

CLINICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF EMOTIONS, PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS
AND WAYS OF COPING ASSOCIATED WITH CULTURAL IDENTITY: AN
INTERPRETATIVE PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis analyzes the experiences associated with cultural identity, emotions and psychological needs elicited from those experiences, and how individuals cope with them among one of the cultural group in Turkey. Qualitative methodology was applied and analyses were done by using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Nine participants were interviewed twice, almost with one week interval. The participants age range changes between 18 and 70. At the end of the analyses seven superordinate themes; namely ‘the process of ethnic identity formation’, ‘definition of the cultural identity’, ‘the perceived image of cultural identity’, ‘negative experiences related to cultural identity’, ‘emotions accompanying the process of one’s realization of his/her identity and negative experiences’, ‘psychological needs elicited from the narratives’, and ‘coping with negative emotions elicited from identity formation process and negative experiences’ and many subthemes related with them were emerged. The emerged themes are discussed in the light of the identity literature and Lacanian concepts.

Keywords: Ethnic/Cultural Identity, Emotions, Ways of Coping, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

ÖZ

KÜLTÜREL KİMLİKLE İLİŞKİLİ DUYGULARIN, PSİKOLOJİK İHTİYAÇLARIN VE BAŞ ETME YOLLARININ KLİNİK AÇIDAN YORUMLANMASI: YORUMLAYICI FENOMENOLOJİK ANALİZ ÇALIŞMASI

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Bu tez çalışması, kültürel kimlik ile ilgili deneyimleri, bu deneyimler sonucunda ortaya çıkan duyguları, psikolojik ihtiyaçları ve bireylerin bunlarla nasıl başettiğini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Niteliksel metodoloji uygulanmış ve Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz kullanılarak analizler yapılmıştır. Türkiye’de var olan bir kültürel gruba ait dokuz katılımcı ile bir hafta aralıklarla iki kez röportaj yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaş aralığı 18 ile 70 arasında değişmektedir. Analizlerin sonunda, ‘kimliğin oluşma süreci’, ‘etnik/kültürel kimliği tanımlama ve algılama şekli’, ‘kültürel kimliğin diğerleri tarafından algılanan imajı’, ‘kültürel kimlik nedeniyle ortaya çıkan negatif deneyimler’, ‘kimliği fark etme sürecine ve negatif deneyimlere eşlik eden duygular’, ‘psikolojik ihtiyaçlar’ ve ‘kimliğin oluşum sürecine ve negatif deneyimlere eşlik eden duygularla baş etme’ şeklinde yedi üst tema ve bunlarla ilişkili birçok alt tema ortaya çıkmıştır. Ortaya çıkan temalar kimlik literatürü ve Lacan kavramları ışığında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etnik/Kültürel Kimlik, Duygular, Baş Etme Yolları, Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz

To my daughter Azize İdil,
To my niece Masal
&
To all 'other' children

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

'Geography is fate', says Ibni Haldun. That beautiful land comes at the head of those cities verifying this statement. Identity that is not mainstream is a bad fate there; being the other is not easy at all.

S. Büyükaşık, *Bir Öteki Okur-Yazar*

As a clinical psychologist, I conducted therapy during the doctorate education. Some of my clients were from different cultural groups. During the therapy processes, I realized that those clients had some shared experiences and emotions, like shame and incompetency. I also as an Arab Alevi member had a chance to think about the effects of being a member of a cultural group on emotions and on ways of coping with those emotions. I began to question the development of cultural identity and its influence on one's social and emotional aspects. While discussing this topic with people, I realized that there are some common points shared by minority people. Thus, the first reference point was me and my experiences.

Ethnic, religious, cultural, and minority identity has been studied by different disciplines varying from sociology, psychology, history to political science around the world. In Turkey, the issue of identity is mostly studied in sociology, history, and political science. When we consider psychology, there are studies about minorities and ethnic identity conducted in social psychology in Turkey; however, there are not many studies in clinical psychology. Regarding the reality of Turkey consisting of multiple ethnic and religious communities, this issue should be focused on by clinical psychologists to understand experiences and emotions related with ethnic, religious, and cultural identities. A clinical psychologist in Turkey has a high possibility to work with clients from different ethnic, religious, or cultural identities.

In accordance with the information given above, the aim of the current study is to understand emotions related with cultural minority identity. The experiences associated with cultural identity, especially the ones in which individuals had encountered their identity for the first time (in family environment or when they came across with other ethnic or religious groups), were analyzed to understand the emotions elicited through these experiences. Additionally, another important point was regarding how individuals cope with these emotions, what kinds of strategies they employ to manage the negative experiences and emotions. Thus, the following questions were asked: How do members of minority groups form their ethnic identity? What do they experience throughout this process? What kinds of emotions are elicited from those experiences? How do the individuals cope with those experiences and associated emotions? For this aim, members of one minority group, Arab Alevis, constituted the sample of the study. It is aimed to discuss the results of the study both in the light of the literature about ethnic identity formation processes and in the light of Lacanian concepts.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Ethnic, Cultural, Religious Minority Identities

In the current study, the sample of the study consists of Arab Alevi members. Arab Alevi identity comprises both an ethnic (due to being Arab) and a religious (due to being Alevi) identity, both of which may end up with a cultural identity. In the rest of the current study, the term of ‘cultural identity’ will be used to refer this point with the reality of their being minority. Because of that, it is necessary to define culture, cultural identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity.

How one perceives him/herself and who s/he is as an individual is affected by where, when, and how s/he was grown up (Thomas & Schwarzbaum, 2006). All are connected with culture, which is defined by Veroff and Goldberger (1995) as:

... referring to a collectivity of people who share a common history, often live in a specific geographic region, speak the same or a closely related language, observe common rituals, beliefs, values, rules, and laws, and which can be distinctively identified according to culturally normative practices such as child-rearing, kinship arrangements, power arrangements, ascribed roles that make up the fabric of how a society functions.

Culture is important because it has a huge effect on people’s lives (Thomas & Schwarzbaum, 2006). When we consider the development of children, we can see that cultural factors have an important role (Thomas & Schwarzbaum, 2006) in the development process. It was stated that children could understand sociopolitical and sociocultural factors related with their identity. Additionally, Thomas & Schwarzbaum (2006) claimed that when adolescents begin to ask the question of ‘who am I?’, they evaluate their role within the society, consisting of values and stereotypes. They also reported that ethnic minority children’s future and career

expectations are shaped by their perceptions of others' reactions and acceptance.

Cultural identity is defined as:

...in its most basic form, is a sense of belonging. This includes a shared sense of companionship, beliefs, interests and basic principles of living. When a person identifies with their culture, they often embrace traditions that have been passed down through the years. The cultural identity links a person to their heritage can help them to identify with others who have the same traditions and basic belief systems.

(“What is a cultural identity?”, 2016)

Phinney (1990) reviewed a number of research conducted on ethnic identity, and concluded that there is no common definition of ethnic identity. According to Rotheram and Phinney (1987) ethnic identity refers to “one’s sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership” (as cited in Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Both ethnicity and religions are indicators of group identity (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Ethnic and religious groups have some functions like providing positive identity, meaningfulness, cultural worldview, and making one feel certainty and belongingness (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

2.2. Models of Ethnic, Racial, Cultural Identity Development

There are many models to explain the development of racial/cultural or ethnic identity for minority groups around the world. Sue and Sue (2013) summed up those models, which mostly focus on American society, in four categories as follows: Black identity development models (e.g. Cross’s Nigrescence Model developed in 1971 (Cross and Vandiver, 2001)), Asian American identity development models (e.g. S. Sue and D. W. Sue developed in 1971 (Sue & Sue, 2013)), Latino/Hispanic American identity development models. After discussing the advantages and shortcomings of those models, Sue and Sue, in 1990, redefined the Minority Identity Development model proposed by Atkinson, Morten, and Sue as Racial/Cultural Identity Development model to make it cover a wide-ranging population (Sue and Sue , 2013). The model contains five stages of development: conformity, dissonance, resistance and immersion, introspection, and integrative awareness (Sue & Sue, 2013). Each level of identity is discussed with regard to four beliefs and attitudes which may be helpful for therapists working with minority clients in terms of

providing better understanding (Sue & Sue, 2013). These beliefs and attitudes comprise the minority identity and show themselves in how s/he perceives a) the self, b) others of the same minority, c) others of another minority, d) majority individuals.

Considering *the conformity stage*, Sue and Sue (2013) stated that, in terms of self, minority people in this stage tend to perceive physical and cultural characteristics of their group as negative and they tend to avoid or change these characteristics (self-depreciating attitudes and beliefs). Additionally, characteristics (like appearance and behavioral characteristics) peculiar to one's culture may become a source of shame for the person and s/he may have low internal self-esteem (Sue & Sue, 2013). The person in this stage attempts to imitate the characteristics of the dominant culture. When we look at the attitudes and beliefs about members of same minority group (group depreciating attitudes and beliefs), a person in this stage may accept and internalize the dominant culture's (White society) stereotypes about their group (Sue & Sue, 2013). Identification with negative traits becomes painful for persons, thus they keep themselves away from their own group. The persons at conformity stage reveal discriminatory attitudes and beliefs towards members of other minority groups (Sue & Sue, 2013). Because of identification with White society, they have similar dominant attitudes towards different minority groups as well. On the other hand, they appreciate members of the dominant group. One thinks that White standards have superior characteristics and White people should be respected (Sue & Sue, 2013).

In the *dissonance stage*, Sue and Sue (2013) stated that although one tries to deny his or her own cultural identity, s/he may come across information or experience something not congruent with his or her attitudes and beliefs. For example, one may encounter a person who does not fit in stereotypes in his/her mind or a person proud of his/her heritage or discrimination on personal level (Sue & Sue, 2013). Although one moves gradually in this stage, a traumatic event may make this process much more rapid. Attitudes and beliefs towards self show themselves as a conflict between self-depreciating and self-appreciating. It is the first time that one feels positive attitudes towards his/her minority group (Sue & Sue, 2013). There is a conflict between feelings of shame and pride. When we consider attitudes and beliefs towards members of the same minority group, the conflict between group-depreciating and group appreciating can be seen. Through getting information, one

begins to question the dominant culture's perception of minority. Sue and Sue (2013) stated that one feels intimate fellowship towards members of different minority groups and starts to question stereotypes related with them. For the members of the dominant culture, one may feel a conflict between group appreciating and group-depreciating attitudes. The member of minority group realizes that the dominant culture is not perfect, especially when he experiences personal discrimination (Sue & Sue, 2013).

In the *resistance and immersion stage*, Sue and Sue (2013) reported that the person has a tendency to support his/her minority views and rejects standards of White society and act against them. S/he has a desire to remove the oppression towards his/her minority group. Three feelings are active in this stage; guilt, shame, and anger. They may feel guilt and shame because they denied their cultural identity in the past, which leads them to think that they were one of the contributors of the oppression towards minority groups. They feel anger towards White society due to their attempts to brainwash them. One's attitudes and beliefs about self become more self-appreciating in this stage. The person has an orientation to discover his/her own history and culture. Sue and Sue (2013) stated that feeling of shame and disgust elicited from cultural characteristics appear as pride and honor in this stage. The person experiences group-appreciating and a high sense of identification with his/her own cultural group. Members from their culture are perceived as admired, respected, and ideal (Sue & Sue, 2013). When we consider members of the dominant group, the minority person blames them for being oppressors, feels anger, hostility, distrust and dislike towards White society (Sue & Sue, 2013).

Sue and Sue (2013) said that there are some reasons which make an individual move from resistance and immersion stage to *introspection stage*. First of all, the person realizes that the intense feeling of anger towards White society is psychologically exhausting and does not allow one to understand one's racial-cultural identity properly. The person in the resistance and immersion stage tends to be reactive towards the dominant culture and does not allow the one to use his/her energy to understand him/herself. Thus, the individual needs a positive self-definition in a proactive manner. Secondly, the person begins to question the group views which are rigid and prevent one's autonomy. Group views are conflicting with the person's views (Sue & Sue, 2013). The person experiences conflicts between

responsibility and loyalty to his/her own minority group versus personal autonomy. Thus, s/he starts to spend more effort to claim personal autonomy. The identification is sustained; however, the feelings of discontent increase because one thinks that his/her minority group puts pressure on him/her in an attempt to influence his/her decisions as they are incongruent with the group's (Sue & Sue, 2013). Additionally, there is a conflict between trust, selective trust, or distrust to dominant society. Conflict occurs because of realizing that there are some functional elements of U. S. society and not knowing how to adapt those elements into the minority identity (Sue & Sue, 2013).

Lastly, Sue and Sue (2013) mentioned that in the *integrative awareness stage*, minority individual feels an inner security and appreciate aspects of both minority and dominant cultures. The person resolves the conflict and discontent seen in the last stages and has control over them (Sue & Sue, 2013). S/he realizes that all cultures possess both desirable and undesirable features and it is important for one to receive or reject the unacceptable aspects. The person does not accept oppression and feels responsible to eliminate oppression. The minority individual builds up sense of self-worth, confidence, and autonomy. That is, one begins to view him/herself as an individual who has autonomy, and belongs to his/her own cultural group and human race (Sue & Sue, 2013). The person develops a sense of pride towards one's group by questioning group values. S/he experiences feelings of empathy and tolerance towards his/her group besides being aware that each member is an individual. The person has selective appreciation and selective trust towards members of the dominant culture who also struggle against oppressive attitudes of their group.

Sue and Sue (2013) emphasized that this model should not be perceived as a global personality theory but as a frame to help therapists and counselors understand identity development. They also mentioned that development of cultural identity is a dynamic, not a static process.

In addition to Sue and Sue's model, Phinney (1989) also proposed a three stage model for ethnic identity development. She stated that both early adolescents and adults who have not been subjected to ethnic identity issues are considered to be in *the unexamined ethnic identity stage*, which is the first stage. Phinney (1989) reported that the minority individuals in this stage have not thought on this issue and have had little concerns about it yet. She said that instead of showing a preference for

the dominant culture, which is not a necessary feature of this stage, adolescents may even have positive ethnic attitudes gathered from their parents. The second stage proposed by Phinney is *ethnic identity search (moratorium)* in which one begins to search and explore his/her own ethnic identity. One may move into this stage as a result of an encounter (Cross, 1978, as cited in Phinney, 1990). In this stage, one may experience an intense process of immersion in his/her culture by reading, communicating with people, visiting museums, and taking part in cultural activities. Sometimes, rejecting the values of majority culture may be involved. In the third and last stage, which is *ethnic identity achievement or internalization*, people develop a confident sense of sense, have a better understanding of their ethnicity and appreciate their ethnicity. Phinney (1990) suggested that based on groups' and individuals' historical background and personal experiences, ethnic identity achievement has different meanings for different groups. On the other hand, achievement does not necessarily result in high degree of ethnic involvement. The person may be clear about and appreciate his/her ethnicity although s/he does not prefer to pursue his/her language and traditions (Phinney, 1990).

Phinney (1990) identified language, religion, cultural practices, social activities, and relationships with friends as the most used indicators of ethnic involvement.

2.3. Acculturation

As mentioned before, culture has an important effect on an individual's development. Cross-cultural psychology aims to study the relationship between culture and relationships (Berry, 1997). Berry (1997) proposed some answers to questions like; what happens to people who have grown up in one cultural context and then begin to live in another one?, how do individuals behave in the new settings, do they maintain the previous one or change their behaviors? How do they live in the new society? Berry mostly focused on how people who change their settings due to immigration adapt to new settings. Berry (1997) stated that acculturation is a concept used to explain cultural changes caused by group encounters. On the other hand, psychological acculturation and adaptation refer to psychological changes and outcomes of one's experiences of acculturation.

Acculturation is defined in a classical manner by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, p.149) as: “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (as cited in Berry, 1997). Berry stated that the distinction between acculturation and psychological acculturation is crucial for two reasons. Firstly, it helps us to study the relationship between the individual level and cultural level of acculturation because changes occur in different manners. For example, changes may occur in social, economic, and political structure for group acculturation and for individual level changes are seen in attitudes, behaviors, identity, and values (Berry, 1995). Second, it is known that not all individuals experience acculturation parallel with the group acculturation (Berry, 1997).

Berry (1997) stated that there are different kinds of cultural groups in plural societies and they vary in consequences of three factors, which are voluntariness, mobility, and permanence. That is, he reported that some groups, like immigrants, may be perceived as experiencing the acculturation process voluntarily, whereas other groups, like refugees and indigenous people may have entered this process without searching it out. Secondly, some other groups, like immigrants and refugees, may get into the acculturation process due to moving to a new location through migration, while groups like indigenous peoples and “national minorities” may encounter new culture which is brought to them (Berry, 1997). And lastly, some of the migrated groups become permanent into the process, while for some others (like, sojourner students, workers) the process is temporary (Berry, 1997). Berry and Sam (1996) stated that although there are different factors resulting in acculturation, there are common points of adaptation experienced by all groups.

2.3.1. Strategies of Acculturation

Berry (1997) noted that all cultural groups and their members in all plural societies must handle the problem of how to acculturate. He reported that acculturation strategies are identified based on two major issues which generally arise from daily encounter of groups with each other. The cultural maintenance is the first issue which concerns the importance of cultural identity and features for people

and their effort to maintain them. The second issue is contact and participation which concern the extent of involvement with other cultures or staying among themselves. Berry (1997) pointed out that when we take these two issues into account together, four acculturation strategies emerge. Based on which group is taken into account, each strategy takes a different name. Considering the non-dominant group, *Assimilation* strategy is defined as the strategy that appears when the individuals do not prefer to sustain their cultural identity and search for ways of interaction with other cultures. On the other hand, *Separation* strategy is observed when individuals give importance to maintaining their culture and have no desire to interact with others in the meanwhile. The third strategy is *Integration* strategy. Here, individuals care about not only holding on their original culture but also having daily interactions with other cultures. Lastly, if individuals do not place importance on cultural maintenance (generally because of enforced cultural loss) and have little concern about interacting with others (because of exclusion or discrimination) then, the *Marginalization* stage is identified. Berry (1997) stated that this categorization is made based on the assumption that non-dominant groups are free to determine the way of acculturation. He added that sometimes, in some cases dominant groups may impose certain ways of acculturation or restrict the options, which then requires other terms to be used. In other words, if separation is not preferred but imposed by the dominant group, it is called Segregation. If people are forced to become assimilated, it is Pressure Cooker. For the Marginalization, there is no need to have a single term because it is a result of the combination of Pressure Cooker and Segregation (Berry, 1997). Berry (1997) reported that non-dominant groups could only “freely” prefer and manage Integration strategy which also requires acceptance of both groups features by both groups.

Berry noted that there are some factors which may affect one’s preferences of acculturation strategy. One of them is one’s location. When one is in a private area, like home or ethnic community, s/he may seek cultural maintenance more than the one in a public area (e. g. workplace). Additionally, interaction with other groups is searched more in public domain than in private domain. The second factor affecting acculturation strategies is the broader national context. In other words, one’s choice of strategy may be determined by politics. For example, in assimilationist societies, an individual may prefer assimilation strategy (Krishnan & Berry, 1992; as cited in

Berry, 1997). Kim (1988) stated that individuals choose the most useful strategy for themselves after a process of exploration during the developmental process (as cited in Berry, 1997).

When we consider adaptation, as mentioned earlier, it is an outcome of one's own experiences of acculturation. In other terms, adaptation is defined as the change which is comparatively constant and arises from an individual's or group's response to external demands (Berry, 2005). Furthermore, adaptation does not always enhance the 'fit' between the person and his/her environment (Berry, 2005). That is, Berry (2005) stated that it does not necessarily mean that it has the function of making one like his/her environment but may include effort to alter the environment and resistance to it or to go away. In other words, adaptation does not always have a positive meaning and may reveal variations from well or poorly adapted and from overcoming one's new life not to be able to sustain in the new environment (Berry, 2005).

Considering the relationship between acculturation and adaptation, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) reported that when individuals take part in both cultures (integration), it is easier to have better psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. On the other hand, if individuals are not involved in any culture, adaptations became impaired (Berry et al., 2006).

2.4. Discrimination and Stigmatization Due to Ethnic/Cultural Identity

Minority groups are generally exposed to stigma, stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination due to their identities (Frost, 2011). Stigma is defined as an attribute which is discrediting and disregarding other features (Goffman, 1963). It is sometimes identified as a handicap, a shortcoming, or a failure and there is a gap between perceived identity and actual identity of a stigmatized person (Goffman, 1963). We can mention stigma that creates a reference for a damaged self (Goffman, 1963). Lewis (1998) stated that individuals need standards, rules, and goals unified with their cognitive capacities to have an opportunity to judge whether their behavior is suitable for these standards or not. Hence, the stigma may show the deviation from societal acceptance. These deviations may be related with appearance, behavior, or conduct (Lewis, 1998).

Frost (2011) reported in his proposed model that stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and stigma are embedded and it is difficult to separate them from each other. One may encounter discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice in workplace settings, in different ways because societal forms of race and ethnicity biases are reflected in the workplace (Plaut, Thomas, & Hebl, 2014). No one leaves his/her identity at home while working and due to cooperation and competition, one may reveal his/her identity (Plaut et al., 2014).

Frost (2011) stated that stigma consists of structural inequalities which do not allow stigmatized groups to participate fully in society. Groups and individuals who are stigmatized may experience stigma-related stress which is seen in the form of “acute and chronic discrimination, expectations of rejection, management and concealment of stigma, and internalized stigma” (Frost, 2011). In the study conducted by Frost (2011), it is revealed that there are different factors which affect the result of stigma-related stressors to be positive or negative. Frost (2011) stated that stigma-related stress may negatively affect the physical and mental health, performance and relations of people who experience it. On the other hand, the study revealed that both group and individual level coping and support mechanisms have a moderator effect on the negative outcomes of stigma. Additionally, it is stated that meaning-making processes in which the individual attributes the origin of the stigma to a mistake of society not to him/herself or to his/her group. Furthermore, the result showed that meaning-making strategies concentrating on (re)defining the sense of stigma-related stressors may end up with a different form of positive marginality, like being socially creative, experiencing social change, and prospering in the face of stigma. While negative outcomes can maintain negative social stigma by means of self-fulfilling prophecies, positive outcomes may result in change of social stigma and inequalities via social policy and collective action (Frost, 2011).

Contrada and his colleagues (2000) defined ethnic discrimination as “involving unfair treatment that a person attributes to his or her ethnicity.” They reported that discrimination began to be identified as a stressor for physical and psychological health. Contrada and his colleagues (2001) reached five different forms of ethnic discrimination: “a) verbal rejection: insults, ethnic slurs; (b) avoidance: shunning; (c) disvaluation: actions that express negative evaluations; (d) inequality-exclusion: denial of equal treatment or access; and (e) threat-aggression:

actual or threatened harm. Research suggests that not directly experiences of discrimination but even the possibility of encounter with discrimination makes the individual feel stress (Contrada et al., 2000). Parallel with this, Sawyer, Majo, Casad, Townsend, and Mendes (2012) conducted a study to search the consequences of anticipating prejudice. The findings showed that when there is any cue about presence of prejudice, a stress response, which can be observed in increasing physiological arousal and concern about self-reported, is grown up. Thus, these results provide a support for the importance of vigilance as a stressor and chronic vigilance about discrimination has a potential to create physical and psychological effect similar with actual experience of discrimination (Sawyer et al., 2012). It is also emphasized that many personality factors, like anxiety and optimism, are controlled thus the findings are directly correlated with the situational threat of discrimination, not with the personality traits.

Huynh and Fuligni (2012) claimed that individuals coming from immigrant backgrounds and ethnic minority could be unprotective while they are in transition process of college due to lack of preparation for college and they may encounter negative stigma based upon their groups. They stated that perceived discrimination of emerging adults from ethnic minority is lessened while their perceptions about society's negative attitude towards their ethnicity increase. That is, even though the perceived discrimination is not experienced much, and even if it decreases as the time passes, feeling of devalued of emerging adults does not decrease (Huynh and Fuligni, 2012). Huynh and Fuligni's study revealed that individuals are in the exploration process during the emerging adult period; thus, they can see how the society perceives their group.

