstrate that the decade of the 1970s is culturally split in that although the youth cultures of the 1970s display the early emergence of a consumerist culture, they are also marked with a political discourse that underlined the class identities and the anti-imperialist demand of democracy and independence in line with nationalist and developmentalist concerns. Thus, the youth cultures of the 1970s also constituted a counter-cultural tendency, opposing the individualistic culture in the campus space. On the contrary, the youth cultures of the 1990s point to the fact that social identities become more fluid and culture got really fragmented. Chapter III and IV elaborate on the youth cultures of the 1990s. In Chapter III, it is demonstrated that the students clubs become increasingly associated with sponsorship and introduce new leisure and cultural consumption styles into the campus space. As the range of the club activities diversifies, the distinction between the club and non-club activities blurs, resulting in the proliferation of signs and symbols in the fabric of everyday campus life. The companies gain their visual presence in the campus space through the clubs, as they make themselves visible through advertising and display or leave their trace in the forms of logos. The youth cultures of the 1990s are marked by the emergent lifestyles associated with leisure and consumption activities. Contrary to older conceptions of lifestyles of the 1970s closely linked to class, age and normativity, these new lifestyles could be regarded as the active stylizations of life in through which students engage in the aestheticized and playful exploration of new tastes of a new social elite.

These aesthetic and cultural processes mediate the transformation of the campus space and concomitant construction of identities in the post-1980 as well. In Chapter IV, the inquiry of the middle field illustrates how the spectacularization of space contributes to

the emergence of new lifestyles and tastes. The middle field increasingly takes on a spectacular character, thanks to the changing scope of the student activities which tend to highlight the showy display of taste and fashion. It turns to a space of public display that not only exposes the students to the bodily display of taste and fashion, but also affords pleasure and satisfaction derived from looking. The architectural construction of the middle field in the early 1990s transforms the middle field into a landscape. It is demonstrated that the representation of the middle field as a landscape serves to highlight particular experiences and knowledge of lifestyles, while others are at the risk of being marginalized. The representation of the middle field as a landscape also helps the university administration to marketize it as the image of the university to attract the market students and companies.

Chapter III and IV also elaborate the changing mechanism of control and new forms of resistance. Concerning the inquiry of the middle field, it is possible to observe that the students could take part more actively in deliberate stylization of life, contest the spatial meanings and resist the dominant representations of space. The intensification of signification processes through the concentration of signs and images provide opportunities to students to make their activities visible to a greater audience. Students can dare to engage in any sort of activity that could not be figured out in the 1970s. As the account of the folklore club of the 1990s reveals, the student activities give voice to changing concerns of political significance. Instead of appropriating the folklore as "people's culture", the folklore club of the 1990s aims to represent the local cultures and ethnic identities. It tends to blur the distinction between art and everyday life by elaborating on the artistic representation of the everyday life. Yet, as the university administration becomes more

entrepreneurial and aware of its image in the 1990s, it enlarges the scope of a surveillance and regulation mechanism that contribute to the dominance of particular representations of space and leisure while others become marginalized. As it is shown in Chapter IV, the surveillance and regulations practices help to impose spatial control on the student activities by sanctioning them to their appropriate location. Consequently, the spatial practices of students remained within the confines of youth cultures of the 1990s and they could not be considered as genuine alternative to the logic of capital.

Nevertheless, the account of youth cultures of the 1990s can provide insights into the question of resistance within the context of social change and concomitant transformation of power relations in the post-1980 period. The implications of the thesis could be elaborated with an eye towards understanding the limitations and possibilities that the youth cultures of the 1990s offer. Such a revision could further contribute to the development of a problematic of youth cultures within the context of changing forms of class struggle that the expansion and concentration of relations of capital in the campus space implies.

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