Berry and his colleagues (2006) found that young immigrants take place in the integration profile (having orientation towards both national and one's ethnic group), when the perception of discrimination is little. On the other hand, as the perceived discrimination increases, youths take place in the diffuse profile (Berry et al., 2006). That is, Berry and his colleagues (2006) emphasized that when individuals encounter discrimination, they do not prefer to be involved with the national society and have an orientation towards their ethnic group or experience confusion or ambivalence. Furthermore, when there is no discrimination, individuals have a tendency to be oriented to national society (Berry et al., 2006). Besides those

findings, it was also found that there is a strong relationship between discrimination and poor adaptation. It is stated that perceived discrimination predicts profile membership (e.g. integration, ethnic, national, or diffuse) and via this relationship discrimination affects adaptation indirectly. That is, discrimination plays an important role on the relationship between acculturation and adaptation (Berry et al., 2006).

Besides discrimination, prejudice and negative stereotypes, positive stereotypes also have negative effects, like minimizing problems of minority groups (Zhou, Siu, & Xin, 2009).

When we consider Alevis in Turkey, Yıldız and Verkuyten (2011) claimed that discrimination, which was directed towards Alevis during Ottoman period, was carried on during the period of republican and are seen in different domains of life. In addition to that, Alevis and Christians inhabiting in Turkey reported that they feel as the society excludes them and they could not reach equal rights and benefit from the government services equally (Doğruel, 2013). As those studies revealed, cultural minority groups in Turkey may experience perceived discrimination, stigmatization, and prejudice. Zeidan (1999) reported that Alevis are stigmatized as being dirty, practicing immorality and orgies, and not being real Muslims.

2.5. Emotions Associated with Acculturation and Experiences Related with Cultural Identity

There are different kinds of emotions and outcomes elicited from the process of ethnic identity formation, discrimination, stigmatization, and prejudice. Iwamoto, Negi, Partiali, and Creswell (2013) conducted a study with Asian Indian Americans (AIA) to see how self-concept and experiences with racism and stereotype developmentally change during the process of identity formation. They reported that due to feelings of shame associated with culture, parents of AIAs youth do not talk about negative experiences thus; AIAs young's experiences of racism become distressing. The result of the study revealed that during the childhood period, AIAs members tend to hide their identity, as they may hate the feeling of being different. Additionally, the participants reported that they tried to fit in the mainstream culture because they were exposed to racism and felt alienated at school. Considering early adolescence, the participants are more aware of their appearance and have a desire to

be cool and fit in. They also have misconceptions and stereotypes about other AIAs and try to act on the opposite side of AIAs. During the adolescence period, participants start to reconstitute their misconceptions about their ethnic group and to feel more comfortable about their ethnic identity through exploring it with the help of their families and peers. They have an effort to explain and teach their culture to their peers and to rebut the peer's misconceptions. Iwamoto and his colleagues (2013) stated that during the emerging adulthood period, participants start to feel pride of their Indian identity and become aware of the structural racism, so social justice is a concern for all minority groups. Lastly, it was found that, during the early adulthood period, participants feel comfortable with cultural identity and do not hesitate to express it (Iwamoto et al., 2013). On the other hand, they encounter new challenges like job discrimination. They may be exposed to glass ceiling effect and struggle with work environment which is not consonant with their cultural identity (Iwamoto et al., 2013). Moreover, Tummala-Narral and Sathasivam-Rueckert's (2016) study revealed four domains associated with immigrant-origin adolescents' experiences of ethnicity and race. Participants reported feelings of pride in their cultural heritage and language. They stated that they experienced some difficulties during the cultural adjustment such as difficulties in learning English and communicating with other people, difficulty in having interactions with peers from different cultures, and experiencing conflict with family. Additionally, they reported that they encountered stereotypes (both positive and negative) and discrimination in various contexts, like school, neighborhood etc. Talking with peers, with adults at school and with family is identified as a way of help seeking against difficulties encountered due to ethnic identity. In addition to that, they also indicated that participating in cultural activities provides a support for them (Tummala-Narral & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016). Similarly, Kim (2012) also concluded with three psychosocial domains – getting emotional support from family and friends and thinking of self that is in social context (Kim, 2012).

Furthermore, members of minority groups may experience feelings of humiliation, shame, and guilt. In a study conducted with Roma young people, it was shown that they had ambivalent experiences associated with ethnicity and although shame was the less articulated emotion, it brings high emotional burden to participants (Pantea, 2014). Shame and guilt are human emotions, both of which

serve for individual and relationship levels and they are rich (Tangney & Dearing, 2004). Participants have had difficulty in articulation of these different experiences, as mentioned above. Shame is defined as an unwanted and difficult to control experience (Gilbert, 1998). It is painful, makes an individual feel small, worthless, and unlovable (Tangney & Dearing, 2004). Shame could result in a change in mental state from which other affects and moods may appear. Additionally, it can merge into one's own identity (Gilbert, 1998). Gilbert (1998) stated that shame interfere positive affect which may result in anger, fear, and sadness. When this interference of positive affect is associated with devaluations of self, shame may also prevent positive, social relationships (through negative self-evaluation) (Gilbert, 1998). Katz (1997) stated that individuals may withdraw from social contact because of thoughts and feelings experienced as a result of shame (as cited in van Vliet, 2008).

Generally, shame focuses on three points: social world (beliefs related with how others see the self), internal world (how one sees himself), and both (the thoughts of how other see the self determine how one sees himself) (Gilbert, 1998). Gilbert (1997a; as cited in Gilbert, 1998) suggested the term 'external shame' which is focusing on other's view of self. On the other hand, internal shame (Gilbert, 1997a; as cited in Gilbert, 1998) is experienced based on how the self evaluates the self; bad, flawed, worthless, and unattractive (Gilbert, 1998).

Shame was studied with different variables, like ethnic identity, sexual identity (e.g., Mcdermott, Roen, & Scourfield, 2008), stigma, and psychopathology (e.g., Rørtveit, Åström, & Severinsson, 2010). Another critical point which could cause the appearance of shame is the responsibility or self-blame (Lewis, 1998). That is, the intensity of shame of stigmatized individuals is determined by blaming themselves or being blamed by others. For stigma and shame, the idea of responsibility and perceived responsibility is central (Lewis, 1998). Finally, stigmatization is a powerful elicitor of shame as it needs negotiation between oneself and one's attribution of oneself and other's attributions (Lewis, 1998).

Specifically, van Vliet (2008) proposed that when individuals experience pain and adversity which is related with shame, these situations increase the motivations of individuals for intellectual, physical and social competencies. Van Vliet (2008) concluded that shame may end up with undermining the positive self-concept, impairing individual's relationship with others and a decreased sense of power and

control. To recover from a shame event, the main theme is rebuilding of the self. During this process, individuals try to restore and expand the positive self-concept, to improve the outside connections, and to increase the sense of power and control by five primary processes which are connecting, refocusing, accepting, understanding, and resisting. Another main point is minimizing or externalizing shame from the core self (van Vliet, 2008).

Other psychological difficulties that emerged from exposure to discrimination are reported by various studies. Kim (2012) found that depression score increases when one is perceived as a “perpetual foreigner”. Additionally, it was reported that because ethnic minority individuals usually observe and are concerned about the possibility of discrimination and exposure to racial discrimination every day, they may end up with psychological difficulties.

Mellor, Merino, Saiz, and Quilaqueo (2009) conducted research with Mapuche people of Chile in an attempt to search emotional experiences, coping, and consequences that arise from perceived discrimination. The results indicated that discrimination resulted in psychological hurt, shame, anger, feeling of powerlessness, undifferentiated bad feelings, humiliation, degradation, and trauma. It is reported that these emotions may frequently emerge because experiences of discrimination are generally seen when individuals are young and during the school years or when they enter a different situation where they can compare different kinds of treatment towards themselves. Moreover, Mellor and his colleagues (2009) stated that both feelings of hurt and shame are mostly experienced by children because they do not have a strong identity yet. Shame generally emerged from the feeling of inadequacy (Mellor et al., 2009). In addition to those emotions, secondly, participants talked about feelings of irritation, annoyance, and anger as a result of their experiences. Besides those, a few number of participants reported feeling sad due to discrimination, some of them reported fear, uneasiness and weariness (Mellor et al., 2009).

Individuals may experience depressive and somatic symptoms and low self-esteem due to perceived societal devaluation (thinking that society does not value and respect their group) and due to discrimination stress (Huynh & Fuligni, 2012; Romero, Edwards, Fryberg, & Orduña, 2014).

2.6. Ways of Coping with Experiences of Ethnic/Minority Identity and Emotions

As mentioned above, members of minority groups may encounter various experiences related with their identity. Through these experiences they develop different kinds of strategies to cope with negative effects of those experiences.

Individuals who are members of groups and are highly valued do not need to alter or ameliorate their social identity; but when they are confronted with a situation where their groups are devalued, individuals start to seek the meaning of their identity (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006). During this process they may have a tendency to adjust to the group which has higher prestige, as a way of avoiding the sense of inferiority; however, it may end up with ambivalence (Sue & Sue, 2013). Mellor and his colleagues (2009) reported that the participants gave different responses to experience of discrimination which are self-protective, self-controlled, or confronting actions. Participants use self-protective strategies when they realize the presence of discrimination but do not prefer to respond, they neutralize the discriminatory event in order to prevent confrontation, via cognitive re-interpretation of perpetrator's action, withdrawing from the event, accepting of discrimination, demonstrating their value or success, minimizing the importance of the event, and avoidance of potential discriminatory event (Mellor et al., 2009). Secondly, self-controlled strategies are seen in situations where the individual is exposed to a discriminatory event and wants to respond but consciously suppresses it, through contained response and ignoring or denying the event (Mellor et al., 2009). Lastly, confronting strategies may be used to actively respond the discrimination via contesting verbally, hitting out, or responding kindly (Mellor et al., 2009). The participants also reported that due to discrimination they strengthen their relation with Mapuche community and their Mapuche identity, which are accounted as positive outcomes leading to protection for them. Similarly, common group identity is also identified in the literature as a protective factor against factors related with stigmatization (Dovidio, Gaertner, Niemann, and Snider, 2001). Having a common identity may decrease the feelings of stigmatization which may end up with more productive outcomes and relationships (Dovidio et al., 2001). Those outcomes may also decrease feelings of stigmatization and provide a better perception of common identity which may result in mutual success and achievement (Dovidio et al., 2001).

Not as a coping factor but as a resilience factor, Lee (2005) stated that ethnic identity pride is found to be the most useful factor in the condition of low perceived discrimination. However, Lee (2005) added that in the situation of high perceived discrimination, ethnic identity pride could not buffer this relationship and increased depressive symptoms and decreased social connectedness are observed.

Leeming and Boyle (2013) considered the management and repair of shame, specifically, the social factors playing roles in this process. They stated that most of the participants perceived shame as an emotion that originated from the interaction with others thus, the management process is based on resetting of the self in relation with others not just on changing the perception of self. The participants correlated their feeling of shame to others' negative or potentially negative perceptions of them, thus to repair shame, negotiation is needed (Leeming and Boyle, 2013). However, Leeming and Boyle (2013) emphasized that this negotiation may not be enough because many participants reported that they felt as if they were disabled due to their shame; that is, they felt inferior, powerless, and damaged. Additionally, most of the participants' accounts revealed that they placed importance to others' judgements about themselves more than their own judgements. It was mostly perceived in participants who felt shame due to poor performance, being mocked or rejected etc. (Leeming and Boyle, 2013).

Eijberts and Roggeband (2016) conducted a study to understand how Muslim migrant women living in Netherlands cope with negative stereotypes and stigmatization. The study revealed both individual level and collective level of coping strategies emerged from the analyses. That is, Eijberts and Roggeband (2016) showed that confronting, compensating, and consolidating were employed both at individual and at collective level (organizational level). Concealing, conciling, and circumventing were found as individual-level strategies. Eijberts and Roggeband (2016) stated that forming safe spaces and confrontation was found to be collective responses. Parallel with this, Kim (2012) stated that because people may be discriminated by others outside their safe areas, like school or work; they tend to preserve familiar people around them.

Romero and his colleagues (2014) indicated that ethnic affirmation is protective against depressive symptoms and enhances the self-esteem. While considering ethnic identity stage, self-esteem remained stable in the achieved ethnic

identity stage at the high discrimination level for minority youth (Romero et al., 2014). That is, Romero and his colleagues (2014) concluded that both ethnic affirmation and achieved ethnic identity stages are perceived as resilience factors which facilitate minority youths' positive reactions to negative situations resulting from discrimination stress. Baldwin-White, Kiehne, Uman~a-Taylor, and Marsiglia (2017) showed that youths who felt more discriminated had a tendency to affirm their culture (in other words high levels of ethnic–racial affirmation), but do not look for additional searching for a relation with their culture. Parallel with those findings, Wei, Wang, Heppner, and Du (2012) also revealed that high social connectedness in the ethnic community made the correlation between perceived racial discrimination and posttraumatic stress symptoms weaken. Additionally, social connectedness in mainstream society was also found to be in correlation with fewer general stresses, lower perceived discrimination, and fewer posttraumatic stress symptoms (Wei et al., 2012).

Phinney and Chavira (1995) indicated three different coping styles were used by adolescents against prejudice and discrimination. According to the results of the study, the first one is proactive coping style which involved self-affirmation, discussions with people, disproving the prejudiced people. The second one is passive coping style consisting of individuals who reported ignore as the only coping style. Aggressive coping style, the third one, included verbal retort. Phinney and Chavira (1995) reported that using proactive coping style is correlated with high self-esteem while using verbal retorts is associated with low self-esteem.

While considering, all models present developmental perspective or cultural perspective. They account early stages of human development which is also critical for clinical psychology, specifically for psychoanalysis. Lacan, one of the psychoanalyst, puts importance to both development of the individual and the culture. Because of that reason, the results of the current study will be also discussed in the light of Lacanian concepts.

2.7. Lacanian Perspective

2.7.1. *Lacan's Mirror Stage*

The themes that emerged from the current study will be discussed in the light of some concepts of Jacques Lacan. Thus, in this section, those concepts will be elaborated on through summing up Bailly's and Evans' books.

The mirror stage is one of Jacques Lacan's key concepts, which was first contributed to psychoanalytic theory by Lacan in 1936 (Evans, 1996). The mirror stage refers to an essential part of the structure of subjectivity (Evans, 1996). The 'birth of the Subject', as Lacan called it, which refers to the development of the human psyche as a whole by assuming conscious and unconscious are inseparable was one of the occupations of Lacan (Bailly, 2009). While in the beginning, Lacan considered the mirror stage as a stage which takes place in a specific time of the child development (between six and eighteen months) and later on he started to see this concept in a broader manner (Evans, 1996). That is, he sees the mirror stage as a concept which represents a persistent structure of subjectivity (Evans, 1996). This is called the paradigm of the imaginary order where the subject's own image grabs and attracts the subject (Evans, 1996).

Evans (1996) stated that, according to Lacan, the formation of ego is identified through the identification process. He reported that when one identifies with one's own specular image, this process results in the ego. The key point is that: At six months human baby has not matured yet and has lack of coordination, although the visual system in some degree develops. Thus, before having the ability to control the body, the infant can identify itself. The infant catches its own image as a whole in the mirror: however, there is a contrast between this image and the experiences of fragmented body. The perception of the wholeness of the image is resulted in a threat against the subject with fragmentation, thus the infant tends to rival with its own image. As a result of this, an aggressive tension arises between the subject and the image. To dissolve this tension, the subject prefers to identify with the image, where the ego is formed. Similar to a baby, adults also have an effort to identify not just with images but also with ideas to repair the sense of frustration and aggression which is the result of lack of coherent ("Lacanian Terminology", 2012). The moment when the subject presumes the image as its own is defined as moment

of jubilation by Lacan because it causes a sense of mastery which is imaginary. On the other hand, a depressive reaction may be also elicited from this jubilation, as a result of the comparison made by the child between unsteady sense of mastery and the omnipotence of the mother. Moreover, the ideal ego, comprised of the identification, has a function of assurance for the future wholeness to maintain the ego. The mirror stage reveals that the ego results from the subject's misunderstanding and from the place where the subject is alienated from himself. Here, the subject gets into the imaginary order. In addition to that, the mirror stage consists of a symbolic dimension which takes place in the existence of the figure of an adult who provides support and care for the infant. After assuming that the image is as one's own, the subject looks at the adult, who refers to big Other, to obtain approval for this image (Lacan, 1962–3: seminar of 28 November 1962, as cited in Evans, 1996).

2.7.2. Three Orders of Lacan

The Imaginary Order. The imaginary refers to mental processes emerging from the infant's encounter with its image on the mirror (Bailly, 2009). The Imaginary is the space of senses containing conceptions elicited from sensorial perception (Bailly, 2009). Additionally, due to Mirror Stage, it is also perceived as the order of conceptualizations and functioning which results from the body's image (Bailly, 2009). The infant firstly becomes aware of his body. However, before the Mirror Stage the infant senses his body as fragmented, not as a whole. The sense of sight is the best developed sense and has a great importance for the process of formation of the Subject and its object relation. Through the images, the infant identifies its mother - who is the first signifier for the infant- and then recognizes itself as a whole, firstly in the mother's eye and then in the real mirror. The images that take place in the Imaginary order are described as clay which are used to form the representations (Bailly, 2009).

At the Mirror Stage, the baby identifies with its mirror image and then the baby starts to form its ego and ideal-I based on the projection of the idea about the object which is in the mirror. Because concepts are built on an image which is false and powerful, the Imaginary becomes the area of illusion. Particular illusions are

needed for the conceptualization, because they function as sublayers for the foundation of the concept through shaping ‘proto-concept’. According to Lacan, such illusions involve some abilities like, getting the whole of something, having an effect on syntheses, and believing in dualities like subject/object etc. which make dialectic function (Bailly, 2009).

Identification and narcissism are the terms which describe how the baby shapes the relationship with its mirror image (its small other). Both the baby’s ego and its relationships with other people are formed by identification and narcissism. In other words, in the Imaginary realm one recognizes how similar he is with or different from another person, thus one may either be attracted or repel.

The Symbolic Order. The Symbolic order is one of the three orders of Lacan. It is also defined by Lacan as the Other (written with a capital O to discriminate it from the other in imaginary order) or big other (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). The Other refers to law, society, and assumptions in which the Subject is formed (Bailly, 2009). The term ‘Symbolic’ is obtained from social anthropology, which reveals that there is a symbolic order to organize the kinship, marriages etc. in all societies, even in the most primitive ones and these rules are universal (Bailly, 2009). Additionally, Lacan places importance on language and states that it produces the Subject that is, the language is an agent in which both the individual’s and general reality is set up (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). We eliminate objects by replacing them with words in language and through this symbolization, human could communicate and understand (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). Thus, language provides an opportunity for mutual agreement, thus it is not just for information but also possesses the function of attraction for other (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). The language pre-exists the individual, thus the individual feels alienation for it. Thus, for Lacan, language becomes the big other (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). In other words, Symbolic is displayed in laws, social construct, and language (Bailly, 2009). According to Lacan, this big other is universal and arises from somewhere outside the person (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). Language has components of both Symbolic and Imaginary.

The signifiers mean representation of ideas and take place in Symbolic realm (Bailly, 2009). By the way of representation, things could be thought and the

connection between signifiers produces the meaning (Bailly, 2009). Thus, at the end of this process, intellectual apprehension, which is the only truth, is reached (Bailly, 2009). Lacan claims that the first signifier for the baby is maternal signifier and it becomes the first slender foothold of the baby in the Symbolic (Bailly, 2009). Lacan reported that 'lack' is a necessity for one's access to language or to signifier (Bailly, 2009). In other words, if everything is reachable to one, there is no need to use language or demand anything (Bailly, 2009). Furthermore, because language is defined as a main human characteristic, the Symbolic could be reached by means of lack experience, because it reveals the loss or deficiencies (Bailly, 2009). This lack is given a meaning through the correlation between what is lacking and the signifier that symbolizes it (Bailly, 2009). Understanding this feature of the Symbolic is crucial to comprehend the Real (Bailly, 2009).

The Real Order. Bailly (2009) explained Lacan's Real as follows: The Real is the last realm formulated by Lacan after the formulation of Symbolic and Imaginary due to realizing that there is something left. According to Lacan, the Real is something that stayed out of the process of the signifier's attachment to some piece of reality. In other words, it is some fragments which could not be hold by the signifier. When everything is made recognizable through a signifier, some of it could not still be perceived or symbolized so this part is the Real. Unlike the Symbolic, the Real is indescribable and cannot be imagined. These features make it impossible. The Real remains in everything which cannot be determined by a signifier or a symbol. It manifests in hallucination, delusion, and trauma. Lacan also had a thought that the Real was the object of anxiety.

Although Lacan did not directly talk about this, Bailly stated that it can be proposed that drives take place in this realm. Drives are called as 'featureless clay' of instinct and they do not have any aim to satisfy some biological needs. Their existence is independent from need and the functions associated with a drive create an enjoyment which is called *jouissance*. Drives cannot be symbolized. Emotions like, anxiety, fear, and anger have almost fixed meanings; however, other emotional signifiers like, love, happiness, or excitement have weak connections with the signified. This weak connection between signifier and signified in the emotional area may result from the nature of drives from which they appear.

2.7.3. *Need, Demand, and Desire*

Lacan gives a special place to desire which is one of the central terms in his work (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). It can be interpreted as his focus on desire comes with the exclusion of affect. For Lacan, desire is a condition rather than an affect, he did not mention affect much (Bailly, 2009). Lacan perceived desire as a ‘condition that plays a structuring role in the Subject’ (Bailly, 2009, p. 110) and it is an element of other affects. That is, one can not possess affects like anger, jealousy, and disappointment (Bailly, 2009). Besides desire, anxiety also has such a central role but according to Lacan this existence comes with a tension with desire: when anxiety exists somewhere, desire also exists there (Bailly, 2009).

Lacan states that when a subject tends to have a demand, it is an indication of a lack of something and there is an expectation from the Other to complete this lack (Bailly, 2009). However, the thing that is demanded is not the thing that is really needed and this space between demand and need is where desire takes place (Bailly, 2009). Lacan added that when a Subject makes a demand, the Subject thinks that the Other has it; however, the Other is similar with the Subject in terms of neediness (Bailly, 2009).

Bailly (2009) pointed out some key points related with desire to make it clearer: Desire is one of the products of language and arises from the impossible articulation of need by the demand. All language and rules that affect the Subject constitutes the Other; however, individuals also represent it. At the beginning of life, one has only one Other which is manifested in the mother and then one comes across with other Other (e.g. embodied in peer group). As the Subject is shaped by the Other, it will form its own version of the Other and authentic desire. The *objet petit a* (or ‘the object cause of desire’), the object where desire is formed, is described as an imaginary object. The *objet petit a* takes place in the realm of intersection of Symbolic, Imaginary, and Real. It results from the Real’s drives, the Imaginary’s objects, and the signifiers belonging in the Symbolic.

Desire arises from the language acquiring because demand is spoken; however, what the one requests is not really what one wants; in other words, it is not accessible but concealed for consciousness.

At the beginning, the baby feels discomfort but the need is not known. Through the acquisition of language, the baby tries to solve the problem with limited

words. But, the baby becomes unsatisfied because the solution does not meet the real need. As mentioned before, desire is seen in the space between demand and need. This 'desire gap' does not diminish through the acquisition of a sophisticated language because the needs of the child also become more complicated.

Desire develops around the objects which satisfy psychological needs and becomes stronger by means of problems experienced during the formulation of a demand which meets the psychological need. Unlike physical needs, psychological needs are difficult to be justified. This situation is true especially for the biggest psychological need: love, which can be expressed in language. Lacan reported that each demand is substantially a demand of love. Why is love so critical? It is important because in the Mirror Stage, the mother's loving glance is the first mirror for child, where the baby's sense of identity is formed.

When we consider love, the demand and the need does not match because love cannot be directly asked for. When a baby starts to use the language, all demands that are expressed represent a need for love. Why cannot love be directly asked for? Because it can be provided through the efforts of the giver of love. Thus, the child infers the mother's love from her effort to be with the child or to provide satisfaction to child. It can be concluded that the child recognizes the mother's love from the mother's need and desire for being with the child.

The infant assumes that the existence of the mother is for its satisfaction and it has enjoyment due to this position. Parallel with this process, the mother is perceived as the representative of Other and itself. This identification is so intense. Lacan called this psychological position '*la jouissance de l'Autre*' (the enjoyment of the Other) or '*l' Autre jouissance*' (Otherly enjoyment). Although, Otherly enjoyment is seen in small children, some of its bits stays in all of us. The child in this process is self-centered and the world is organized to satisfy it. But, by the means of entrance of paternal metaphor and moving into the Symbolic realm, the child's fantasy is decreased. At this point, a different enjoyment arises, *la jouissance phallique*. When the child has a good function in Symbolic -or language, laws and social structures- realm, the Phallic enjoyment provides an opportunity for the child to read and learn, to participate in structured games and society and enjoy them. When the mother is absent or does not obey the child due to being busy with her desire, the child feels anxiety and rage. In other words, the child's fantasies related

with omnipotence (the mother is there and attentive towards child) are broken by means of the reality of impotence (mother is not there and rejects the child's request). Due to the assumption that the mother is looking for Phallus and complying its rules in her absence may make the Phallus the biggest object of desire for the child. At the end, the child shapes his desire around the Phallus to reach its desire and to provide a protection against the anxiety. After the formulation of hypothesis of Phallus, due to existence of the mother, the child may think it has the Phallus. However, if castration becomes successful, the child replaces Phallus with the Name-of-the-Father, during the symbolisation. After this process, the child starts to search for lost Phallus which is now present in all signifiers.

The child's assumption of what the Phallus is, is based on the mother's real desires. For example, a child may think that its mother's object of desire is sociability if its mother is sociable. The desire to gain Phallus functions as a motor for almost all human activity, creation, recognition and drives us; and protects one from the anxiety originated from the acceptance of one does not have it ("Lacanian Terminology", 2012; Bailly, 2009).

Lacan defines desire as 'the desire of the Other'. Bailly (2009) stated that it can be seen that one generally experiences desire as something which derives from out of the one, affects one, and is out of one's control. Additionally, it is pointed out that individuals attempt to desire what people around them desire. Besides those small others, the Other also needs to be considered in detail. The first Other of the child which is concretized by the mother is the most crucial one because the child learns language and comprises of the signifiers she inherited as well as her desires. Thus, the mother's desire shapes the child's desire. The relationship between the mother and the child is dependent and what if the mother -the Other- does not meet the infant's demand? It results in anxiety which is identified as the other side of desire by Lacan. The link between desire and anxiety is one of the central shaping factors in the Subject.

Lacan usually mentions the authenticity of the desire; however, when it is formulated as 'desire is the desire of the Other', it may be perceived as authenticity is rejected. But, the mother is not the only Other for the child. The Other is not same for the small others, it differs, and each of them possesses an Other. After a while, the child gets in touch with other's Others, (e.g. with father's or peers'). Through

one's encounter with other's Other, desire of the Other is uttered by the language, so as the individual develops, desire of the individual is shaped by the desires of many Other with whom the Subject has an identification. Lacan noted that this kind of identification and the effect of the others on the Subject is called structuring of desire. Finally, it can be said that the formation of the Subject results from the interaction between different kinds of identification besides environmental factors.

2.8. Arab Alevis in Turkey

There are different ethnic and religious groups in Turkey. Alevi community is the second largest religious community (Poyraz, 2005) and largest minority group in Turkey and consists of members of different ethnicities like Kurdish and Turkish (Şirin, 2013). Alevi refers to a person who is a supporter of Ali and has faith in Ahl al-Bayt (Güneş, 2013). Arab Alevis are also one of the minority communities living in the south of Turkey (Güngür, 2017). Mertcan (2013) states that “Nusayri”, “Alevi”, and “Arab Alevi” terms refer to this community; however, they generally define themselves as “Arab Alevi” or “Alevi”. Güneş (2013) stated that “Nusayri”, as a term, is not much known and used among people (even among Arab Alevis). In this paper, the sample will be called “Arab Alevi” to emphasize both ethnic and religious features of this identity (Mertcan, 2013).

In this part, some information about Arab Alevis' social and religious characteristics will be given to make both the result and extracts of participant more understandable. In the current study, the participants are Arab Alevis who have grown up in Antakya which is located in the south of Turkey, in Mediterranean region and has a border to Syria. Antakya is defined as a multicultural city and the most cosmopolitan city in Turkey (Kaypak, 2010). Doğruel (2013) states that more than twelve ethnic/religious groups inhabit in Antakya, like Arab Alevis, Arab Christians, Arab Sunnis, Turk Sunnis, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians, Afghans, Roma Gypsies, and Jews (Kaypak, 2010). Both Turkish and Arabic is spoken in the city, but Turkish is the shared language for all groups (Doğruel, 2005).

Arabic is mother tongue for Arab Alevis, Arab Sunnis, and Arab Christians. However, Doğruel (2013) states that Turkish, as an official language, begins to take over the role of Arabic in the interaction between parents and children because Turkish is the language of formal education. She reported that it is used as a strategy

to adapt to the education system easily. Furthermore, she added that Arabic is not attractive anymore for Arab youth. One of the Arab Alevi women participated in Dođruel’s study defined this process as “voluntary assimilation”. Dođruel (2013) claimed that the groups in Antakya accept the Turkish identity and become assimilated into Turkish culture and language in order not to allow their new generations suffer from uneasiness they experienced in the past. She noted that relationships between different ethnicities are positively affected from Arab’s attitudes which are not persistent about Arab identity. Thus, Dođruel (2013) states that the Arabic language is just a symbol of differences instead of being one of the primary element of the ethnicity.

Dođruel (2013) states that although the marriages among different groups is not anymore a taboo, for protecting the culture, endogamy is perceived as the best way and shared religion is still one of the most critical criteria for marriages.

It is known that in Hatay, there are high numbers of students that pursue their studies at university level (Dođruel, 2013) and this situation allows Arab Alevis to take an active part in social and political life (Güneş, 2013).

Religious instructions are taught only to men, and women are exempt from religious instructions (Güneş, 2013). Religious knowledge is given by a predetermined ‘uncle’ (din amcası) to the men in the adolescence period. The adolescent stays a period of time with ‘uncle’ and is transmitted knowledge about the basics of Arab Alevism, traditions etc. on condition of keeping them secret (Güneş, 2013). Besides those, there are lots of vows and *bayrams* in Arab Alevi culture. Güneş (2013) states that faith in shrine is very strong and they are places of worship for Arab Alevis. Shrines are called as ‘*ziyaret*’ among Arab Alevis.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Why Qualitative Research?

Qualitative methods may appear new in psychology but both in psychology and other disciplines these methods have a rich and complicated history (Howitt, 2010). Qualitative methods in psychology contain quite broad area and are fed with different intellectual traditions (Howitt, 2010). Besides like health sciences, education, regional planning, and community planning (Marshall & Rossman, 2006), qualitative research is increasingly having an important role for psychological research (Howitt, 2010).

In qualitative research, researcher counts on text data and works on them without transforming them to numerical data (Schwandt, 2001) and tries to understand phenomena in its context by asking questions rather than testing hypotheses (Carter & Little, 2007). Additionally, qualitative research, compared to quantitative research, provides an opportunity to catch and make the detail and construction of expressed experiences more sensible (Cromby, 2012). Considering the aim of the study, qualitative research will be applied because of ‘its ability to engage with meaning and experiences (Cromby, 2012). When we are talking about ‘meaning’, Cromby (2012) stated that “...in qualitative research the meaning of “meaning” is commonly taken to be self-evident or restrictively specified as linguistic and textual; in both cases, it is effectively assumed to reside almost exclusively in language” (p. 91). In the current study, I tried to understand the experiences of one of cultural group members during the coming to know identity process including emotions, coping ways etc. and participants’ meaning of these experiences. However, emotions might not be recognized by whom experiencing them, thus they might be invisible in textual data (Cromby, 2012). So, qualitative

research provides the opportunity of capturing them, giving deeper and contextualized understanding more than quantitative research (Cromby, 2012).

3.2. Why Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis?

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), one of the best known and mostly applied qualitative methodologies in psychology (Smith, 2011), will be used as methodology of the study. Being idiographic and hermeneutic are two important criterion for IPA (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Like other qualitative methodologies, IPA is interested in meaning of experiences for individuals – their personal life and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2003) –, not directly with the events itself and their causes (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). It is idiographic because in IPA, the researchers firstly pay particular attention to the meaning of an experiences and do detailed analytic treatment (Smith, 2011) at the level of person-in-context, rather than general, and then we realize the importance of the events for the participant (Larkin & Thompson, 2011; Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). This part makes a connection between IPA and hermeneutic phenomenology (Larkin & Thompson, 2011; Smith, 2011). Phenomenology, which is defined as the philosophical study of ‘being’ (i.e., of existence and experience), is stated to possess two important historical phases: the transcendental and the hermeneutic or existential (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Transcendental phenomenology, coming from Husserl, deals with reaching the universal basis of a given phenomenon, as it presents itself to consciousness, by identifying and holding off our assumptions (‘bracketing’ off culture, context, history, etc.) (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). These ideas are constitute the ‘descriptive’ forms of phenomenological psychology (Reiners, 2012; Larkin & Thompson, 2011). On the other hand, IPA does not have such an aim. Heidegger argues that we cannot deny our experiences connected with studied phenomena (Reiners, 2012) and we always make our observation from somewhere (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Because of that it is difficult to make Husserl’s ‘reduction’ to the abstract (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). According to Heidegger persons are inevitably a part of the world and have relationships with other. Additionally, Merleau-Ponty stated that ‘persons are always embodied too’ (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Those emphases on the ‘worldly’ and ‘embodied’ features of our existence propose that ‘phenomenological inquiry is a situated enterprise’ (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). This position is named

hermeneutic phenomenology (Larkin & Thompson, 2011), which is also called ‘interpretative’ side of phenomenology (Reiners, 2012). Based on these perspectives, Smith (2011) stated that we cannot pick directly the experiences from the participants’ heads so it is needed, for researcher, to become a part of the process and to interpret. Thus, this connects IPA to a hermeneutic perspective (Smith, 2011). On the other hand, the researcher reach the experiences of participants which are subjected to the process of engagement in ‘making sense of what is happening to them’ by the participant him/herself (Smith, 2011). Because of that reason, Smith (2011) claimed that the process of IPA can be described as engaging in a double hermeneutic. By this way, the researcher is attempting ‘to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them’ (Smith, 2011; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Conrad’s (1987, as cited in Smith & Osborn, 2003) came up with ‘insider’s perspective’ word which makes the process of becoming close to the participants’ world.

In addition to idiographic and hermeneutic features of IPA, it is also ‘inductive and interrogative’ (Smith, 2004). It is defined as inductive because it has flexible techniques which allow the researchers to analyze even unexpected topics come from interview. Smith (2004) stated that although IPA is different from mainstream psychology, it is interrogative because its aim is to make contribution to psychology and set a dialogue by interrogating and giving insight to past studies.

For the current study, considering Husserl’s and Heidegger’ philosophy, IPA is thought to be the most suitable method because; I am interested in meaning of experiences for individuals, not directly with the experiences itself. Congruent with IPA, there were no predetermined hypotheses (Smith & Osborn, 2003). In other words, the aim of the study is to get detailed explanations and descriptions of experiences related with the realization of cultural identity of participants and to develop interpretative analyses to make the initial analyses more meaningful in social and cultural context (Larkin et al., 2006). That is, I focused on how individuals define themselves in Turkish society, how they noticed that they are Arab Alevi (or minority) and their processes of making sense of those experiences. Performing IPA research may be helpful to understand the experiences of a particular group of people, to develop interventions programs, to give meaning to associations found by quantitative research, to reassess existing theory, and to have the ability to

understand people in their socio-cultural contexts (Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Parallel with this feature of IPA, it is intended to understand experiences of Arab Alevi individuals, their emotions related with their identity, and ways of coping in their socio-cultural context.

3.3. Sampling Method and Participants

According to IPA, small sample sizes are required because not the quantity but the quality give the opportunity to develop analyses (Smith, 2011; Larkin & Thompson, 2011). Consistent with this assumption, nine Arab Alevi participants were interviewed. The age range is between 18 and 70 (see Table 1). Five of participants were living in Antakya (the ones who still live in their community) and 4 of them are living in Ankara (the ones who move to Ankara for education or job).

A purposive sampling process and snowball technique were used as sampling procedures to find homogeneous samples (Smith & Osborn, 2003). For this purpose, I asked my friends, who are from Antakya, to help me contact Arab Alevi individuals. Through their suggestions, I contacted some possible participants and first asked them whether they would be willing to take part in the research through phone or social media.

Table 1

Demographic Information of Subjects

Participant	Nick name	Age	Education	Job	City
P1	Selim	70	University	Teacher	İzmir
P2	Demet	29	University	Bank employee	Antakya
P3	Derya	18	High School	Student	Antakya
P4	Salih	53	University	Druggist	Antakya
P5	Ahmet	36	University	Teacher	Antakya
P6	Filiz	25	University	Teacher	Ankara
P7	Fulya	39	University	Teacher	Antakya
P8	Mahir	20	Student	Student	Ankara
P9	Selin	29	University	Unemployed	Ankara

3.4. Procedure

When individuals were accepted to be participants, we arranged a meeting for the first interview. With six participants the interviews were conducted in their home, with one of them in a café, with one of them in a one-way mirror room (in the psychology department), and with one of them in her workplace. Firstly, participants were asked for volunteering and given written informed consent. After a short warming up session, parallel with IPA's method of data collection (Smith, 2011), semi-structured interview were applied to participants. Two interviews were conducted with each participant approximately with one week intervals. Each interview took approximately 50 minutes. After the participants were asked to provide some basic demographic information, the interviews started with the first question. The questions that were included in the semi structured interview are as listed below:

1. How do you define yourself in terms of ethnic identity?
2. How did you learn your identity (their definition will be used for their identity)?
3. (If it is in a family setting) How was your first encounter with other identities (especially with majority group)?
4. (If they mention a difficulty) How did you cope with this situation? What kinds of factors were helpful in coping?
5. What is your explanation for experiencing this difficulty (I mean emotional difficulty)?

Each interview was audio-taped. After the first interview, the researcher transcribed the interview verbatim. During the transcription process, the researcher took notes regarding certain vague points to make them clearer in the following interview. After the transcription, the initial analyses were made to see the emerging general themes and make them richer if needed. I, as a researcher, took notes concerning my feelings and thoughts related with the interviews and processes. This procedure was applied for each participant. The ethical approval of the study was taken from Middle East Technical University.

3.5. About Participants

This part consists of participants' definitions of themselves and some detailed examinations related with participants according to idiographic feature of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.

Participant 1: Selim. Selim is 70 years old and a retired teacher of Turkish language. He lived in Antakya until the age of 18 and has then lived in different cities in Turkey. He has been living in İzmir for 27 years. He grew up as a first child of his family and had nine siblings. He said that he spent most of his life out of Antakya.

He stated that his father's belief was discordant with Alevi belief experiences. As he mentioned, his father was critical of some of the worship practices, because of which his father felt closer to Sunni beliefs in some ways. As a result of this, Selim explained that religious leaders of Arab Alevi community, sheikhs (şeyh), did not like his father. Although he described his family as being different from the rest of the Arab Alevi community, he stated that he did not feel as 'the other' in his village and people were respectful.

Selim said that he firstly learned Arabic and encountered with Turkish in primary school. He stated that after going out of the village for secondary school, he was shocked because of his realization of the differences. One of the reasons for being shocked was the difference between being a villager and being urban. The second reason was the inability to speak Turkish like people living in the city. He said that he tried to speak Turkish properly so he avoided speaking Arabic at home and in the village with his friends. While he was talking about memories related with his ethnic identity, I, as an interviewer, realized that he generally emphasized how he was different from his friends from the same culture and environment.

He reported that he was embarrassed by his native tongue and by the origin of Arab Fellah in his childhood. He stated that getting married to a woman who was Sunni and not teaching his children (two sons) Arabic were helpful to compensate for his own identity. On the other hand, he defined himself as a revolutionist, struggling against the idea of discrimination for all people. This was an important point for him. He claimed this process was important for him because he had not left being 'the other' but his new identity helped him become a 'more accepted other'. Selim said

that he was ashamed because of being ashamed of his identity and origin. He stated that this awareness came by getting older, especially after the age of 40-50. When I asked him ‘How do you define yourself in terms of ethnic/religious identity?’, he said that answering this question is difficult because he could not say he is Turk or Arab but he defined himself as ‘a Turkized Fellah’, atheist, and one of the member of the dominant culture, especially in terms of language.

Participant 2: Demet. Demet is 29 years old and a banker living in Antakya. She is the first child of her family and had two siblings. She is engaged and now living with her family in Antakya. She spent all of his life in Antakya with her family.

She defined herself as ‘Arab Alevi’, born in Antakya. She reported that she did not have many Sunni friends and the first time that she realized and encountered the presence of other ethnic/religious identities. She expressed that although she grew up in Alevi neighborhood, her family did not teach her Arabic. She stated that she had improved her native tongue during the university education, through her friends, and after starting work. She mentioned that she works at a bank in Antakya and they have Arab customers, because of which she started to speak and thus improved her Arabic.

During the interview, I observed that Demet got angry at some points, especially when she was talking about discrimination and other people’s perceptions of them. She was generally confronted with these situations in university and in her work place. While she was explaining some discrimination experiences, I observed that she had feelings of revenge.

Additionally, she was in a position where she criticized other ethnic identities while idealizing her own identity.

Participant 3: Derya. Derya is 18 years old and a student preparing for the university entrance exam. She is the first child of her family and has two siblings. She is living in a town near Antakya with her family. She defined herself as Alevi, from Antakya, and as a person feeling distant to the religion side of Arab Alevism. Although she stated that she feels she is distant to the religion side of Arab Alevism, while she was talking about the identity she generally brought up this issue.

She said that the first time she realized her ethnic identity was in the second year of high school, while they were watching a film about Hz. Ali. She reported that she was ashamed of not knowing anything about her culture and identity. On the other hand, during the interview, at some points she emphasized her friends' reactions about her Turkish. They said that it is not understood that she is Arab. As much as I observed, she was proud of her ability to speak Turkish without any hints of Arabic accent.

She generally gave short answers to the questions and the content of her answers was not rich, especially emotional content. She used for many emotions the same word, like 'nonsense'.

Participant 4: Salih. Salih is 53 years old and is a pharmacist working and living in a town close to Antakya. He is the sixth child of his family and has nine siblings. He studied at university in an Anatolian city. He is married with three children.

When he was asked to define himself, firstly he stated that although his native tongue is Arabic, he generally enjoys listening to songs belonging to Anatolian culture, like Aşık Veysel. Additionally, he stated that he felt distant to the Arab side of his identity, and closer to Anatolian culture, like Bektaşilik, and added that he felt stuck in an intermediary world in terms of identity. Salih reported that he mostly decided based on his liking while he was forming his culture. In other words, he might accept different part of different cultures by acting autonomously.

There are some special occasions where we live. Special days are nice when we live with them. But differently, for example, here is the Rumi, according to the Hijri calendar, is celebrated when it is Christmas. It's a special day around here. But I also love it when it's regular Christmas. Even though it is a special day for Christians, I did not approach it like 'this is my culture, this is it, I have experienced it like this, others just do not interest me'. I have always gone after what I naturally like, the nature of a culture. The thing that does not wrap is a kind of autonomous.

He mentioned that being free as an individual and having social connections with other people is important for him. During the interview, he generally gave indirect answers to the questions and used metaphors to make himself understood. Sometimes, it was difficult for me to sum up the discourses.

Besides those, although Salih agreed to participate in the study voluntarily, he did not want to sign the informed consent form. In the period this interview was conducted, many scholars were being dismissed from their jobs because they signed the peace declaration in Turkey. Salih also stated that he did not want to sign any documents because of this concern.

Participant 5: Ahmet. Ahmet is 36 years old, a teacher, living and working in a town close to Antakya. He is the seventh child of his family with ten children. He is married and has two children. He studied university in Antakya.

He defined himself as ‘Arab Alevi’ and a citizen of Turkey Republic. Additionally, he stated that because his father is a sheikh, he has high religious beliefs. He stated that his first awareness of his identity was when he went to the center of Antakya to study high school. He stated that being aware of the existence of other identities (Christian, Sunnis, etc) and having close encounters with them had a crucial contribution to this process.

He reported that he met stigmas and prejudices for the first time when he was back in college. After establishing close relationships with some new friends, his friends from different cities, who have different identities, expressed the stigmas and prejudices they had had before getting to know different people. In the university process, he said he felt like ‘host’ and tried to help students coming from other cities.

As a teacher in a village where Sunnis live, he mentioned that students in class expressed some judgments about Alevis. He mentioned that these judgements make him nervous about establishing sincere relationships with parents because he thinks that such comments are made by the parents at home, and this is how the students hear about them. Therefore, he mentioned that he wants to work in the regions where people from his own culture are living in order to feel more secure.

During the interview, I observed that one of his main concerns about the ethnic/religious identity was its continuity. Moreover, at some points (e.g. while talking about stigmas and prejudices or religious issues) he was reluctant to give detailed information. This made me think he might be ashamed of sharing these things with someone else. Like Salih, Ahmet also did not want to sign the informed consent form.

Participant 6: Filiz. Filiz is 25 years old and is a teacher working at a foundation university in Ankara. She is the youngest child of a family with six children. She lived in Antakya with her family until the age of 18, but now she is living with her friends in Ankara.

She defined herself as minority, not just because of ethnic identity, but also because of issues like gender and political view. She said she feels distant to Arab side of the Arab Alevi identity because of the perception of being Arab is something hereditary. She mentioned that she feels closer to Alevi belief because of the philosophy that it contains. She explained that her family has synthesized both Alevi belief and Islam belief. She said that she has acquired some learning points from Alevis' tolerance. On the other hand, she stated there is an Arab nationalism which disturbs her. When she was talking about it during the interview, she got angry. In the middle of the first interview, she mentioned that although her boyfriend is Alevi but not Arab, her family does not approve of their relationship. I thought that because of this issue, she may be more sensitive about nationalism.

The first time that she encountered the idea of being different was during primary school. However, in high school, she reported that, things came to a more complicated level regarding differences as she was exposed to discrimination. The most obvious point that emerged during the interviews was her experiences related with her effort to become different from both her culture and from the dominant culture. She also mentioned that she imagines a world in which identities are not visible and not different from one another.

Participant 7: Fulya. Fulya is 40 years old, a teacher working and living in Antakya. She is the last child of her parents and had six siblings. She is married and has a child. She studied at university in Antakya.

When she was asked to define herself, first of all she talked about her worries related with the future of the country and social life. The reason for this was the events (the recent bombing attacks and coup attempts) that took place during the process of interviews. During the interview, I also observed that there was concern about not meeting my expectations.

In terms of ethnic identity, she stated that a description in the form of 'I am from here' had already fallen to Alevism. She also introduced herself as a daughter of

a sheikh. Regarding her cultural identity, she noted that the culture is highly mixed because of the cosmopolitan nature of Antakya. She emphasized that there are not many cultural specificities and that people have lost their cultural characteristics by starting to live other cultures. Apart from this, she stated that she misses children's learning to pray, religious *bayrams*, and shrines which are expressed as parts of the culture.

She mentioned that she studied primary and secondary school in the village. She had her first confrontation with differences when she went to Antakya for high school education. She explained that for the first time in high school she met with Christians and Armenians and that she started to see the differences. She stated that when she went to Antakya for high school education, she noticed the difference between Turkish spoken in Antakya and their pronunciation and socio-economic status differences.

Her experiences of discrimination started after she entered on her work life. She started to work in a district of Hatay. She reported that at the beginning she was alienated by the other teachers and people living there, but as the time passed and contact was made, she stated that people realized that their judges were wrong. I recognized that she was proud to be amazed them.

The most salient emotions were worry and inadequacy coming during the interviews.

Participant 8: Mahir. Mahir is 22 years old. He is studying university in Ankara. He has two siblings and the first child of his family. Until the university, he was living in Antakya with his family.

When I asked how he defines himself in Turkish society, firstly, he said he is a citizen of Turkey. Later on, when he was asked how he would introduce himself to an unknown person, he stated he would say that his ancestors were Arabs. Additionally, he told that he felt himself distant from the religious part of the Arab Alevism and during the interview at some point he brought some critique to that side. Moreover, he stated that he could not define himself as Turk or as Arab exactly. He mentioned that he is learning different things from both of them.

He explained that he firstly leant Arabic and when he went to an after school support center during secondary school; he recognized the differences between

people's pronunciations in Turkish. He explained that he tried to learn something about the language, for Turkish, to improve his speaking. Additionally, when he went to Antakya from village for high school, he stated that he met people of different identities, like Armenian, Turk, and Christian. He mentioned that when he faced with the idea of nationalism, he learnt the differences between these.

I observed that during the first interview, he answered the questions implicitly. In the second interview, he seemed to be more relaxed and gave more detailed information.

Participant 9: Selin. Selin is 29 years old, unemployed, and living in Ankara. She is fifth child of her family and had 5 siblings. She firstly went out of Antakya for university education. She is married.

Before starting to the interview, she said if questions would be related with past, she might have some difficulty to remember them. After asking how she defines herself in Turkish society, she spoke to some personality characteristics like idealistic, open to learning, and different opinions and feeling herself as different. When she was asked to define herself in terms of ethnic/cultural identity, she said that she always carries her ethnic identity with her because of her name (her name is coming from Arabic). On the other hand, she stated she does not behave depending on her ethnic identity and evaluate something based on this. She stated that the first encounter with ethnic identity was in secondary school when her cousin told her that 'we are called as Fellah'. However, realization of Arab is another 'race' occurred when she came to university. While she was in high school, she stated that she sometimes invited her friends for lunch and she felt stressful because of concerns for spoken Arabic or whether they would like or not her neighborhood.

She reported that she never defined herself as Turk or Arab, and for that reason she feels stuck in an intermediary world. She stated that although her husband is Alevi but not Arab, her family accepted this situation.

3.6. Data Analysis

Each interview was transcribed. Transcripts were analyzed based on IPA guidance and steps (Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1999). After transcription of the first case, the analysis process started. The first case was read over and the main themes

were identified—which is parallel with idiographic characteristics of IPA (Smith, 2004). The same process was applied for the second case. Later on cross-case comparison process was operated to find shared themes and form superordinate and subordinate themes. At the end of this process, seven superordinate themes were identified.

3.7. Trustworthiness of the Study

For the trustworthiness of a study, there are different criteria, like reflexivity (Finlay, 2002) and methodological consistency (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Finlay (2002) defines reflexivity as ‘thoughtful, conscious self-awareness’. Reflexivity is important because it provides us an opportunity to evaluate the subjectivity, intersubjective dynamics, and research process (Finlay, 2002). The reflexivity can be made seen both by the researcher and other through bracketing. Bracketing is identifying possible factors, like assumptions, cultural factors, interests, and personal experiences, which may affect the researcher’s view of the data (Fischer, 2009). The aim of the bracketing is not to ensure objectivity but to provide the reader with the researcher’s understanding of the phenomena (Fisher, 2009). During the study, I took notes about my emotions and assumptions arisen from the interaction with the participants. It is called reflexive diary. Later on, these notes are opened during the analysis process and then closed in the result part. Another point that could be counted for reflexivity is to consult a research team (Elliott, Fischer, & Rennie, 1999). For the current study, the research team consisted of the researcher, her supervisor, a clinical psychologist, and a sociologist. When we came together we discussed about the themes and my position in that process. Additionally, I, as a researcher, consulted to a clinical psychologist who is an expert for the IPA. Moreover, when needed, some points were discussed in a peer group.

In the light of the above knowledge, I monitored my thoughts, my assumptions, and my feelings during the research process. I, as an Arab Alevi member, based on my experiences, had a chance to think about the effects of being a member of a cultural minority group on emotions and coping with those emotions. I had gone to city center for my high school education after graduated from the secondary school. I did not know that we were perceived as ‘different’ till at that time. My classmates were from different religious and ethnic groups. During a

discussion in the class, some of my friends said something implying that we are not Turkish and they are the owner of Turkey. Firstly, I could not understand anything because I was thinking that all we are same. After the class, I talked with my friends (who were Arab Alevi) and they explained me that we are not Turkish but Arab Alevi. I experienced really confusing emotions. Additionally, after coming to university, I encountered with questions involving stigmas and prejudice against Alevis and I remember that I felt bad. After starting to practice as a clinical psychologist, I conducted therapy during the doctorate education. Some of my clients were from different cultural minority groups. During the therapy processes, I realized that those clients had some shared experiences and emotions, like shame and incompetency. I began to question the development of identity and its influence on one's social and emotional aspects. While discussing this topic with people, I realized that there are some common points shared by minority people. Thus, the first reference point was me and my experiences. From this perspective, as a researcher, I was an insider in the whole process (Berger, 2015).

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this section, superordinate themes and their subordinate themes emerged from our analysis of participants' narratives within the framework of five questions are reported: 1) How do Arab Alevi members experience ethnic/religious/cultural identity formation process? 2) How do Arab Alevi members define themselves in terms of ethnic identity? 3) What kinds of emotions related with experiences of identity and psychological needs do they experience? 4) How do they cope with negative emotions? 5) How do they give meaning to these processes? The result of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of experiences of ethnic identity formation consists of eight superordinate themes and their subthemes: *'The process of ethnic identity formation'*, *'Ways of defining the ethnic/religious/cultural identity'*, *'The perceived image of cultural identity'*, *'Negative experiences related with ethnic identity'*, *'Emotions accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her identity and discrimination'*, *'psychological needs elicited from the narratives'*, and *'Coping with negative emotions elicited from identity formation process and discrimination'*. Emergent superordinate and subordinate themes and participants who mentioned them are presented in Table 2. Before presenting the themes, some general information about the participants will be given.

Table 2

Emergent Themes for Experiences of Ethnic Identity

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
1. The process of ethnic identity formation	
<i>The assumption that everybody is the same</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P7, P8, P9
<i>Realization of one's own differences</i>	All participants
<i>(Ways of) Gathering Information</i>	P2, P3, P6, P8, P9
2. Participants' definition and perception of cultural identity	
<i>Concepts</i>	P2, P3, P5, P7, P8, P9
<i>Positive definitions related with cultural identity</i>	P2, P3, P4, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Negative definitions related with cultural identity</i>	P1, P4, P6, P9
3. The perceived image of culture by others	
<i>Positive Images</i>	P8, P9
<i>Negative Images</i>	P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9
4. Negative experiences related with ethnic identity	
<i>Experiences of discrimination and considerations for classification</i>	All participants
<i>Explanations for reasons of discrimination</i>	P1, P3, P4, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Stigmatization</i>	P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9
<i>Prejudice</i>	P2, P3, P7, P9
<i>Being judged</i>	P1, P2, P9
5. Emotions accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her identity and negative experiences	
<i>Positive emotions</i>	P1, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Negative Emotions</i>	All participants
6. Psychological needs	
<i>Need for being alike/building intimacy and commonality</i>	All participants
<i>Need for being accepted/ being respected</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
<i>Need for concealing identity</i>	P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
<i>Need for maintaining the culture</i>	P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
<i>Need for being different</i>	P1, P4, P6, P8, P9
<i>Need for equality</i>	P2, P5, P7, P8

Table 2 (cont'd)

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
<i>Need for making sense</i>	P5, P6, P7
<i>Need for drawing boundaries and distancing</i>	P2, P5, P7
<i>Need for Knowing/learning</i>	P2, P8
<i>Need for breaking prejudices</i>	P5, P7
7. Coping with negative emotions and experiences accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her identity and negative experiences	
<i>Building secure zones/relationships</i>	P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Disengagement from/not building relationships with/distancing from people</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
<i>Trivialization</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9
<i>Avoidance</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
<i>Rationalization</i>	P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Blame</i>	P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P9
<i>Effort to speak Turkish properly</i>	P1, P3, P6, P7, P8, P9
<i>Acting defensively/Having arguments</i>	P1, P2, P3, P9
<i>Effort to explain/teach one's own culture</i>	P2, P5, P7, P8
<i>Studying/Self-improvement/Trying to learn more</i>	P1, P2, P7, P9
<i>Denial</i>	P6
<i>Consulting parents or religious leaders</i>	P2, P3, P6
<i>Being successful</i>	P1, P7
<i>Behaving reactively</i>	P1, P6
<i>Fighting otherization with revolutionism</i>	P1
<i>Identification with dominant identity/Concealing the identity</i>	P1

4.1. Superordinate Themes

4.1.1. Superordinate Theme 1: The Process of Ethnic Identity Formation

Based on IPA, we concluded with three subordinate themes (see Table 3) for 'the process of ethnic identity formation' superordinate theme. In this theme, the process which is looking as having chronological order is emerged to understand how participants form their ethnic/cultural identity. Although the process of ethnic

identity formation consists of shared points, there are also some differences between participants.

Table 3

Emergent Themes for the Process of Ethnic Identity Formation

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
THE PROCESS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY FORMATION	
<i>1. The assumption that everybody is the same</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P7, P8, P9
<i>2. Realization of one's own differences</i>	
During the process of formal education	All participants
When encountering people from other ethnic identities or going out of the village/Antakya for education purposes	P1, P2, P4, P6, P8, P9
While talking with friends	P8, P9
Differences of languages (Turkish-Arabic)	P4, P8
<i>3. (Ways of) Gathering Information</i>	
Asking the family	P3, P6, P8, P9
Consulting a religious leader	P2, P6
Researching	P2, P6

The assumption that everybody is the same. Thinking everybody is same is one of subordinate themes of ‘The process of ethnic identity formation’. Except Filiz and Salih, all other participants mentioned that at the beginning of ethnic identity formation process, they thought that everybody were same. They were not aware of their being Arab, Alevi or ‘the other’ (Selim). They mentioned that they thought everybody was like them and were not aware of other ethnic or religious identities. Selim stated that although his father rejected the Alevi belief, he did not feel different in the village where they were living.

I try to speak properly but you do not feel that alienation in that village. You're not the other in the village. Although my father looks like someone who has given up on Alevism, they have respect for us, I am not different from others here.

[...]

Researcher: You said ‘When I understood that my language was different, that is, when I understood that I was ‘the other’, it was secondary school term’.

Selim: Of course it is. You do not know it here.

Demet also reported that before encountering people from other ethnic identities, she believed that all people were same. She said that “Apart from that, the second awareness, for example, was that I have always thought that everyone else is just like us mainly because I studied here in high school, university and then worked here.”

Before confronting with the idea of being ‘different’, Derya thought that “I thought everyone was the same as us, from the same place and origin. I learned later that there were different religions, almost about a year later.”

Additionally, Ahmet, Fulya, Mahir, and Selin stated that until going out of the village for education, they thought everybody was the same and ‘Arab’. Ahmet reported that:

We did not need to talk about; we did not need to think on these issues, because all of us were always the same already. The environment we grew up in was full of people belonging to the same ethnic group, the same sect, and sharing the same social thoughts. It was the same, so there was no atmosphere to discuss or think about such issues.

Furthermore, Fulya said that “You are in the village together with your friends till secondary school anyways, you are usually together with people sharing the same culture.”. Moreover, Mahir reported that “I mean, up until high school, our school was a village school. Everybody around us was like us, I mean, Arab.”

[...]

Interviewer: Okay, I asking this point again. You said you were in the village until high school. Did you have a definition of your identity up until that time? I mean, was there such an awareness as we are this or we are that?

Mahir: No, because everyone you see was like you. Maybe on TV, the things you came across in the movies created a question mark in your head, but when you went out you saw people like you only.

Selin said “You do not know about it, or perhaps you do not know because there is not so much difference, after a while consciously you do not question too much” and there could be a period when I think everyone is like us.”

Realization of one's own differences. All participants described a process of becoming aware of the ethnic or language differences between people. The participants reported that this process was experienced during the formal education, when encountering with other people or when they were talking with their friends. For example, Selin stated that she was not aware of the differences until primary school. The first confrontation occurred while talking with her cousin:

I guess it was in primary school, as I said before, I studied with my cousins, and then I talked to my cousin first. My cousin said, 'There are Alevis and there are Sunnis. We are Alevis'. It's something I talked about at a very simple plane in primary school. 'Someone, I mean person X, is Sunni, and some others are Alevis. At first it was 'aaa', here were my friends - my girlfriends - and they are 'Alevis'. 'Oh, how do you know?' 'We know'. They are because they were more imm, I do not understand why I am so broken, now think. They also knew. But after you talk to them, you realize something. You go to his/her [Alevi's] house, you come. Because coming and going to the other's house is not welcomed at those ages, at a young age. I had a friend close to our neighborhood. For example, I remember the feeling that her mother spoke in Arabic and that when I realized that she was 'very familiar', I feel a happiness or a feeling of confidence in myself. Yes, now that thinks this corresponds to primary school

...

I remember one thing from my high school years that we had Sunni classmates, but we were in the same group, and were close to each other, we visited each other. Then I heard one of them saying something like "The Alevis..." (laughing), oh what was it? "----- too-----Alevis, the Alevi girls sleep with the boys" and so on. And another Alevi friend of mine told me about it. "Aslı said all these", she said. Then, "how so?", I thought. Then I realized these when I talked to my friends.

The below extract reveals Derya's first experiences related with awareness of cultural identity. She stated that, in high school in Religious Culture and Knowledge of Ethics class, while watching a video about Hz. Ali, she laughed and then her friend told her not to laugh:

I was in second year of high school. We were in Religious Culture and Knowledge of Ethics class. The teacher showed us a video, with a depiction of Hz. Ali in it. I laughed. My friend, a male friend, warned me, told me not to laugh. "Why not?" I asked and he responded by saying that he was our prophet. I did not believe him. Then I came home and asked my mother.

Ahmet also reported that he started to think about ethnic identity during high school because before that everybody around him was the same:

Interviewer: You said you define yourself as an Arab Alevi. When did you meet this identity, when did you come to the realization that you are Arab Alevi?

Ahmet: Mostly during high school period.

Interviewer: Is it possible to tell a little, how was it, how did you experience it?

Ahmet: The region that I already live in is a place where the majority of Arab Alevis are as well as the school I read.

Interviewer: Do you mean high school?

Ahmet: Yes, high school. But we also had friends from different sects from time to time. From that time on, I have started to feel this more or to think more on it since then. We did not think about such issues back in childhood. It wouldn't pass through our mind even. So, yes, around high school years.

Another sample extract is from Selim. He stated that for the secondary school education he left the village to go to Antakya and he was shocked: "Now, when I first started secondary school in Antakya, I was shocked". ... "I clearly realized how otherized and alienated my identity was when I went to Antakya, the city center, during my secondary and high school period."

Parallel with these experiences, Filiz mentioned a memory related with her teacher who was Kurdish. She mentioned that her teacher talked about Kurdish people's problems and then she felt the need of asking about this issue to her father because of guilt:

Interviewer: All right, you have defined your own identity. An identity which is close to Alevism, and little far from being an Arab, or an identity which does not put this in the center of all. Considering this, when was the first time you defined yourself this way?

Filiz: In primary school. My main class teacher was from Batman. It was funny, in an anecdote, when he mentioned the problems in eastern Turkey, the Kurdish problem and the perceptions of identity, I asked dad "Why do we, as Turks, torture the Kurds?". Up until that time, my dad would always emphasize that we are citizen of Turkey, not Arabs. But this time my dad responded saying "We are not Turks in fact, we are citizen of Turkey"

Additionally, Demet came across one of her classmates on the bus while she was at university and he asked Demet about one of their *bayrams*. She expressed that this

was the first time she realized that this *bayram* is not for everybody. She reported that:

I realized it back at university for the first time. While travelling on the bus, one of my friends, I mean not a real friend, but a guy from class told me “I heard there is this bayram in your culture, the *Ghadir Ghumm bayram*.” Before that, I would think that it is everyone’s bayram. When he said this, I was hit by this realization and I started to question these.

Fulya was living in the village until high school. She stated that before going out of the village for high school, all her friends were from the same culture. However, she encountered with ‘different people’ in high school, in Antakya:

Up until secondary school, you are actually with your friends in the village, usually together with people from the same culture. I started to meet different people only after I started high school. And actually, we saw that these new people were very much the same as us.

Similarly, Mahir also expressed that while studying in village everybody was same for him but after going to city center (Antakya) for after-school support and high school he met with nationalism which made him realized the difference:

We naturally come into contact with other people as we go to the city center, with the Turks, the Jews, the Christians. Antakya is a cosmopolitan city anyway.

...

There were times when we got involved in that politics... that generally the Turks were nationalistic, that we were not nationalistic as much, neither as Arabs nor for Turkishness. This is because we could not embrace any of them completely. Personally speaking, I find it weird for a person ...ummm... to be nationalistic. I find it weird in such occasions, usually in political ones, when nationalism is at the forefront.

In addition to this point, Mahir and Salih stated that they noticed the difference in identities because of the differences in languages. Salih stated that when he started school he could not speak Turkish. He compares this process of learning Turkish to technical education:

Because the majority of the students were from this region, it is just like you starting a new faculty, a technical one, It is in your own language but the information there is new and technical. Even if your mother tongue were Turkish, you would come across technical terms there. This is how I perceived it.

Mahir said that when encountering with other people he recognized that there were two languages, Turkish and Arabic.

You meet a lot of people all of a sudden. Let's mention their way of talking... Now we first heard the Arabic language and naturally started speaking Arabic first. We learned Turkish later on. In elementary school. So we sometimes swap and mix the words of both languages. So, first there was a change regarding language.

Mahir also mentioned his realization of differences of Turkish between his own culture and the other: "It is not that different in fact but for example the sentence structures are like 'came I' [Arab members' use of Turkish]. Then, for example, 'how are you? said' 'are you fine said'

Getting information about cultural identity. The third subordinate theme is about gathering information about identity after becoming aware of the 'being different'. Participants differentiated in terms of ways of getting information. Asking the family about ethnic/religious identity, talking with a religious leader, and doing search (from book) are emerged ways of getting information. Selin stated that she asked her mother questions to learn who they are etc:

After experiencing this, I talked to my mom about this situation. What are we exactly? for example was one very basic question I asked. Where did we come from? The answers I got in high school were probably very simple because I came to the realization [of who we are] at university. But back in high school, it was at a more "we are Alevi, this is how we do things" level. Or they would say "We have sacrificed an animal".

Filiz stated that she talked to her father after listening to her teacher's remarks about Kurdish people to ask him why they do that. Through these questions she learned that they are not Turk:

In primary school, my main class teacher was from Batman. It was funny, in an anecdote, when he mentioned the problems in eastern Turkey, the Kurdish problem and the perceptions of identity, I asked dad "Why do we, as Turks, torture the Kurds?". Up until that time, my dad would always emphasize that we are citizen of Turkey, not Arabs. But this time my dad responded saying "We are not Turks in fact, we are citizen of Turkey".

Mahir stated that he had some questions related with differences between Alevi and Sunni people. To get the answers, he said he had some talks with his father:

Mahir: Oh, we for example asked about that thing between the Alevi and Sunnis.

Interviewer: To whom?

Mahir: To my dad. We talked about these. And then I learned that our religious beliefs differed in that one [Alevism] is esoteric and the other [Sunnism] exoteric. I started to think that we believed in the same God, but differently. This was what I was taught. So I was puzzled because of the Alevi-Sunni differences in Hatay. Other than that, I did not encounter many such problems or confusion.

Lastly, Derya mentioned that she asked her mother some questions to get some information about their beliefs and prophet:

I was in second year of high school. We were in Religious Culture and Knowledge of Ethics class. The teacher showed us a video, with a depiction of Hz. Ali in it. I laughed. My friend, a male friend, warned me, told me not to laugh. "Why not?" I asked and he responded by saying that he was our prophet. I did not believe him. Then I came home and asked my mother.

...

I thought of asking mom. And I did so when I came home. This is how I learned about it.

In addition to asking family, Derya and Filiz stated that they visited one of religious leaders, sheik, to get detailed information about their religious beliefs. For example, Filiz said:

Then I did some reading in high school, there are sheikhs from whom you can go and get information. I asked the close ones about what it is and what it is not to get information. I tried to read things on the history of Nusayris.

Both of them also mentioned that they searched for written information and read some book about the identity. Derya reported that "I did research Alevism a little. I do not have, however, much time to read because of my job, I'm trying to read and listen as much as I can."

4.1.2. Superordinate Theme 2: Participants' Definitions and Perceptions of Cultural Identity

According to IPA, three subordinate themes are emerged for participants' definitions and perceptions of identity (see Table 4). This theme was emerged in the frame of questions asked to participants about Arab Alevi identity.

Table 4

Emergent Themes for Participants' Definition and Perception of Cultural Identity

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
Participants' definition and perception of cultural identity	
<i>1. Labels</i>	
Arabic Speaking	P2, P5, P8, P9
Religious Definitions	P3, P7, P8, P9
Alevi	P3, P5, P9
Arab Alevi/Nusayris	P2, P7, P9
Of Arab origin	P9
<i>2. Positive definitions related with cultural identity</i>	
Tolerant	P2, P6, P9
A composite culture	P4, P7, P9
The cuisine	P7, P8, P9
Caring about living together, able to act in unity	P7, P9
Women being kept out of religion with regard to men	P3, P9
Open to learning/ Valuing education	P7, P9
<i>3. Negative definitions related with cultural identity</i>	
	P1, P4, P6, P9

Labels used by the participants to define cultural identity. Here are some labels used by participants while defining the cultural identity. Derya, Ahmet, Mahir, and Selin mentioned that speaking Arabic is one of the characteristics and indicators of Arab Alevi people. For example, Mahir told that “We first heard in Arabic”. Specifically, when Ahmet and Mahir were asked which kind of characteristics Arab Alevi culture has, Ahmet said, “Native language, religion, culture. I say so”. Mahir also replied as “may be language”. Additionally, Demet stated that after starting to speak Arabic in workplace, she is becoming more known with her ethnic side: “

Only we can communicate with Arab customers. Of necessity, I have developed more [in Arabic] and I am becoming more familiar with ethnic aspect". Selin answered that language is one of the characteristics in which Arab part of this culture is living.

I mean, in my family, most of the elders speak Arabic. My two older sisters speak Arabic. We cannot talk; it does not come to us because we started talking to each other now with the siblings and so on. Everyone speaks Arabic—in family meetings or on religious *bayrams* anyway. I cannot speak, but I do not find it strange because I'm familiar with it. It's strange for people who come from outside. Then I realize that this is a different culture. I think the Arabic part is present there.

Besides this characteristics, four participants mentioned religious characteristics of Arab Alevi identity. After Derya defined her cultural identity as Alevi, she mentioned "religious *bayrams*" while defining Alevism. Parallel with this, Mahir also talked about religious *bayrams* and the importance attached to such occasions. Actually, he criticized the working and worshipping cycle:

At least I can talk for the Alevis. In each of the twelve months, every month of the year, there is a religious bayram. And there are one or two families holding each bayram. I mean, I haven't seen any family who does not have a bayram or made a vow. They are constantly living with them, living their lives and doing their worships. There is no production. It is also not very healthy because the knowledge of science is very much related to religion. Their way of thinking is like religion first, then science. I mean... I have not seen anything other than religion and their individual lives. So is my family. So they work, save money, the day comes, the day of worship comes, the ritual is done and then again. It happens every year.

Fulya and Selin also referred to different aspects of religious definition, however, they emphasized that these aspects are not only about the religious aspect but also about the culture. While Fulya was talking about the traditions of the culture which she misses and which has started to be forgotten, she mentioned some religious part of the Arab Alevis: "We have missed many things, our religious holidays, children's learning to pray at a young age, the nights gatherings [dinner invitations] arranged for it, the food are all very special for me.". Additionally, Selin mentioned some detail about the shrines [a sacred place for Arab Alevis where they pray and make a wish] and what to do when visiting them.

There are shrines in our culture, I remember when I was young -and now I go when I visit Antakya, too- I used to go there, turn around it three times, for example. You go there and pray. There is a green cloth. You make your wish with it. There are such minor religious ceremonies. But these are all features of the culture.

Fulya has also mentioned the shrine as a feature that belongs to the culture by saying “What else belongs to our culture... The shrines”. Moreover, Derya, Ahmet, and Selin mentioned the ‘Alevis’. Derya defined Alevis as “Those who revere Imam Ali. Those who follow Imam Ali”. Selin, as mentioned before, described that being Alevi is something religious but it also consists of lots of cultural elements, “Being Alevi is something about a sect and is a religious thing; however, it brings lots of cultural elements with it.”

Some of the participants used ‘Arab Alevi’ label to define their culture. For example, Selin expressed that she cannot separate Alevi and Arab, because they are both meaningful when they are together:

In fact, ummm, being Alevi is about a sect, something religious, but it brings with it a lot of cultural elements. It makes great things, contributions to your life. And most of the people who live in big cities, in cities where I live, do not know this. Even other people who are Alevis do not know this because this time there are regional differences, a different culture, something unique to Antakya. There is this thing about our Arab origin, about where our parents came from and we probably migrated from Syria, if I’m not wrong. But this is so intertwined for me, well yes I am from Antakya, yes there is this Arab origin, but to me this cannot be summed up as something independent of the sect.

Only two participants, Filiz and Selin, used ‘Nusayris’ during the interviews to refer their cultures. Filiz said that “I tried to read something about the history of Nusayris”. Selin explained that while she was searching for the origins of the identity, she found that Nusayris is the origin of it:

I remember then I talked to my uncle about the origin and where we came from. At that time there was something about Lebanese, but then I remember that I made it clear that it was Syria. Here ... As far as I know Nusairism is the origin.

Selin also added that this identity has the origin of Arab, “There is this thing about our Arab origin, about where our parents came from and we probably migrated from Syria, if I’m not wrong”.

Positive definitions related with cultural identity. This theme is one of subthemes of definition of cultural identity and consists of participants' positive definitions and perceptions of Arab Alevi identity.

Not all participants but some of them referred being tolerant to other cultures and people as a feature of their identity. Demet and Filiz, especially, attributed this feature to Alevism. Demet reported that "In Alevism, I do not think there is compulsion, I did not see until now. I perceive it more tolerant religion, not religion but as a sect, compared to others."

Absolutely with regards to tolerance. What I particularly find interesting since I was little is to see every religion and every philosophy and every philosophy same. So not to distinguish one from the other. It was the most interesting point that attracted me. Because of that I feel much closer to myself.

(Filiz)

Selin generally brought the tolerance feature with being friendly. She stated that the culture that she belongs [she used 'we' pronoun] is friendly and consists of tolerance:

The ethnicity I intent to mention or the ethnic culture I think I belong to is a real composite one, I believe. And it has tolerance in it, that's what makes it special.

...

If you look at the whole, in fact I think that most of the Antakya people are have tolerance to other people. So, I can also say it is a tolerance culture because there is a warmth that manifests itself in people who are in this culture.

...

We are friendly and tolerant to different cultures.

Some participants defined their culture as a mixed culture because there are different religions, sects, and ethnic identities in Antakya. All those cultures are affected from each other so a mixed culture was arisen. For example, Fulya said that

It is already such a fact that, if you have investigated, we are living in a mixed culture here. Because we have grown up in a mixed culture for years. We had Christian friends; I met Christian, Armenian friends back in college, in high school for the first time.

Selin said she believed that being from Antakya and being of Arab origin could not be thought independent from the sect [Alevism] and the combination of them forms a mixed ethnic culture.

But this is so intertwined for me, well yes I am from Antakya, yes there is this Arab origin, but to me this cannot be summed up as something independent of the sect. Because in fact we do not resemble the Arabs that I see and know now. That's why, the ethnicity I intend to mention or the ethnic culture I think I belong to is a real composite one, I believe.

Two of the participants talked about the cuisine. While expanding this point, they referred to it as a feature of Arab culture. When Mahir was asked to talk about features specific to Arab culture (as he called them), Mahir stated that certain dishes and spices added to these dishes are special to that culture: “Our dishes, the spices we use in our dishes”. Selin also stated that foods are special because the culture continues to live in that part also. She said that while she was living in Antakya, all seemed normal; however, it was only after she came to Ankara that she realized that they are special to that culture.

The culture lives in the cuisine there when you look from that perspective... You learn most of the things about the food here [in Ankara], but when you are back in Antakya, it all seems very normal, ordinary to you, the foods special to Arab culture, for example.

Three of the participants reported their culture attaching importance to living together (with other cultures) and moving collectively as positive features of their culture. Fulya attributed this to the structure of city by saying “Maybe it’s partly because we have lived with Christians, Turks and Armenians for years. We do not care very much, living together is important; I think that we have overcome some things at that point”. Additionally, Selin emphasized the collectivity and gave an example for it.

People who can act in a community. ... There is something like Alevis were the ones who helped Atatürk most at that time.

--Most?

Those who helped him during the War of Independence. This is, for example, the ability to act collectively.

Selin mentioned that the ability to act collectively might be improved as a result of struggling for protection because of being minority:

Perhaps what I mentioned earlier, the people’s characteristic about acting in unity with the others in society may have resulted from struggling, I mean we

are already a minority and people might have started to act in unity thinking “we need protection”. The social bonds might have been set this way.

Moreover, Selin also said that eating and ceremonies related with eating, which also strengthen social bonds are important for them.

I also think that the social ties are pretty strong because food culture is quite advanced and because we are a food-loving society. Food forms the basis for this. If there is food, there is a table and ceremonies. In that sense, I think they are people who love to socialize. They are not individualistic.

In addition to that, Demet maintained that there is no formalism and coercion in terms of religion, “In Alevism, I do not think there is coercion; I haven’t seen it so far.” While she was talking about these features, she did so by referring to Sunnis’ way of worship. She made a comparison between the two sects.

There is no extreme formality in Alevism. I mean, how I can put it, there is no showing off in Alevism. If you do it, it's something between you and God. It’s for yourself. As they say, you are doing what you are doing for yourself only. I mean, whenever I visit the shrines, like I visit a friend and visit a shrine afterwards, my friends never know about it or my mom never knows about it. But, for example, at the bank, when a person goes to the Friday prayer, he says “I’m going to the Friday prayer, does anyone need anything?” What can you want from a Friday prayer for example...

Derya and Selin referred to women’s positions in religion. They stated that women are kept out of religious sanctions compared to men. Derya reported it with a feeling of discrimination as I observed. On the other hand, Selin talked about it as an advantage for women.:

Men are more inclined towards religion, while women remain more distant. They keep telling women things like “she is not eligible for religious conduct” or “this is not how things are conducted”. They keep women away.
(Derya)

There are no worship practices imposed on women, or any sanctions, religious sanctions. This is not a negative thing at all. You are not under such pressure.

(Selin)

Considering social life, Fulya asserted that there is no gender discrimination. She explained that both women and men could share the same social environment, drink alcohol, and chat, “For example, we do not have gender discrimination here. Men and women sit together, drink together, and chat”. Moreover, Fulya and Selin

mentioned the feature of being open to learning and giving importance to education. Fulya stated that education is important for people of this culture because they want their children to have better living conditions than theirs:

We also like to educate children, we give importance to education. Those who study at a university are highly valued and we think they must definitely attend one, both our daughters and sons.

...

Because according to them (her parents), we are working with less physical strength and we continue our lives. It is a cause. In other words, in this culture there is the mentality of “My son, my daughter should be educated in order not to lead a life like mine”.

Selin added that the education rate is high because people in this culture do not close their eyes to the world and are open to learning:

Other than that, I think they are open to learning. It's not just my personal view. At some period, statistics showed that, too. In university entrance exam, the success rate of Hatay was quite high. People have a desire for success and are open to learning. As I said, they are not the people who close their eyes and turn their backs to the world.

Mahir mentioned a group on social media which is called ‘minnina’ and said that they have an effort not to be oppressed.

They try to say ‘we are here too’ and I like it. They are trying not to be oppressed, doing all they can, not to be treated as a second class. I appreciate ... that community. I mean, they are trying to keep their own culture, at least among themselves.

Negative definitions related with cultural identity. This subtheme shows some negative definitions or features of ethnic identity expressed by some of participants.

Filiz and Selin criticized the negative perception of people in their culture about getting married to somebody from other cultures. Filiz, especially, was both angry and sad because her family reacted negatively to her relationship (her boyfriend is not Arab Alevi but Alevi). She asserted that although members of Arab Alevi community work with Sunnis and make friends with them, they have red lines about marriage. She attributed this to the fear of going out of their safety zones:

They do business, yes for example, they do business with Sunnis, they make friends with them, but when it comes to starting a family or marriage, they have very strict lines about them. I think it is because they are afraid. I mean, it is obvious that somehow they will have to leave their safety zones if they do so or taking another one into that safe zone makes them afraid.

Similarly, Selin also said that although she could understand this perception occurs as a defense mechanism against assimilation, it was observed that she did not approve it: “In order not to be assimilated within ourselves, people think there should be no marriages to people of other cultures. I find it very... But this is a defense mechanism, and I'm aware of that, too.”

Filiz reported that people in this culture have a perception of ‘privileged minority’ which has resulted from the possibility of squashed. She said that it may be a strategy to protect themselves. She emphasized this points many times during the interviews and she looked reactive and angry while she was talking about this perception. For example, she said that “No, we are not oppressed, of course not!” or so. Then what are we? We must be, very logical, privileged. We must be few and privileged, like being noble.” Additionally, she said that there is a mismatch between being Kemalist and being Arab Alevi. She asserted that she had difficulty in understanding this point but as the time passed she could find some explanations, like high education level (through Antakya), high economic status, and having no problems in terms of speaking the native language.

Very strangely, for example, something I haven’t understood up until now, a very large part of my family is Kemalist. ‘Because we love Atatürk very much’, was the answer I received at that time... Then there is something there, a mismatch, there is a mismatch, how is this possible I thought. Then I thought this must be because the level of education is high, this was my own answer of course. Or there is this, “Look, our financial situation is better, Antakya, Hatay is on the border, there is foreign trade. This was valid until the Syrian crisis broke out of course. The people are well-off, Arabic is not a language that is rare or not spoken ... The perception I had at around high school years, after some research was like ‘Look, we can speak our own language, and there is nothing to complain about, that’s why people feel so’.

Salih mentioned that parallel with the rest of the world, there is degeneration in their culture: “As we saw in the whole world and in recent years, not only in our culture

but also other cultures have been subject to corruption.” Besides that Selim said that he can see wrong and reactionist attitudes in his village, in Antakya; “When I come here, I am also in contradiction with here, too. I can see some wrong attitudes. I can see the reactionary attitudes. People living here cannot see this.”

4.1.3. Superordinate Theme 3: The Perceived Image of Culture by Others

This theme emerged through the questions like ‘what do you think people think about your ethnic identity?’ Two subthemes, *positive images and negative images* that are thought to exist in people’s mind came out as a result (see Table 5).

Table 5

Emergent Themes for the Perceived Image of Culture by Others

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
The Perceived Image of Culture	
<i>1. Positive Images</i>	
Wondering/open-minded	P8, P9
<i>2. Negative Images</i>	
Nonbeliever/Irreligious	P3, P5, P7, P8, P9
A different person, a different species	P2, P8, P9
Viewed with hate	P2, P3, P8
Speaking with an accent	P2, P7

Positive images of Arab Alevis thought to exist in people’s mind. Only two participants mentioned positive images perceived by other people. Selin reported that Alevis are generally considered as republican and open-minded:

Alevis are generally perceived as Republican, open-minded people. Here ... There are opinions like CHP (Republican People’s Party) is the party of the period, and since it has been up to this time, the Alevis are already the greatest supporters of CHP, the protector etc.

Both Selin and Mahir asserted that some people are curious about their culture and beliefs. Selin said that there is a group of people who have started to perceive minority cultures as a beauty and richness. Thus, she said that she had never experienced the negativity related with identity while living in a big city:

People are interested in it when you tell them ‘I’m from Antakya, yes we are Alevis or that is what the origin of our people is”. Such a group of people has already started to emerge in Turkey. They like it. There are people -and their number cannot be underestimated- saying ‘We are very curious about that place, we want to go there’. I just said that there is something negative about this in Turkey. But perhaps those with a considerable education and at a certain age have begun to perceive such things as a beauty and richness. This is how it is in my life at least. When I was living in a big city afterwards, I never experienced a negative side of it. On the contrary, as I said, I'm not a person who would already hide it. Everyone I talked to gave positive reactions about it.

Mahir also said that:

I mean, they are curious. For example, they are curious about our religion, how we worship, the differences, how we fast in Ramadan - or whether we do fast or not. Umm... What they are most curious about is whether taking alcohol is considered a sin or not (laughter), at least for Arab Alevis.

Additionally, Selin mentioned that some of her friends and her husband perceive Antakya and the culture as cosmopolitan because it consists of different ethnicities and sects and different languages.

For example, this is not my comment, but when I took my husband with me to Antakya, he told me, “This is the first time I see a city which is so small but so cosmopolitan”. This was mainly true for especially Antakya of course.

Negative images of Arab Alevis thought to exist in people’s mind. When we consider the negative images that participants brought up during the interviews, many of them said that they (Arab Alevis or Alevis) are perceived as unbelieving and/or irreligious. Selin and Mahir stated that there is a judgment like Alevis do not believe properly because their belief and ways of worship are different from the common one, which is why it is perceived as wrong.

So you understand that going to mosque is an indicator for them. Then you look and see that some do not go to the mosque. Because they do not do things in the same way, or they do it somewhere else, or they do it at home, others do it at *cem evi*, etc. But this is not a valid method for them, so it is considered wrong. So they develop other negative things. They also develop a judgment like ‘they are not proper believers’.

(Selin)

Some people accuse us of not believing.

(Mahir)

In addition to that, Fulya, Derya, and Ahmet mentioned that they are perceived as irreligious. Derya stated that people think “‘They are irreligious’. That is, we are irreligious, we do not believe in religious, we do not pray.” In addition to that, Fulya reported a prejudice by one of her neighbors while she was working in a district which is mostly inhabited by Sunnis. She explained what her neighbor told her: “They were prejudiced against us, not considering us religious people. ‘They are irreligious,’ she said.” While Ahmet was talking about others’ perceptions related to Alevis, he abstained from giving detail about the situation: “I do not want to get into much detail, but if we think they hear about us as ‘unbelievers’.”

Additionally, three of the participants asserted that they are perceived as a different human and/or as a different species:

I speak Arabic. They see me as a different human, a different species, like, “Ah, are you Arab?”. I first noticed it at university and I'm still experiencing it now. A friend of mine from high school, she studied in Denizli and she is a teacher, too. She has a lighter complexion, with blond hair. When she went to university, one of her teachers said in the middle of the class "It is the first time in my life that I see a blonde Arab”.

(Demet)

I mean, of course, one feels sad when he is alienated for a reason over which he has no control. And in such situations, you understand others view you differently, only after you experience such things.

(Mahir)

People goof, they are talking about [them] like a living creature elsewhere.

(Selin)

Participants thought that they are viewed with hate by people of other cultures. Demet reported that she realized it mostly during her university life: “I realized that most of the people were looking us with feelings of oppression, hate, especially when I was in college.” Derya said that when she was in high school, she heard that Alevis are unlovable, “In school, among the students, it was said that Alevis are unlovable; there is a grudge against the Alevis, and so on.” Mahir attributed this situation to the differences between beliefs of Alevis and Sunnis. He pointed out that each sect put different things in the center of their belief systems and this difference from the Sunnis is a reason for being hated.

So, for example, there is no God at the center of Alevi's belief system, there is the human in the center. But in regular Islam, there is God in the center. Even this difference is seen as a reason for them to hate us, the Alevis.

In addition to those perceptions, Demet and Filiz asserted that because of effect of Arabic, their speaking is perceived to be accent. Filiz reported that in high school it was understood that they are Alevi because of their accent:

We met in the first period of the high school. As I said, first it showed itself on the language. While we met with friends, while we were explaining a topic in class, while we were interviewing, it was understood that we were Alevis from our accent.

Demet explained a conversation between her and one of the bank workers. She reported that while talking with man (who is in İstanbul) on the phone, he asked her whether she is Arab or not. It means there is a perception on accent:

I think this is a prejudice. That's what he's doing ... For example, he's looking there prejudiced, 'this is Arab' okay. 'Turkish is like this, okey then let's give something normal, turn off the phone, then I open up the new phones.

Parallel with this, Selin said that speaking Arabic is found strange by people come out of city: "It's strange for people who come from outside." Furthermore, Selin explained that when she was in primary school, her cousin told her that they are [Arab Alevi] called Fellah: "I think in the secondary school, we were going to the same school with my cousins, and they said, "We are called Fellah", I heard a word of Fellah at that time. However, I do not keep it in my mind." Selin also said that because of differences between religion, people could perceive them as wrong:

Because saying 'we do not do what you do' brings the question of 'how so?' Because the topic we talked about is religion. There are a lot of cultural elements that develop on the basis of religion, but religion is a delicate matter. So if you start to tell it, you can be perceived wrong by them.

Selin reported that minorities are perceived as a threat by authorities because of different language and belief. It is not just for Arab Alevis but for all minorities. Because of that, she asserted that authorities generally aim to make all society monotype.

So they may think that this might be a sound that will threaten the power of the governance after a while, maybe that's why. I do not talk particularly, but I'm talking general. This can be. ... Imm but in the end there is another

language, another belief. In fact, faith is already a very big tool for them and showing target a society which owns another faith is much easier. Threat, because of that reason it is threat.

Parallel with Selin's explanation, Ahmet reported that the society also perceive them as traitor. He shared one of his student's discourses against Alevi in the process of election, "For example, one of my students, this is the most obvious event that I can say. 'They vote X party, they are Alevi, they are traitor'."

Derya said that there is an attitude like Alevis should be kept away and should not be communicated: "It is not spoken with Alevis, that is it, Alevis are like that, do not get closer to Alevis. These are things that are often heard in the news."

In a similar way, Mahir pointed out that saying 'Turkish flag' ignores other ethnic identities and cultures.

For example, there is such a thing; we are living a lot of discussion about that. He prefers to say Turkish flag, instead of Turkey flag. Even this seems to me as ignorance of the nations, races, and ethnic origins around them.

Furthermore, he stated that he was affected by nationalism because they exclude the ones different than them and they treat as second-class.

Mahir: I mean, I guess I put those nationalists somewhere in my mind. I was a little affected by those nationalists.

Interviewer: Which kind of an effect?

Mahir: Well, they keep the ones alike inside and do not let others in. They treat them as second-class. It's something I cannot fit into any logic but ...

4.1.4. Superordinate Theme 4: Negative Experiences Related with Cultural Identity

All participants spoke of some negative experiences related with cultural identity. Additionally, they noted some reasons and explanations for the reasons of those negative experiences. Thus, the current superordinate theme is consists of six subordinate themes: *Experiences of discrimination and considerations for classification, stigmatization, prejudice, being judged, alienation, and explanations for reasons of negative experiences.*

Table 6

Emergent Themes for Negative Experiences Related With Cultural Identity

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
Negative experiences related with cultural identity	
1. <i>Experiences of discrimination and considerations for classification</i>	All participants
2. <i>Stigmatization</i>	
The first thing that comes to mind is religion	P2, P8
Extinguishing of candle	P3, P4, P5, P6, P9
Belly dance	P8
3. <i>Prejudice</i>	P2, P3, P7, P9
‘Girls sleep with boys recklessly’	P3, P9
‘Alevi are dirty’	P7, P9
4. <i>Being judged</i>	
By people of different cultures	P1, P2, P9
By people of one’s own culture	P1, P9
5. <i>Otherized/alienated</i>	P1, P6
6. <i>Explanations for reasons of discrimination</i>	
Associating it with governance	P1, P3, P4, P6, P9
Lack of education/ Ignorance	P7, P8, P9
Associating it with people	P4, P6, P9

Experiences of discrimination and considerations for classification. All participants mentioned some experiences about discrimination or classification which they either experienced themselves or heard about from somebody. Experiences of discrimination expressed by the participants occurred in different contexts, varying from workplaces or schools or while getting services from the government.

Demet, Ahmet, Mahir, Fulya, and Selin talked about some experiences taking place in work life. Ahmet stated that although he did not experience any direct discrimination, he can feel and understand the presence of discrimination from the practices of the school administration:

You know, for example, now the assistant principals are chosen by the principals, and now some of my friends are proposed as candidates for assistant principal position. But for whatever reason, none of the Arab Alevi friends are offered the position. So this is the most prominent evidence of discrimination. I mean, these kinds of events make us feel this way, we see these, we live these. But how can I say, of course we do not face any behavior including direct face-to-face discrimination, any action done to us directly. For example, here, while friend A, friend B, friend C are offered the position for being assistant principal, other friends maybe even more deserving, I believe and me are not offered the position. This is discrimination.

Fulya also explained that when she was nominated as a teacher to a district inhabited by Sunni people, other teachers working there manipulated students' parents to stop them from registering their children to Fulya's class:

Then the people in the vicinity acted based on the characterizations of the teachers in the school. They said, "One more Alevi teacher has been assigned to the school." When I was about to start with the first graders, one teacher affected students' parents. He could spot the children that could be clever in that region as he had been working there for a few years and he discouraged them by saying "Do not register your children to this teacher's class, that's not necessary". I learned later.

Demet, working at a bank, said that she generally asks for interest ratio for some foundations through the phones from the center of the bank. She stated that sometimes the person on the phone asks her whether she is Arab or not (because of her accent) and then reflects it to the ratio. Furthermore, she reported that when she asks the ratio for an Alevi foundation, they sometimes offered a lower ratio than the ones given to a mosque foundation:

When I get the rate for this foundation by phone again, for example, a woman answers the phone and says 'let's give it that much'. On the same day, for example, there is the ratio decision for the mosque foundation and imm the other one. She gives the same rate to both. Because the rate of the foundation is certain. But another woman answers the phone and says, 'give the mosque that much, and XXX that much' and gives it lower [to one of the Alevi foundation].

Additionally, Selin asserted that although she did not try to apply for a job in government offices, she had a question mark as 'would this (ethnic identity) be effective?' during the process of getting hired: "But really, when I look directly at the

government departments, I have a small question mark in my mind and think that ‘Will this be effective?’.” She added an event experienced by one of her friends’ father who was working as a soldier and then was dismissed.

If you do not allow this, they cannot do it to you, but at some point, like I said, there is a job opportunity that you try to enter the state institution. This may be a cause for you to be eliminated. I did not experience that, but I heard it. A father of one of my friends was in the army, of course he should be 60 years old now, I have heard from him that he has been dismissed.

Parallel with Selin, Fulya noted that although they are in small number, they still hear about people who are not hired because they are Alevi even they had equal scores from the exams:

...and as far as we heard from our elders, there are people whose futures are blacked out because they are Alevi. For example, we are still living in small number. Here s/he enters the exam, okay, despite having the same grade; you can be eliminated in the interview because of being Alevi. This is a minor example. Such examples that have already happened.

Mahir mentioned a situation in which he and his friends went for a job application, but then because of his friend’s ethnic identity, he did not get hired:

We went to a workplace for a friend’s job application. They asked him about his in the process of recruitment. And he was not hired. I can give you this as an example about jobs. I do not remember any more. So the first thing they judged was not workforce, it was ethnicity. We didn’t know this then.

Filiz also explained that she was confronted with the idea of discrimination during her high school education:

In high school, I can say I studied in a high school with some extremists in it, I mean there were a lot of rightist people there. I met the idea of discrimination there for the first time I guess. Some said ‘Umm, are you Arab?’ and kept me at bay.

In addition to that, she said that in a job interview, the interviewers did not ask anything professional but just questions to understand her ethnic identity and political view:

In an interview, there was nothing professional asked, but questions like ‘Where do you come from?’ ‘Where do you live?’ ‘Is this what you think?’ ‘Oh, and you graduated from METU?’ ‘What did you do? Did you attend the Gezi protests? Were you kept under custody then?’. They ask questions full

of such heavy accusations, their looks change as you respond, they discriminate against you, you feel like a person to be feared of, I mean you see people thinking 'We know the student profile we get and if we hire this person, God knows what's gonna happen?'... And I remember running away after all this.

Besides those points, Selin pointed out to some practices of the government which may be accounted as discrimination, like poor public services etc.

Selin: Now, for example, all Alevis live in Harbiye district, they live in Samandağ, they live around Odabaşı. I mean I'm thinking about my own hometown. They are all kind of rural areas. I mean, they are not, not central places. So perhaps this distinction was created consciously. I used to think it is so coincidental and that this happened just because 'our land is here, and our house is here', but now it's an urbanization thing I think, ummm...

- *Interviewer:* Policy?

Selin: Policy.

...

Immm, for example, I was in an Alevi neighborhood, as I told you. I remember hearing things from my father about the municipality building roads, blacktop roads around our neighborhood. But the road in our neighborhood was left unimproved, as an earth road, dusty. Our street lamps did not work. But it was a very crowded neighborhood, with many houses. But that was done intentionally, my father said, 'they are not building the road here.' He used to swear at times. Because this neighborhood is an Alevi neighborhood. It is not a small area, but it is deliberately left behind, such as from social services, or public services to put it rightly.

Salih emphasized that humans needs classifications to define something easier. He, however, thinks that classification may mislead humans:

Personally I think, people may have to do classifications to define things because somethings are complex. But normally, classifications mislead people seriously. Think, for example, of a villager. You would think that a villager has limited resources to improve intellectually as his opportunities are quite limited. But this [classification] does not have to be true. The man may manage to improve himself intellectually with limited resources. There are people who achieve this.

Selim stated that when he was asked 'where are you from?' he became distressed because he thought that the aim of such a question is otherization:

But, when someone all of a sudden asks you where you come from, this always scares you sneakingly because once this question is asked; it is never

enough to say 'I come from Hatay/Antakya.' They you face questions like 'What part of Antakya?' which intentionally aim at otherization.

Derya reported an extract about discrimination which occurred in social and school contexts. Derya said that "A friend of mine was attacked by knife because he had a necklace of Imam Ali and his necklace was torn away."

Stigmatization. Some stigmas also took place in the interviews, as perception of other people. The most reported one is extinguishing of candle. In extinguishing the candle, Alevis are thought to have incest relationships. For example, Selin described this perception with a memory with her father-in-law:

He said, 'Do you know about the extinguishing the candle thing?' I did not really know 'I do not know'. ... But then when I was talking to his [her husband's] father, I said "what is it?" "Here" he said, "people think that Alevis have an incest relationship". Here is the thing that makes extinguishing the candle, he said.

Moreover, as another stigma, especially related with being Arab, Mahir explained that "The first thing that comes to mind of people is the religion that is the only thing that comes to mind. Nothing else comes. And a belly."

Prejudice. Demet, Fulya, and Selin asserted that there is prejudice against Arab Alevis. Selin pointed out that there are so many prejudices and one of them is against ethnic cultures:

Because this is a very big prejudice, a very big mistake, but for me and my friends experiencing it, yes, it is painful. Because there are a lot of unfounded prejudices we have. Unfortunately, one of these is the prejudice towards ethnic cultures, towards the cultures.

The next extract reveals an example of prejudice perceived and experienced by Demet in her work place, "I think this is a prejudice. That's what he's doing for example... He's looking there prejudiced, 'this is Arab' okay. 'Turkish is like this, I give something normal, turn off the phone, then open the new phones'." Same with Demet, Fulya also reported that she felt prejudice in her first place of duty, "I have intuited there were prejudices." The other prejudice against Alevis reported is 'Alevis are dirty'. For example, Fulya explained that while she was working in a

place Sunnis inhabited, her neighbors thought that Alevi people are not clean: “It is about cleaning. About that we are not much clean.” Another example of prejudices came from Derya and Selin. They stated that Alevi girls are perceived to have sex with men easily: “Girls sleep with men recklessly.”

Being judged. Selim, Demet, and Selin asserted that they are regarded as a strange both by people from their cultures and from other cultures. Demet said that when they are looked with a different eye, they feel disturbed:

As long as people do not look at you with a different eye, I do not ... uumm my ethnic background, thinking ooh I'm Alevi without any reason. I feel disturbed only when people find it strange. It's people's making comments like 'Oh, she is an Arab, Alevi' that annoys me and many of my friends similarly in the same way.

Selim reported that revealing your origin is not something accepted, even regarded as unusual: “Because you realize it's disturbing. It is the same in this school, too. Revealing your origin is not something considered acceptable here. It is found strange. Maybe not to be found strange.” Selim also asserted that while he was in secondary school, he made an effort to learn and speak Turkish very well, because of this he talked less Arabic, thus this situation disturbed people around him:

I made an effort to learn and speak Turkish very well. When I returned to the village, when I returned to my family, I wanted to strengthen my identity, my new identity, by talking Turkish. I spoke little in Arabic. I even created discomfort around me at that time due to unwillingness in terms of speaking Arabic. It disturbs the environment.

Similar with this point, Selin also said that she is not able to speak Arabic, because of that she does not understand the meals when they are called in Arabic. While she was living in İstanbul, her homemate, also an Arab Alevi, considered this situation strange:

For example, even now, even we use the Turkish names of some of the dishes, not the Arabic ones, well, my mother did not use in that way [in Arabic]. My mother already knows it, but for example, let's say the paper kebab, what was it 'lahım lavarka'. I learned this from my home mate while living in Istanbul, and she also was Alevi. But we call it paper kebab. Because we always called it this way. There were other meals too. When she said their names, I said, "What's that?'. 'How come you do not know this?'. I

know it, of course, but I have not used it like that. So, this makes you feel little bit uummm, this 'have you not ever used it like that' attitude makes you feel as if you do not belong there.

Otherization/Alienation. Selim and Filiz mentioned to the alienated characteristic of their identity. Specifically, Filiz attributed the reason of alienation to need of making Alevi people to be feared:

Of course, what we call incest is something present everywhere in history. Although we cannot restrict it to a community or an ethnic root, there is a fact called incest. I think it is not something Arab Alevis community has created. This is totally for otherization, making them something to be feared, using religious for policy, and so on. I think these have already been created for all of this.

Explanations for reasons of discrimination. During the interviews, at some points participants were asked about what they think about the reasons of discrimination. Most of the participants thought that it is something about politics. For example, Derya reported that both politics and religion do that to make people be in conflict:

They just do it to set people against each other. Only politics and religion work this way. Both set people against each other. That's why it's ridiculous. They can live in a different way, without clashes and without being against each other.

Same with Derya, Filiz also stated that stigma came up for making Arab Alevis otherized and feared:

I think it is not something [incest relationship] that the community of Arab Alevis has created as a community. This is totally to otherize people, make them something to be feared, use them for religious policies, etc. I think these are all things that have already been created beforehand for these purposes.

In addition to politics, lack of education/ignorance was also reported for intolerance of the society and for discrimination. Selin reported that

It's a little bit about people you talk to. But in general, they are not tolerant. Especially it is about the person's level of education or humanity. But not for the general. Because there is already a certain negative going in society. Everyone is nervous, everyone is intolerant to the other. I think now there is already dissatisfaction. In the past, it was also exist due to ignorance and due to faked up. But it does not seem like much has changed.

Mahir also asserted that these kinds of problems resulted from lack of education and ignorance:

They blame us for being non-believers. I just see it as ignorance.

...

Interviewer: Well, why do you think these kinds of problems are occurring?

Mahir: Lack of education. I can't think of any other reason.

On the other hand, Salih, Filiz, and Selin expressed that the reason is the perception of people, not sects. Salih pointed out that if people give up being egoist and selfish, cultural differences would not be an issue anymore:

People, even those who are really tolerant, are prejudiced and selfish. This is kind of related with ego. If people were a little bit more humanistic, these cultural differences would not be an issue. If people were more decent people, no serious problems would be experienced no matter what culture they live in; people would live just the opposite way, in prosperity.

Selin also explained that she had a friend who was not Arab Alevi and they had no problems. Considering this fact, she thought that the problem is not with the sects but human beings themselves:

One of my closest friends, she was my deskmate, was not Alevi for example, but we were so close. She knew me [my ethnic identity], too. Compared to us, her family was much better-off, but I think, this is completely about one's own understanding. And her family was the same. In no way did we have a talk about these. So I did not have any feelings of exclusion or anything as such. Then you realize that it is completely about the person himself. You understand the sect or other things are not important indeed.

4.1.5. Superordinate Theme 5. Emotions Accompanying the Process of One's Realization of His/Her Identity and Negative Experiences

Participants reported many emotions related with realization of their identity during the interview. Those emotions are emerged as two subordinate themes which are *Positive Emotions* and *Negative Emotions* (see Table 7). These emotions were generally elicited by a questions, like 'what did you feel?', or when talking about an experiences or a thought.

Table 7

Emergent Themes for Emotions

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
Emotions accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her identity and discrimination	
<i>1. Positive emotions</i>	
Feeling pride	P1, P7, P8, P9
Being hopeful	P6, P8, P9
Relief	P6
<i>2. Negative Emotions</i>	
Anger	All participants
Shame	All participants
Feelings of inadequacy/ lack of confidence	All participants
Anxiety/Apprehension/Uneasiness	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
Sadness	P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
Feeling disturbed	P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P7
Being excluded/despised	P1, P2, P7, P8, P9
Finding it ridiculous/not logical	P1, P3, P4, P8, P9
Guilt	P1, P2, P6, P7, P8
Astonishment	P2, P5, P6, P7, P8
Fear	P3, P5, P6, P7, P9
Disappointment	P2, P6, P8, P9

Positive emotions. Feeling pride is one of the emotions that are reported by the participants or caught by the researcher. For example, Selin emphasized that she likes her culture, finds it beautiful and open-minded, and feels proud of it because of these features:

“I think that culture ummm our culture is good, I like it, I think it is relatively open-minded, compared to the rest of Turkey. So when I talk about it, I talk about it as a good thing, I talk proudly.” Additionally, Fulya asserted that she likes how Alevi culture perceives education matter (give importance) and she reported that she is happy to be Alevi: “But right now in Alevi culture, there is something common, as I told you before. I really appreciate the way they see education. In that sense, I say

I'm happy to be Alevi.” On the other hand, Selim stated that he tried to speak Turkish well for not speaking as a stranger. He said that he was pleasing to hear from Turkish children that his Turkish is better than other Alevi children while he was acquiring his new identity: I've always been trying to speak Turkish. We had such a complex then.

The goal was to learn Turkish well, to save ourselves from the Turkish of a stranger. In high school, Turkish children used to tell me that my Turkish was much better than other Alevi guys' and I used to enjoy this.

Another emotion pointed out by some of the participants was being hopeful. Filiz and Selin mentioned their hope about the possibility of living together and Mahir about intercultural marriages. They mentioned some experiences which make them hopeful about the relationships in the future.

You're going into this fight at first. Or you see them as a group at first. But then, after a while, of course, they start to recognize you and they want to be with you. For example, such a relationship developed in 3-5 years. And in time, you start to realize... that people can get used to this indeed, they can see this and that it is possible to live together but our limit of tolerance is just too low, unfortunately.

(Selin)

So this means it has a solution, there are people who don't discriminate against each other. Back at university, I gained a new perception of this, thinking 'One Kurd, one Arab, one Anatolian Alevi and a Sunni guy can live together in a room and can go about 6 months happily even before knowing about any of these because there is no difference in their lifestyles.'

(Filiz)

There is a saying in Arabic, frequently said by the elders, 'Those who do not get married with ones from his/her own nation, s/he will die from the illness. They have proven it in a way. But I do not know ... It seems unnecessary to me (laugh). So this can be overcome, at least I know that there are some nice examples around me.

(Mahir)

Filiz described the feeling of relief when she had talked with her father and learnt that it was not her people, but others that tortured and discriminated against Kurdish people: "It was a relief for me because I felt it was not our people, society who tortured and discriminated them, as I had learned from my elementary school teacher. I was relieved."

Negative emotions. Many negative emotions about identity and negative experiences related with identity were reported during the interviews. All participants mentioned anger for different contexts. Most of the participants reported that they feel anger towards prejudiced people. When it was not verbalized directly by the participants, the interviewer could realize it from the words used and from the tone of voice. Selin was angry while questioning why people believe in events like extinguishing the candle without querying:

The extinguishing of candle thing, quite known by ignorant people and some other made-up things have lasted for so long. They have lasted for so long as stories. Ummm, it is really ugly. When you see that it is a society which believes in anything told them, so unconscious, so ignorant, you start to lose your faith in the society. You naturally start to feel rage towards the society, the Turkish society thinking ‘why do they just believe in such simply ridiculous things and why do...’ whatever, I do not want to get into this.

Similarly, Ahmet explained a conversation on extinguishing the candle event between him and one of his friends. During the interview, he got angry and used insulting words about her mainly because she believes in this event.

I mean, frankly, a person I saw as a friend of mine turned into an ugly creature in my eye. Well, honestly, a friend I was very surprised that a person, even a girl could really think of something like that. And as I just said, I would not even imagine it could be possible for a person to think something like this until I started university.

Moreover, Demet’s tone of voice was high while talking about not being respected about the subject of belief, “That person may believe or may not believe, why do you feel offended by this? Believe and care about your belief only.”

Some of the participants also reported anger towards Arab Alevis. Especially, during the interviews Filiz noted anger (in tone of voice and words) towards practices, definitions of Arab Alevis and their self-perception. She stated that one of the reasons for discrimination is the way Arab Alevi members define themselves. It is because they emphasize their being different: “But slowly you start to think that this discrimination is not something that should be done, but for that, we must not define ourselves as Arab Alevis at the start. We should not have the perception that we are different.” When I take care of her speech, I can see that the presence of anger is related with problems she has with her family because of the different identity of

her boyfriend. She criticized the Arab Alevis' self-esteem and not getting the perception of being minority, because of which they alienate outsiders. Thus, they reject Arab Alevis' getting married with members of other sects:

When I came out here, I got the idea that 'oh, we are a minority', but there are those elderly who still cannot get the idea. There are some effects of this on the society. 'We are this, we are that, we... we... we...' Then, you become us and the outside world is so much alienated that it is reflected as a scary monster. They do business, yes for example, they do business with Sunnis, they make friends with them, but when it comes to starting a family or marriage, they have very strict lines about them.

Selim and Salih also reported anger towards sheiks of Arab Alevis because of their approach. For example, Selim reported that:

But by the way, you are looking at the sheikhs of Alevis, where they are in a terrible disregard. They keep themselves away from the Anatolian Alevis, keep themselves away from the Kurdish Alevis ... I hear so when I come.

Fulya stated that Arab Alevi society thinks that they go beyond the culture; however, Filiz criticized this idea because this approach may result in experiencing all culture so not having items specific to their culture:

But we do mix them. We are trying to experience the cultural elements of many other cultures along with Arab Alevis culture. So, it is a composite culture and there is no such single culture that I can define. For now.

Furthermore, most of the participants were observed feeling anger towards people who discriminate. Ahmet said that school principals choose the assistant principals themselves and that the Arab Alevi teachers are never offered this position:

You know, for example, now the assistants principals are chosen by the principals, and now some of my friends are proposed as candidates for assistant principal position. But for whatever reason, none of the Arab Alevi friends are offered the position. So this is the most prominent evidence of discrimination. I mean, these kinds of events make us feel this way, we see these, we live these. But how can I say, of course we do not face any behaviour including direct face-to-face discrimination, any action done to us directly. For example, here, while friend A, friend B, friend C are offered the position for being assistant principal, other friends maybe even more deserving, I believe and me are not offered the position. This is discrimination.

Parallel with Salih's expression, Fulya also reflected anger about a teacher who told the students' parents not to register their children to Fulya's class:

'It's a shame', I thought. So much a pity. How does a person of this age and who has graduated from college like me do these? This has nothing to do with being Alevi, Sunni, Kurdish or Laz, am I making myself clear? You have graduated from a college, and so have I. We have both received education for this job. While receiving education, you do not learn anything based on sects, it is all based on the students. I can offer the education or you can. It was all meaningless to let the people there experience all these. You may have such ideas, and you can go with them. But, once you tell others about your prejudices, when you try to influence others, then you become harmful. In my eye, that person was really harmful, unfortunately. I mean, you are clearly poisoning people.

Salih pointed out that people who are fasting should not interfere with the ones who do not fast and vice versa:

For example, at a time when I was in the army, it just came to my mind, a friend of mine told me, 'Salih, I really find you strange, you have really good, nice characteristics, but why don't you fast?'... I was a university graduate then and I was aware of my surroundings. I mean leave a person alone. It is ridiculous to ask a person who fasts why he does so, and so is to ask a person who does not fast why he doesn't as long as he does not bother those who fast. A man goes to a restaurant and starts eating his lunch. Another guy who is fasting at that time goes and asks him 'Why aren't you fulfilling your duties, why are you eating?'. He is just eating his meal at the corner of the restaurant. No one should interfere.

Filiz expressed anger towards her family because she thinks the only thing they care about is whether her boyfriend is Arab Alevi or not rather than his job or his other characteristics:

I mean, instead of asking questions like 'How is he? What does he do? Does he treat you well? Or do you think you can be happy together? Do you share the same perspective to life?', the first question they ask, the first criteria they have is whether he is Arab Alevi or not, which is their main concern, main question and I find it very disturbing. It is not whether he is a good person or not.

When we consider the anger towards the one who reveals his/her identity, we see that Demet and Mahir feel anger to people from other ethnic identities or sects who make an effort to make their identities or beliefs visible:

Interviewer: Did you then know that guy was Kurdish?

Demet: I knew it, because they were showing this blatantly.'

...

But, for example, at the bank, when a person goes to the Friday prayer, he says "I'm going to the Friday prayer, does anyone need anything?" What can you want from a Friday prayer for example. 'Pray for me?' for example. Don't pray for me, I can pray for myself. I find this very ridiculous.

(Demet)

Mahir: I will talk about the people I know... They are after autonomy or they are trying to show that they are marginal.

Interviewer: I can't understand whom you're talking about?

Mahir: I'm talking about Arab Alevis.

Interviewer: Ok.

Mahir: You know these revolution things, they feel they are in it. But I find it wrong umm their way of expressing themselves. I mean they get into a social environment and then speak Arabic among themselves. I would find it weird. There are many people there, maybe it's a place they need to speak Turkish, their speaking Arabic among each other...

(Mahir)

On the other hand, Selin was angry towards people who try to make Selin's identity visible:

Or when people ask about the meaning of my name, I tell them the meaning. 'What language does it come from?' they ask and I tell them it is Arabic. 'Are you Arab?' they ask (laughter) and I say 'Yes' (laughter). Then you see a change on their faces. But if you told people 'your name is probably Arabic, too. Most of the names in Turkish are of Arabic origin'... they don't know this and they ask if we are Arab. What they don't know is that things are all intertwined in these cultures. Half of the language you speak [Turkish] is of Arab origin. And if you were to take them out of the language, you would not be able to speak or express yourself properly.

Selin also said that she got angry to be called Fellah, when she was in secondary school.

Interviewer: What other feelings were there or were there any?

Selin: Now if I start from the first thing, for example, if I start with the word 'they are called Fellah', you get angry of course, you get angry at the other side.

Another negative emotion that came from the interviews was shame. It was reported by all the participants for different aspects or events. The common reason

reported for shame was being Arab. Demet talked about this issue indirectly and Selin talked about it after she was asked directly whether she felt shame or not. Derya stated that she generally stayed silent and did not speak Arabic to hide her identity. Moreover, Selim directly explained his feeling of shame because of being Arab and because of his mother tongue: “You're ashamed of it. ‘We were made feel ashamed of our mother tongue’ I wrote in one of my poems. Therefore, we were constantly made ashamed of our identity.”

Furthermore, participants stated that they felt shame because of feeling ignorant. Demet, Derya, and Selin mentioned that they felt shame due to lack of knowledge about their identity. Demet stated that she felt ignorant when her classmate asked her about their *bayram* and she could not reply. Selin stated that “I didn’t feel lowly, I was a college student then and I felt ignorant... I felt bad indeed, thinking why I don’t know these. I got kind of angry at myself, too. I labelled myself as ignorant then.” “After we talked about these, I felt too embarrassed that I didn’t know any of these until then.”

Additionally, Selim and Mahir reported feeling ignorant due to not knowing rules of a play known by his friends in Ankara and Turkish. Mahir said that “Especially they are very fascinated by me (laughing), 'how do you not know?' 'We all know, like you do not know'.”

When I started elementary school, I did not know a single word in Turkish. I found a piece of newspaper in our house. I was trying to read it, by making up words. My dad saw me and I felt embarrassed. ‘I will send you to school’, he said.

(Selim)

Participants spoke of shame in the context of language. It is reported that shame may come out due to not speaking Turkish properly, due to Arabic, and Turkish accent. They reported that it may be difficult for people to understand them. For example, Mahir stated that when Arab Alevis speak Turkish, the structure of the sentence becomes different than the normal structure:

Either it is not so different, but also the things that you have set up such as 'I came', 'I came'. After that he said, 'How are you, are you okay?' For example, when I enter one time, I can think that someone who speaks like this is the first Arab, we are talking about Hatay. Because I saw it, I heard it, I know it but ... III But talk to the others, we realized that it was wrong (laugh).

Demet mentioned a conversation related with Arabic that took place between her and her manager (she is also Arab Alevi). She noted that when she started to work in the bank, for Arab customers, she looked anybody knows Arabic. However, her manager asked her a question which made Demet think on the language:

I do not know because I do not have too much Arabic or talk to the guy or trust myself. I am doing something after that, the deceased lady said, she is Arab Alevi, 'Wish you do not speak Arabic now? Come on do something '. At first I thought I was not talking willingly. Honestly I said, indeed, I know, but I need to improve.

Filiz stated that most of her family speaks Turkish with an accent adding that she finds it pretty, rather than shameful. When she was asked 'is it something that could be shameful?', she replied 'yes, for most people'. Parallel with this, Fulya mentioned a memory from high school in Turkish class. Although she was laughing as she was talking about the memory, she said that it was hurtful:

Perhaps it is not important but, for example, once our Turkish teacher was reading something from the newspaper. 'Now' he said, 'I want you to pronounce the word newspaper one by one'. I never forget that, I pronounced it differently [as *newspiper*]. I felt the teacher was laughing sneakingly. I mean, he probably did it unintentionally, he just laughed. But, such situations were hurtful for a person in high school.

One other point which makes participants feel shame is about where one lives. In other words, Selim, Selin, and Ahmet said that they were living in the village and went to Antakya, city center for education purposes. When they went there, because of the differences between urban and rural life styles, they said that they felt shame. For example, Ahmet said that:

I mean, of course we met kids with different personalities. Guys who are used to the city life, city environment a little more. And we were village children. Yes, it took me a while to get used to them. I can say that. But I cannot tell clearly what the problem was. But, how can I put it... I was not as comfortable as they were. I was a little shy, too. I experienced troubles about such things, but nothing else.

Selim also reported parallel feelings and experiences to those of Ahmet. He also added another element, poverty as one of the reasons for shame:

My best friend in high school took me to his house, he served me liquor, they had just built their house, it hadn't even been plastered yet. He took me there

to show off, to show me the new house. He hosted me well in that sense. He then expected me to invite him to my house. And I wanted to do so. But, I had such an inferiority complex... our house was really ugly, very bad. I didn't invite him over because I was ashamed of the bad condition of our house. This is still a source of regret for me. 'Why did I do that?'

...

And to be poor.

Selim, Demet, Derya, and Selin stated that in the case of being mocked, despised, and insulted they feel shame. For example, Selim reported an experiences from the primary school in which he and his friends were mocked by one of his teacher.

As the children passed by, they would kiss the stone of the wall around the shrine, which separated it from the road, so holy ... I like them, like every child, I do not know anything, I am 'Nebi Idris, this is a feared saint' ... I am also dead. We have been beaten in school and I have eaten because of the children I did not like them to laugh (laugh).

Interviewer: Was it the beating?

Selim: Yes it is. 'You are kissing the stone' ..

In addition to that, Demet and Fulya spoke of similar events in which they were made feel degraded when they wanted to shake hands of a man (a customer or a parent of students) and the man refused to do so:

Most of the time, my hand was it was in the air. I did not know that I never stayed here in the air, and I did not know if I knew it. I went there, I'm extending it, introducing myself to my parents, and when the man pulls back, "Allah Allah" (laughing).

Three of the participants revealed that they felt shame because of stigmas towards Arab Alevis. Ahmet felt shame even during the interview while he was talking about extinguishing of candle event:

Now, well, I do not really want to talk about this indeed. An example of this was, for example, we had a female friend, I might have talked about her before, they were looking for a rental apartment and we helped them. Even after years, while chatting, she mentioned - excuse me for this- Alevis sleeping with their mothers, she claimed this.

Additionally, Mahir said that he faced with a question like 'Do you eat with your hands?' (by implying Arab):

A friend of mine asked me a question: 'Do you eat with your hands?'... I mean, how can I put it... This (laughter) is not a question to ask in this

century because there is a culture of eating with hands in Arab culture. And as far as I know, there is a meal, -what was it called- which is always eaten with certain hand movements, you know this right? Was it *kepse*? Or maybe *maklube*? I mean, of course there are meals which they eat with their hands, but it is strange when they generalize it to all meals (laughter).

Selim noted that he has generally been in environments where Alevi people are embarrassed to show their identity: “I have always been in an environment where Alevi people are embarrassed to say ‘I am Alevi’.” Furthermore, Selin talked about her job experiences where she hid her identity and she added if she would work there now she would tell people that her family is Alevi. While she was talking about this she paused and laughed at some points, especially when she said her family is Alevi: “If it were to happen now, I would say it. Umm, I would tell them that I don’t fast. Umm, I would tell them that my family is Alevi (laughter) and that I prefer not to fast.”

Selim stated that he was ashamed of sheikhs because of comments they made while having an interview with a news reporter. “A few years ago, a guy from The Wind of the South [a local magazine] had an interview with a sheikh from Harbiye. It was embarrassing, that unconsciousness, those stupid comments...” Lastly, Selim also noted that he is still shame of due to having hidden his identity:

In fact, I have something much worse. When I was studying in the Faculty of Education, I told a friend who was very close that I didn’t know Arabic. I still feel ashamed. ‘I don’t know Arabic’, I said then, those years, when I was a student.

Another negative emotion elicited through the experiences and features related with ethnic identity and discrimination is feeling of inadequacy/insufficiency and lack of confidence. Participants felt inadequacy or lack of confidence about different things. For example, Demet, Salih, Ahmet, and Selin felt insufficient in terms of their knowledge of their history or in terms of mother tongue (Arabic). Demet felt insufficient when one of her classmates asked her about one of their religious *bayram* because she could not give him a satisfactory response: “This is a religious *bayram*, and I didn’t know about this Ghadir Ghumm *bayram*. And then honestly, I felt insufficient. I accused my mom and dad then asking ‘Why don’t you tell us about these?’.”

Selin thinks that she does not have sufficient information about her own background: “Well, I mean, I still do not think I have enough knowledge right now, about my own history, my background.” Ahmet said he feels inadequate in matters concerning his mother tongue, Arabic. He was not formally educated in Arabic, but he can speak the language:

I can speak Arabic as much as I have heard from the people around and my family. I did not receive any formal education. I just attended a short course on reading the Quran, for two months, that was all. But I do not know my mother tongue well.

The interviewer asked Salih whether his children are able to speak Arabic or not, he stated it is weak and blame himself for not to act as a educator for teaching Arabic:

Interviewer: What is your attitude towards your children learning Arabic?

Salih: Very simple, weak, very weak. I would like them to learn it. For the youngest one, we tried to speak Arabic with him, more Arabic. It is richness. And we thought he would learn it without even recognizing... But then in our chats we always switched to Turkish, it happens this way unintentionally, because we speak Turkish heavily. We could not approach this as educators, or at least I couldn't do it.

Mahir thinks because he is living in Turkey, he should communicate with Turkish and this issue may come with the concerns of being sufficient or not and he feels himself inadequate in Turkish.

I mean, personally speaking, I of course feel insufficient because we are in Turkey and if we look at the rate of Turkish speaking people to those speaking Arabic, we can see that those speaking Arabic are just a minority and I need to speak Turkish very well. In order to be able to communicate with people effectively. I mean, I may consider this thing, umm, not being able to speak Turkish or not using it accurately as insufficiency. And it is.

Mahir felt insufficiency in Turkish, especially while playing with his friends who do not know Arabic:

Of course, you do think a little bit, you are insufficient, you think you are falling behind others. I'll give myself as an example. I'm having a lot of difficulties while playing *taboo* as my vocabulary knowledge is too limited. While explaining something, if my Turkish is not enough, I usually complete it in Arabic. But that cannot be the case while playing *taboo*. You have to explain everything in Turkish and I just run out of Turkish words after some

time. I mean, you have to admit that you are insufficient or that you are not like them at some points.

Fulya has been feeling insufficient in her level of Turkish since high school. She stated that she generally feels that the person (her teachers, friends, or students) listening to her cannot understand what she says:

I mean, this is not something that I experienced in high school only. We experienced it later on too, even after we became teachers. You sometimes see the children staring at you, with empty looks. Then, I have a question mark in my mind: “Why do the kids stare at me, with these empty looks? Could I not teach the point?”. And I feel the need to re-teach the same point.

She never got full scores in Turkish classes, especially in essay writing tasks because she was not able to express what she wanted to say or thought due to her lack in Turkish:

We could never get 100 in essay writing tasks in Turkish. For instance, if that question weighed 50 points, we never managed to get 50 because we could not say what we wanted to say (laughter), can I explain?

Fulya’s father taught her brothers writing Arabic but did not teach his daughters. Because of that reason, she feels inadequate both in Arabic and Turkish:

We never learned to write. They did not teach us. For example, my father taught my brothers writing Arabic, but not us, the daughters. We learned that language inadequately in a way. I still feel reproachful to my father in that sense. But they didn’t use to teach us. For that reason, we can speak neither Arabic, nor Turkish properly.

Selim had problems when he went to central Antakya for education purposes because of coming from rural area and lack of Turkish: “It is clear where you come from. A person coming from an Arab Alevi village. And doesn’t speak Turkish well, either.”

Although he had better appearance than many other students and was a successful student, he felt lack of confidence. He stated that its origin is his personality.

“Crushing. Or is it a costly disguise? It was better than many, I closed it. I was not a bad student either. But there is such self-doubt, the personality comes from the construction.”

Additionally, Derya expressed her feelings of fear because of the possibility of being directed by other people. She thought it is a possibility due to her lack of confidence and not having enough knowledge: “

Derya: Timidity. Lack of confidence, Do not trust yourself, be governed by others.

Interviewer: What do you mean by being directed?

Derya: I did not know much at that time. When one told me something, I would believe him. And this way, he would direct me as he wanted.

Except one, all participants reported one or more of the feelings of anxiety, worry, and uneasiness. Different points of concern emerged for different participants. Most of the participants reported anxiety of exclusion. For example, Demet explained her mother's experiences and stated that she might have this kind of anxiety due to her Arabic accent while speaking Turkish. She thinks her family preferred not to teach her Arabic as a result of these problems:

There is this thing, when someone speaks with a broken Turkish, people think ‘these are Arabs’... I think they [my parents] must have thought of this thing, too. I never asked them, but I guess so. And one more thing: while my mom was in elementary school, my grandmother told her, ‘Do not ever speak Arabic in class’, if I’m not wrong. ‘Then your teacher will find out [about your background], and will exclude you and fail you’ she said. I think this situation resulted from those experiences.

Similarly, Filiz also talked about stories that she heard about discriminations against and exclusion of Arab Alevis so she thinks that Arab Alevi people tend to hide their identity because of anxiety of exclusion:

People's suggestions about one's hiding his Arab origin, the need to make such suggestions, such fears all stem from stories like a university student studying in the Black Sea region was beaten because he is Arab, or stories about people excluded from society for this reason.

When Selin was talking about her friends in high school, she said that she was happy to be part of a group, but afraid of being judged. She thinks this is important for a child at that age:

In high school, things are difficult maybe because you are at a young age, your fears about being judged are huge. Maybe because it is a process of shaping character. Back in high school, we had different things, different worries. We were in high school and I had a friends group and I was happy to

be part of it and not being part of a group is probably a troublesome situation for a child of that age.

Parallel with this extract, Derya also felt anxiety concerning being excluded so she did not speak Arabic in order to hide her identity:

Derya: Well, you said ‘I do not speak Arabic so that they do not find out [the identity]’. What do you think would have happened if they had found out?

Interviewer: What would be an issue for you?

Derya: They could speak badly. Or if they showed me that they did not like me, I would, umm, I would respond in the same way. Or they could exclude me.

Ahmet shared his concerns about being excluded in the work context. He noted that, as a teacher, working in a place where you are excluded is difficult because you need to be in contact and communicate with people. He did his military service as a teacher in a Kurdish region and he felt uneasy about being accepted:

An uneasiness about exclusion... For example, being accepted as a teacher there, I was there as a military teacher. It was a Kurdish region, umm, the ethnic background was different, too. They could have refused to accept me as a teacher there, or they could have refused to give me support because I was the only teacher there, teaching 5 different levels in the same place at the same time, there was no one, but me. It is not possible to make things work without the support of the locals, and you wouldn’t feel comfortable, too. If one doesn’t work in a peaceful environment, if he doesn’t get any support, he would not feel at ease, he would spend his days in distress. So, I experienced some uneasiness, but after days nothing happened, just on the contrary, we had a nice environment with the people coming to the school, although it was a formal relationship.

Filiz and Fulya pointed out that Arab Alevi people have worries about being oppressed and/or humiliated. Filiz thinks that although people may act as if they were proud of being Arab Alevi, the underlying reason behind this feeling is the worry about oppression. Thus, they do prefer to stay within their borders:

It is not a very nice thing to be a minority there. We may be hearing that it is something to be proud of when they talk. But, in fact, the underlying perception behind this is that ‘Being a minority is a bad thing, if we are few in number, they can oppress us. So, we should stay within the borders of our region, and we should not be in contact with many people, we should start a family, conduct our prayers and just go on this way’.

Fulya said that she sometimes thinks that ethnic identity should be hid, because of some people's experiences related with oppression or pressure:

Because there are people who have experience that oppression, naturally, yes, this was experienced, there are those who were oppressed, those who felt psychological pressure for this reason. If even those closest to you have experienced such things, then you think that there are some issue people cannot overcome about this and thus there may be some places where I shouldn't reveal it [ethnic identity].

Derya talked about the possibility of oppression because of her lack of knowledge about the religion or culture: "I had no knowledge, I could not talk, like, I would be oppressed there, and I was not able to make any comments on such things. I wasn't able to say to anyone 'you're right or you're wrong'."

Two of the participants expressed their concerns about not meeting the expectations of the interviewer and one of them hesitated to give detailed information while talking about the elections and political parties during the interview. Selim gave detailed and long answers after the first questions and then asked 'do I extend much?'. I observed that he felt anxiety both because we were right at the beginning of the interview and because he gave long answers. Additionally, at the beginning of the interview, Filiz also told me (the interviewer) that I could ask questions to get desired answers: "You can guide me. You can ask your questions based on the direction you want me to answer the question or rather based on the type of the answer you expect." After I assured her that there is no right or wrong answer and that she can tell whatever she wants, she told me that: "No, no, what I mean by this is not about one right answer, it's about whether my response really answers your question, this is how I should put it."

Demet, Fulya, and Selin recounted worries regarding the risk of assimilation. They see that this is likely to happen. The ideas about loss of the language and identity (not belonging anywhere) make them feel worried. For example, Fulya said that:

You were born as an Alevi and you die so. There is no such thing like someone being born as an Alevi and dying as a Turk. One is born as an Alevi and dies so, another is born as a Sunni, and dies so. One is born as a Laz and dies as a Laz. Isn't that right? So, when you lose the values of the culture you belong to, they you say 'in fact, I won't die as an Alevi, I was born as a Alevi, but I can sustain or experience very few of the things about Alevism.' This is

my understanding of assimilation. Then you can say ‘I have been assimilated and I don’t experience the culture any more’.

Fulya and Selin spoke of concerns of Arab Alevi people (especially mothers) about speaking Turkish properly. Fulya stated that there is some apprehension in terms of teaching either the official language or mother tongue: “There might be concerns about either teaching the mother tongue fully, or teaching the widely spoken, the prevailing formal language.” Although Fulya realized it is meaningless, she still worries if her son speaks Arabic, he cannot speak Turkish properly: “As I am saying, I am not concerned about living those worries. I guess when my son starts to speak Arabic he will not be able to fully understand Turkish”. Selin also told about her mother’s concern similar with Fulya’s. She said that her mother may want children both to learn Arabic and to speak Turkish properly. “But I can imagine that my mother is worried about this, thinking that: They should be able to speak Arabic but they should also speak Turkish properly. they shouldn’t fall behind others.” Fulya reported that she feels as though she wouldn’t be understood when she speaks in social settings and at school because she speaks Turkish with an Arabic accent. This makes her feel anxious and struggle more in order to be understood.

Or he may not understand correctly. I cannot get the words straight into a sentence. How can he understand? Yeah, it’s a difficult psychological state.

...

I sometimes had concerns like ‘Why can’t I make myself understood? Why doesn’t that person understand what I’m saying?’ and yes, that made me sad a couple of times.

Fulya looked anxious at the beginning of the interview. The interview was conducted after the coup attempt, due to which, probably she mentioned worries about the future and social life, especially considering her son’s future:

When I define myself as an individual, I feel I live in an environment which is neither too comfortable, nor too tense. But I’m a person with some concerns for the future because the problems being experienced in Turkey now do not leave us in peace. I’m not in financial distress, and I do not expect much, either. I never had concerns like ‘I must own this and that’. My concerns are mainly about the future, about the social life, about a peaceful life. We are very unstable these days.

Selim said he winces due to questions that make identity apparent, like ‘where are you from?’. He thinks these kind of questions are intentionally asked to otherize and stigmatize him:

But, when someone all of a sudden asks you where you come from, this always scares you sneakily because once this question is asked, it is never enough to say ‘I come from Hatay/Antakya.’ They you face questions like ‘What part of Antakya?’ which intentionally aim at otherization.

...

You're already ready to be stigmatized. It is clear where you come from. A person coming from an Arab Alevi village. And doesn't speak Turkish well enough, either.

Despair/hopelessness is the other negative emotion mentioned by most of the participants or observed by the interviewer. Demet, Salih, and Fulya reflected despair while talking about some discrimination experiences. They stated that they could do nothing when confronted with discrimination or prejudices. For example, Fulya felt sad due to people's inability to overcome such prejudices. Additionally, she said there was nothing to do about such things happening in the workplace because she was just working there:

At that time I did not think that they were making any effort to overcome [these prejudices]. They got to know us only based on what they already know about us. And of course this makes you feel bad. I thought this is because of people's inability to overcome such prejudices. There was nothing to do, you are just an employee there.

Furthermore, Ahmet and Demet were hopeless because he doesn't believe that people (who are prejudiced) will change their point of view. “I know we cannot change them, at least not in the next few years. Maybe in the future, in 20 years, 30 years period, people will become more modern and I hope they will realize this.” Filiz and Selin feel hopeless because they do not think that people will change in the near future. Selin wished not to talk about such problems in the future:

I hope in the future the topic of thesis just turns into something of the past in Turkey. Hope the coming generations just see it as something people talked about in the very past. and I hope even the next generation can feel so. ‘Wow, look at the problems they had in the past’. Because this is an important issue, which underlies many social explosions, although it looks as if it were an individual, minor problem. This is what I hope (laughter).

Filiz was hopeless because of thinking that old generations will not change their current point of view into an idea like ‘everybody is human’:

Actually everyone is everyone. But again, unfortunately I do not have this perception and I think it will not be possible to remove those people from this perception. I mean, at least not a few generations ago. Perhaps I, my generation, will be aware of my next generation, because now the limits are gone. But I do not think they will be aware of them.

Selim explained that after the age of 40, he started to criticize himself because of being ashamed of his identity. He said he realized that he cannot escape from this identity. Here, we can see that there is despair in terms of not being able to change the identity: “When a person starts to question himself, after the age of 40 or 50, I started to criticize myself this time. Why are you ashamed, you cannot get rid of this identity anyway.”

Another negative emotion is sadness. Ahmet, Fulya, and Selin feel sadness when they think or encounter with prejudice. For example, Fulya emphasized that experiencing prejudice is something painful: She stated that “Because this is a very big prejudice, a very big mistake, but my name is living with it yes, it is painful because - or it is my friend - like me, living on behalf of people in my situation.”

Parallel with this extract, when I asked them, Fulya and Ahmet mentioned to their feelings of sadness when they exposed to prejudice in their workplace.

Why do these people look at each other with certain lines in mind, I mean, what is the problem, why did we start to address them as ‘they’, and why do they just say ‘She is Alevi’. This makes me sad, it really does. I searched for answers to these questions for a long time. This makes me sad, naturally, but there is prejudice. As I said before, this is about not being able to open themselves to others, this closing themselves to others.

Additionally, sadness, which is caused by discrimination and categorization experienced or heard by the participants was reported. Selin explained one of her friend’s father’s experience who was dismissed from the military because of his ethnic identity and described this situation as painful:

The father of a friend of mine was in the army, I mean, not recently, he is 60 now and was dismissed because of his Arab Alevi identity and it was my friend herself who told me about it. Her father then did some other jobs, completely forgot about the army. Well, if you take it as something experienced by a young man, his dreams were taken off his hands just

because of his ethnic identity. This is the only reason. This is against humanism. And it is painful.

Ahmet and Fulya also said that they felt sadness when I asked them how they felt because of their experiences of discrimination. Filiz mentioned that when she was in high school, her deskmate asked her whether she is Arab or not and after learning that she is, she moved away. Fulya questioned this situation:

I was in the first grade of high school. I had a deskmate. She was from Kirikhan. They are known as a conservative Sunnis -and this is another labeling of course-. After a couple of months, we were sitting and chatting and my deskmate asked me: 'Where do you live?'. When I told her, she said 'There are many Arabs living there' and I said 'Yes, I'm Arab, too'. I remember him packing up quickly and leaving. It was the first time I experienced such a thing and I couldn't understand why this happened.

Salih and Fulya became upset when people could not understand their talking. Fulya added that she constantly had to repeat what she said. She attributed this situation to language and not being able to express whatever she wanted. Observing that they cannot make themselves understood makes them feel sad:

I was sad because of language factors, the language, not making myself understood, not being able to convey the idea I have in mind..."

...

I sometimes had concerns like 'Why can't I make myself understood? Why doesn't that person understand what I'm saying?' and yes, that made me sad a couple of times. It was the same in college, too. You are explaining a point in class and while doing so, when the teacher said things like 'Sorry, excuse me, what do you mean here?', it used to hurt me. How can you ask 'What do you mean?', why don't you understand what I mean. This used to make me sad.

Ahmet and Mahir stated that relationship breakdowns occur due to ethnic identity and this makes them upset. Ahmet explained that one of his romantic relationships ended up because of differences in ethnicity:

Mahir: We were parted although we had no problems, just because of this, I mean, because of some issues that resulted from that difference. And it's not just me experiencing this. A couple of my friends experienced the same thing.

Interviewer: And how did you feel about it?

Mahir: Well, of course, I mean, of course, one feels sad when he is parted from a partner for a reason over which he has no control. And in such situations, you understand others view you differently, only after you experience such things.

Ahmet expressed an event he experienced after university:

I just mentioned some girlfriends and so on. I saw one of them in a park after college was over. She had a headscarf and was with her fiancé probably, this was just my guess, I didn't know him. Although we were very close in college, she pretended not to know me there. It was the last time I saw her. That made me sad and was something I wouldn't expect.

Being perceived as a different person or as a different species makes Demet and Selin feel sad. For example, the below extract is what Demet said about this issue "I feel very sad when they look at us as if we were not humans, or as if we were a different species. I mean ... I'm just upset, it doesn't create any other feeling anymore." Demet and Fulya referred to assimilation during the interviews and said that the idea of being assimilated is upsetting; especially Fulya emphasized it many times: "Yeah, when I think I'm assimilated, it makes me upset. When you fail to experience some cultural values and thus help them survive, as I said, then it means you have been assimilated, which makes one upset." In addition to these points, Selin felt upset due to not having learned Arabic. She thinks that if she had learnt Arabic, her undergraduate education could have been easier. Furthermore, she cannot understand and catch the conversation taking place in family gatherings, so she feels bad:

I really was very upset afterwards. I studied Literature. back then, my dad used to say, 'If you had learned Arabic, you would pass your classes easily now'. And I think 'you should have taught me this' because this isn't something that I do by myself, but anyway, I was upset for not knowing it afterwards because it is like belonging, umm, how can I put it, it is like being part of a community in fact. There, in big family gatherings, you really feel bad. In the last bayram, for example, I went there with my husband and most of the time, I felt the same as he did, I just didn't let it be noticed. In the end, I'm kind of familiar with the language, and I can somewhat understand what people are saying, but I don't understand the details. But, I'd love to... So, this is something that upsets me now.

Selin also reported that seeing the culture/identity is not recognized or respected by the authority is painful:

I think - I'll just talk about my personal opinion- what is painful is that the cultural origin, the ethnic origin you belong to as an individual is not recognized or accepted by the state, and what I mean by this is that this is not

respected. This is the most painful thing I believe. Not being recognized is an important thing of course.

Filiz emphasized many times her wish about making ethnic identities invisible and not attributing so much importance to them. While she was expressing her thoughts about this issue, she generally used the phrase 'I wish':

I wish people did not attribute so much meaning to it [ethnic identity]. I mean, if it were something as simple as a difference about, umm, someone enjoying reading horror novels, or if people didn't attach that much importance to it, or if people's characters weren't being defined based on this... Maybe then, these differences wouldn't be that important, even those labels wouldn't be that disturbing then.

Another emotion that emerged from the analysis is feeling of disturbance. Most of the participants referred to feeling of disturbance for different points. Of all the participants, Filiz was the one who voiced this feeling most. Filiz verbalized that she feels disturbance due to classification of people, otherization, thinking that classification may result in invisibility of cultural diversity and richness, and calling to the same emotions experienced in different cultures different. She stated that because people focus on classification, they cannot see nice and different sides of cultural diversity:

Well, the things underlying these differences are so nice things in fact, but they are shadowed by other classifications, I mean, those who go there and those who don't, those who eat this and those who don't, those who pray and those who don't, kind of classifications. This is what disturbs me indeed.

Additionally, she is disturbed by her family's judgments about people like "he is one of us, he is not one of us".

By the judgments I hear in family. This is something I keep hearing in my family more, or here in Antakya in general. They keep saying 'he is one of us' or 'he is not one of us'. 'Those who are like us are better than those who aren't like us' is an idea which I usually hear in my family. In fact, as I said, the intention is not to discriminate against anybody maybe, or maybe they just say it to feed their own confidence, but still it is a situation which goes towards discrimination or classification. And this disturbs me in fact.

She mentioned that both Arab Alevi people and people from other cultures have strict barriers in terms of relationships. For example, she said that Arab Alevi people

think that being Arab Alevi is something that is inherited and that you cannot be Arab Alevi later on:

Yes, this is something that is inherited and they have very strict walls, so one is either accepted or not. I mean, you are either Arab Alevi or not. It is something that comes from birth, they think. Then it is the same thing again. They create a link between genetics and personality. And I don't like this I think.

The way of interviews made me think that Fulya is disturbed because of the problems she experienced in her romantic relationship. Moreover, Demet, Ahmet, and Fulya reported disturbance for the situations in which they feel they are regarded as strangers. Ahmet and Fulya talked about some events that took place in school and where they work and they felt as if they were regarded as strangers. For example, Fulya stated that she was disturbed thinking that people found her odd as she wore pants and did not cover her head:

Where else have I experienced this pressure... I mentioned this before. I never could wear pants freely because there was no one wearing them, and because you know they consider those who wear pants weird and strange, you feel disturbed.

Selim, Demet, and Filiz stated that they are disturbed by the uncovering or visible of ethnic identities. Selim described how uncomfortable he is with his identity with the below extract:

Well, I never told anyone that I knew Arabic, unless I was directly asked the question 'Do you speak Arabic?'. And I had to say 'yes' when they asked me that question. In fact, I have something much worse. When I was studying in the Faculty of Education, I told a friend who was very close that I didn't know Arabic. I still feel ashamed. 'I don't know Arabic', I said then, those years, when I was a student. I was so uncomfortable with that identity.

Selim and Salih stated that they felt uncomfortable when they came to city center for education from the village:

I realized that many years later, I didn't even know how to walk in a city center. First, we felt that uneasiness about not being urban people, about having come from a village. Second, about not speaking Turkish as well as they did.

Moreover, being excluded and despised was voiced during the interviews. It was reported that it was experienced both because of being villagers and being Alevi. Mahir said that:

Mahir: It is not for us, I mean, if I do not remember it wrong, they are constantly looking at the conflicts in the East and looking at it from one side, so they did not look at the second side, there was a question mark there, then you do not see anything there that you are talked about. You are not watching any story about us.

Interviewer: Can you exemplify this?

Mahir: For example, a Sacrifice, a Sugar Feast had ad on TV, but our *bayrams* did not have. I thought about it for a while while I was a child. "Why there is not any our holiday? Why cannot we see them on TV?" Of course I thought it was very young. "

When asked about their emotions related with their experiences, some of the participants expressed that they usually 'find it ridiculous or not logical'. For example, while Mahir was talking about nationalism, he stated that he finds it ridiculous:

This issue came while talking about marriages with people from other ethnic identities.

...

The second I started thinking about whether I should think like that. Everybody should be with people from their own nation? It sounds ridiculous too. Everyone will be from their own nation, among other cultures among other people who will be an alienation. So we do not have to keep doing what has been going on for years. Otherwise there is a lack of communication. Or they, the elders say, is a word in Arabic, that it will die from the illness that does not belong to its own nation. They have proven him a kind. But I do not know ... It seems unnecessary to me (laugh).

Finding something ridiculous or not logical was reported mostly by Derya. I thought it was substitutions of other emotions, like shame. For example, Derya mentioned an experience she had in school. She said that one day there was a power cut and one of her teachers suggested the girls in class playing an extinguishing of candle game. She heard about this event later on and mentioned that she found this play ridiculous (however, I think shame also accompanies):

There was something called extinguishing of candle game. There was one assistant principal at our school. I didn't know about his thing because I left

at noon. Those who stayed at school till the evening were the girls, for the classes of The Girls Vocational High School. The classes are conducted in the evening and when it is dark. One day there was a power cut. And the girls ask 'Sir, the electricity is gone, what will we do?'. The guy says, 'We can play the extinguishing the candle game'. I heard about this after one week or so. I came home and asked mom what it was, she didn't know. Then, while we were in a visit to our neighbors, and we were in the same class with her daughter, the girl told her mom about what happened. And her mom clarified what that game is like. I found it ridiculous. As I knew such a game was never played in our family or anywhere else, I found it ridiculous. I believed no such thing could ever be true.

Guilt is another negative emotion elicited through the interview and analyses. Selim felt guilt when his teacher told them 'everybody speaks Arabic, what is that?' and when one of his teachers punished them due to kissing the wall around the shrine:

Everyone should be like that, everybody should be Turkish, everyone should speak Turkish. In the past you know, there were times when the public said 'Citizen speak Turkish'. We even had children. The campaign was carried out in the street, 'Citizen speak Turkish', in high school years. Some of the teachers have done this in class, out of the question, without interest in the course. Here 'everyone on the street speaks Arabic, this is what is at the bazaar'. I heard that, I know, I feel embarrassed, I feel guilty.

It was also observed that Filiz feels guilty because of not being like other minorities (anger through the Arab Alevi is also accompanying). In other words, she thinks that Arab Alevi people can get their rights and not have any problems in terms of speaking mother tongue:

I do not see whether this is happening in the Arab Alevis. I just try to see if Arab Alevis experience the same things, and I think no they don't. I don't think anybody abstains from speaking Arabic, from this and that. I mean, in schools, they sometimes have teachers speaking Arabic. I don't think they have any problems regarding this. Up until they start university and start to think 'Oh, would my different accent be an issue here?'. I don't think the new generation is experiencing this. Or, when it comes to issues regarding religion... i mean, considering all those people abstaining from conducting their prayers because they are different, or those Christians in Turkey, do they [Arab Alevis] really experience the same problems? No, I mean, they can come together and pray and make organizations about teaching their kids the prayers and so on.

Similarly, Demet explained why she does not fast with long sentences. This makes me think that she feels guilt, which she attempts to calm by further explanations:

Alevis do fast, too, this is something people have wrong information about. I, for example remember fasting for 27 days when I was back at university, but in was in winter. And I was a student, but it wasn't exam period, so I was able to do it, and it causes a lot of physical difficulties. Some people asked me why I didn't postpone my fasting to a more convenient time and then did it according to Islamic rules. But, that wasn't fasting because I considered it an obligation, I just wanted to try it. I wanted to see what people feel when they fast. We do not fast to show off. One of my customers, for example, asked me, 'Oh, girl, you're fasting aren't you?'. I mean, maybe I'm not, does everyone have to fast? Maybe I'm sick or something else. It is about your will.

Fulya mentioned guilt for not maintaining the traditions comes from the family and not teaching her son Arabic:

So now I cannot do anything my mother did as a child. Or we can maintain, keep very few of the elements unique to our culture, very few.

...

Our children do not speak Arabic at the moment. This is a negative thing.

The other emotion is being shocked. Some participants mentioned experiencing this emotion the moment they realized that there are other ethnic identities.

I am Turkish they say "oh, this is why they speak Turkish so well". It was very strange to me. Why are they talking so well (laughing) that they are Turkish. If you know that their mother tongue is already Turkish, then why are you saying 'Oh gosh, are there such people?'

They stated that when they encountered prejudice and stigma they were shocked. Parallel with this, Mahir stated that he was shocked because he saw that his friends also had prejudices, although they were university students:

I mean, frankly, a person I saw as a friend of mine turned into an ugly creature in my eye. Well, honestly, a friend I was very surprised that a person, even a girl could really think of something like that. And as I just said, I would not even imagine it could be possible for a person to think something like this until I started university.

Derya, Filiz, and Selin felt fear in the situations where their identity could be visible:

There are a lot of things happening because of our identity, so we are hiding it. Yesterday I learned something, for example. A child in Istanbul was killed

just because he was Alevi. A student. About 10 years ago. First they tried to annoy him, and then they killed him, by strangling him. I try to keep away as I learn these. In order to protect ourselves, to be more precise.

Most of the participants felt disappointment because of some issues like knowing there are people with prejudices (Demet, Mahir, Selin), and realizing that there is not such a peaceful environment in Antakya (Filiz).

I remember I was very proud of being from Antakya for a long time when I started university. I still think it is a beautiful city but it is not a city with people with a positive understanding of others unconditionally, as I would normally suppose, or there is not a very high level of humanism as I thought before.

4.1.6. Superordinate Theme 6: Psychological Needs

Psychological needs emerged from the analyses are picked up under ten subordinate themes (see Table 8) which are *need for being similar/building intimacy and commonality*, *need for being accepted/respected*, *need for concealing identity*, *need for maintaining the culture*, *need for being different from Arab Alevis*, *need for equality*, *need for making sense*, *need for drawing boundaries and distancing*, *need for knowing/learning*, and *need for breaking prejudices*.

Table 8

Emergent Themes for Psychological Needs

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
Psychological needs	
1. <i>Need for being alike/building intimacy and commonality</i>	All participants
2. <i>Need for being accepted/ being respected</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
3. <i>Need for concealing identity</i>	P1, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
4. <i>Need for maintaining the culture</i>	P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
5. <i>Need for being different</i>	P1, P4, P6, P8, P9
6. <i>Need for equality</i>	P2, P5, P7, P8
7. <i>Need for making sense</i>	P5, P6, P7
8. <i>Need for drawing boundaries and distancing</i>	P2, P5, P7
9. <i>Need for Knowing/learning</i>	P2, P8
10. <i>Need for breaking prejudices</i>	P5, P7

Need for being alike/building intimacy and commonality. All participants reflected need for being similar, building intimacy, and/or commonality. They expressed it by emphasizing the similarities with other cultures or with their culture. Selin explained that when she thinks on long-term friendships, she realized that most of them are Alevi. She stated that it may be due to feeling of sameness:

But if you ask me now, for example, I have two friends, ongoing since then, one is Alevi and the other is Sunni. Of course I am more sincere with the Alevi one. But I guess that's partly because of the feeling of sameness. We share a lot of common values. It could be about this, too.

Mahir emphasized the similarities between him and his friends from other cultures. He generally pointed out that except for some ethnic differences, they are all the same:

But they were surprised when they first learned that I was not Turk. In terms of appearance, the way we talk, the way we act, they were almost the same. We are just a little bit different when it comes to ethnic differences. And it is not such a big difference. We just talk about it and skip it.

Derya was asked how she felt when she encountered a different ethnic/religion identity, she said 'nothing' and tried to establish the commonality by emphasizing that all are human beings:

There was a time when you were going to a private course, how did you feel about your identity then, related with you identity, because of your identity?
There is nothing to feel here. They are human and I'm a human being.

Similar with Mahir, Filiz also emphasized the similarities between Arab Alevi culture and other cultures:

... because we are alike, I think. Well, I later on realized that Arab Alevism is much different from Anatolian Alevism and it is even closer to Sunnism in some sense. I mean, ok, we do not go to mosques maybe, that is one thing, but we do have similar prayers. I mean maybe the physical details in prayers are not all the same, but they are similar. Or, for example, we have a lot in common with Kurds, a lot in common with [Anatolian] Alevis. Because we lived in the same place, we inevitably have a lot in common, we definitely share the same feelings, which we name differently. We definitely share the same rituals which we name differently. That man does listen to music and drink *raki* and we do the same. That we call *raki bogma*, or the fact that we call it by its Arabic name does not make a big difference indeed. The

emotions are the same, the names are different. And the fact that we behave as if the emotions change as the names are different really disturbs me.

She said that she was disappointed when she realized that there is a bureaucratic relationship between cultures in Antakya. I interpreted it as she has a need for being close or building intimacy: “ There seems to be no trouble, but there is a bureaucratic relationship.” Ahmet said that in high school he met with Christian friends. Firstly, he got surprised, but he reported that they had similar ideas so they did not perceive each other as different: “With friends in high school, I already mentioned, we had close thoughts, we did not feel any difference. We did not see each other different. None of us did this. We built a good friendship.” Salih gave an example of a garden to explain that there is integrity despite the differences. This may show his need for building commonality and integrity:

It’s like a separate weed, like a split-weed, that goes against human mood. It does not correspond to the whole, does not overlap. For example, when you enter a garden here, there are sometimes lots of plants, and you do not feel the difference and difference, even though they are very different from your own field. For example, there is a lot of difference between the grass on the floor and the laurel tree, but you cannot see the separation. But sometimes you will see a plant that seems completely broken off that garden. In a sense we are like the other plants in that garden. When one is defeated, the other is a normal walnut tree, the other is normal grass, the split grass. But in the overlapping style. It has a different nature, but with a different unity.

Fulya talked about difficulties (in language and about having come from a village) she experienced when she went to city center for education, and she mentioned that other people also faced these problems. She also talked about ‘being we’: “Anyway, when we come to this level, naturally there will be some changes on the other side. We will be happier, worry about what to do to be happier. Perhaps an understanding of ‘we’ will develop.” Selim reported that the rationale behind the desire for getting away from the origin is to be same or to integrate with the dominant culture, “The basic psychological reason for getting away from the root is to integrate, to get rid of being the other. I mean wanting to take over the dominant identity, to integrate, not looking like an outsider, not looking different.” Demet said that when she went to university she had some difficulty, however, after a while she met with friends who look like her, “After that, when I passed to the 2nd class, I met Bahar, she is from

Harbiye, I met Gizem from Serinyol and I met Melis, from Cekmece... I met people from Antakya, more like people from my neighborhood.”

Need for being accepted/respected. Except Filiz, analyses of all other participants revealed the need for being accepted and respected in terms of belief, religion, language, culture, and political views. Demet explained her friendship at the beginning of the university, in which she felt humiliated by comparing them with her later relationships. She described them as accepting “After that, we talked about the agenda, but without humiliating each other. Without getting angry at each other, without saying ‘you do not do this, you should do this, do it’ kind of things to each other.” Mahir said that people should understand that there are differences in beliefs, political views, and worship and should respect these. He stated that the main problem is thinking that mine is the right one so all the others are wrong:

Teaching people that their political views or religious beliefs may be different from others’, and this is the basic element. No problems would occur if both groups respected the other’s religion or worship or the way they worship. Things get bad when one thinks ‘This is ours, this is the right one. If mine is right, then the other is wrong’. And the other side thinks the same for you. There naturally comes clashes and disagreements.

Similarly, Derya places importance to accepting all religious identity without any discrimination: “Well, accepting that one is Alevi and the other is Sunni. Without discriminating in any way.” Furthermore, Ahmet emphasized that their religious beliefs and language should be respected and they should be treated equally as citizens:

So your religious beliefs must be respected, this is the first thing. Their language should also be respected. They should be considered a citizen, an equal citizen of this country and unfounded things shouldn’t be imposed on children, I mean, not by the state, but by other regular citizens.

Salih said that people are the main problem rather than the cultures because they love and accept conditionally:

What causes problems is, rather than the cultures, our failure to be real humans, our egos, our darkneses, intolerances. It is like moving away from someone when he is not a person as you wish. You need people to be as you want them to, so that you can love them. It is just like this example: I can love my child only if he is smart, if he isn’t, then I won’t love him. This is about conditioning.

Fulya mentioned that if there was tolerance, there would not be problems about differences in beliefs or worldviews:

Some troubles would not have been experienced. Like I said, There would not be any problems regarding beliefs, or about what people wear, or about their worldviews. People would be more tolerant, as they would think that everyone is living their own cultures. I mean, this person belongs to that culture and will naturally live accordingly, they would think. If they thought this, many things would be overcome.

Moreover, Selim asserted that he got married with a Sunni woman and thus he could be accepted in a Sunni region:

Then, my marriage to a Sunni Turkish woman brought some comfort to my life. The inquiries from the outside were much less than because they do not consider you different, the other any more. That's why I was easily accepted in a place like Maras.

Lastly, Selin said that when somebody goes to a different country and sees different cultures, they may be impressed. However, they do not stand or tolerate the ones close to them:

If someone goes and sees such things in any mystical country, they can say "it is very interesting" and see them as a cultural diversity but they do not tolerate the culture which many people in Turkey belong to, people right next to them.

Need for concealing identity. All the participants except for two reflected the need for concealing the identity and the reasons for doing it. Selim generally did not reveal his identity, even at one point he concealed that he knows Arabic:

We could never reveal our identities boldly outside, only when we had to. Well, I never told anyone that I knew Arabic, unless I was directly asked the question 'Do you speak Arabic?'. And I had to say 'yes' when they asked me that question. In fact, I have something much worse. When I was studying in the Faculty of Education, I told a friend who was very close that I didn't know Arabic. I still feel ashamed.

In addition to that, Derya generally kept quiet and did not speak Arabic in order not to reveal her identity until one of her friends directly asked:

I didn't use to speak [Arabic], I used to keep quiet. People used to tell me that one cannot tell that I'm Arab from my style and look. So usually I didn't use

to speak Arabic in order not to reveal my identity. Once, I was walking with the girls and there was one Alevi, one Sunni, or so. One of them asked me if I knew Arabic. I said 'yes'. 'How come?' she said and I told her that I'm Alevi. They just said they weren't aware at all. They found out when I spoke Arabic.

Salih said that when he was in the army, one of his friends asked him why he does not fast. Salih did not tell him it is because of his beliefs but said it is not necessary to pay so much attention to it when in the army. In other words, he did not tell him the exact, real reason:

For example, at a time when I was in the army, it just came to my mind, a friend of mine told me, 'Salih, I really find you strange, you have really good, nice characteristics, but why don't you fast?'. When I was in the army. I said 'Well, it is not that necessary to pay so much attention to such things when in the army.'

Ahmet expressed that if he lived in a conservative region, he would conceal his identity due to remembering Sivas and Maraş massacre:

So, I think, if I lived in a different region, I mean, a more conservative one, I would probably conceal it. Because the past experiences, the events of Maras, the Sivas massacre and so on they are in our minds... I could have hid my identity but because I didn't need to, I didn't. Just when I was in the army and I already talked about it. I didn't encounter any other things as such.

Parallel with Ahmet's extract, Filiz also mentioned some negative stories and experiences which may make Arab Alevi people conceal their ethnic identity.

People's suggestions about one's hiding his Arab origin, the need to make such suggestions, such fears all stem from stories like a university student studying in the Black Sea region was beaten because he is Arab, or stories about people excluded from society for this reason.

Similarly, Fulya stated that because of oppression and psychological pressure that comes from the dominant culture and experienced by Alevis, there may be some places where it may be necessary to hide their identity:

It is not something I'm shy about as an individual. I tell people I'm from Samandag. But if I feel that there is some kind of a bad intention in the way they ask, I just say I', from Hatay. Because there are people who have experienced that oppression, naturally, yes, this was experienced, there are those who were oppressed, those who felt psychological pressure for this reason. If even those closest to you have experienced such things, then you think that there are some issue people cannot overcome about this and thus

there may be some places where I shouldn't reveal it [ethnic identities]. Unfortunately, yes, this identity thing, we may think that identity must be concealed in some places, they make us think so. Maybe the the existing political view, the dominant culture had led to a pressure on Alevi or minorities... Because these people say they have experienced these and I mean, they really have.

Selin pointed out that you may abstain from reflecting elements of your culture due to the perception that you may be perceived as bad: "Well, you start not to reflect your own culture and its values because your inner voice tell you that 'this is how they are and these will now consider all the values that belong to that culture bad'."

Need for maintaining the culture. Five of the participants mentioned the importance of maintaining the culture for them. Selin stated that people in this culture set up a common culture and she places importance to maintaining this culture, not just for the religion side but for the traditions: "You think you will keep it. I'm not talking about the religion side of it, but there are many other traditions that accompany it." Similarly, Mahir also does not want to be assimilated and wants to continue and keep the traditions of this culture, for example, by doing his family's bayram: "Right now I came from there and I want to keep it. So I do not want to be assimilated." Ahmet mostly emphasized the importance of maintaining the religion and voiced his concerns about it:

Most importantly, I think it the opportunity of religious education should be given because, unfortunately, we do not have a formal religious education now and there are a lot of problems regarding this. Especially young people have to be satisfied with the answers they come up with by themselves without learning their own religion and identities and this in turn makes them weaker morally at times. Therefore, I can say that religious education is the most important.

Salih reported that he wanted his children to learn Arabic, however, they did not. Furthermore, Fulya stated that she does not know how her child will maintain the culture. She believes that the culture should be continued and maintained: "When I look at it from a traditionalist perspective, I believe that we should try to maintain everything that belongs to Alevi culture."

Need for being different. Some participants reflected need for being different from the dominant culture and some of them from Arab Alevis. Selin mentioned being different from the people who perceive them as minority or bad by becoming sophisticated while defending the identity. “Anything that advocates blindly or blindly goes to something that is blind or blind, does not make any difference to those who see you as different or evil, or as a threat or a minority, a negative minority.” In addition to that, she also contrasted both cultures (Arab Alevism and Sunnism) to show how different Arab Alevism, the culture she belongs to, is from the other:

The religious education in the school is one of the basic problems in this, the education that starts from primary education onwards. Now there are two sects in the end. But in religious education there is a syllabus based on Sunnis. It would be best if it were changed of course, or it would be best if the course is made an elective one because I remember in primary school or secondary school, our professor got us memorize 100 verses or prayers or something. It was the grade that would make us pass. Everyone memorized them. I was questioning why I had to memorize all those things. And on the other hand, I wanted to get the grade as it was a course. The religion class is a class which makes you very open to judgements. But, in the culture I belong to, there are no such sanctions, there is no such thing. You can live up to the requirements of the religion but there is nothing like doing it by memorizing prayers or just going to the mosque.

On the other hand, Mahir asserted that while he was working, he met with British people and when they asked him where he is from, they were surprised when they learnt his identity: “For example, we were talking to the British, they asked where I come from and when I told them that I’m Arab, they were so surprised and said that I do not look like Arabs.” Filiz emphasized her disturbance from classification during the interviews many times. She asserted that her family made some classifications about people but she did not. She revealed this difference by saying that:

There is also a relief there, thinking, 'yes, my family, people around me or people of my culture draw such lines, but I never did it. Others keep drawing such lines. Fortunately, I didn't. I still can live without discriminating against others' kind of relief.

Salih said that he is different from his friends who like Arab music. He stated that this is an individualistic characteristic which make him different: “There are so many

individualities here. Many of my friends, for example, like Arabic music, whereas I am not that interested. This is my personal characteristic, it happened somehow.”

Selim made an effort to show he was different than other people in Arab culture. He generally expressed some experiences in which he was appreciated by people from other cultures and acted in a different way from his friends. He stressed that although his mother etc. is Alevi, he had a different color coming from his father:

What I mean is that Alevism is a very serious ‘other’ in the society. I was not born directly with an Alevi color, although my mother, the people around me, my relatives are Alevi... My father’s extraordinary situation gave me a slightly different color.

Need for equality. Some of the participants asserted the need for being equal and treated equal both by the government and by the members of the society. Demet stated that “If we all will live as human beings, if we will have equal conditions, nobody puts ethnic identity to the foreground.”

In other words, when a person needs any service in an environment, I think that this person should be treated same with the other person who is Sunni. For example, I think that our Sunni citizens are generally employed in government departments, especially at positions which are not high because for some jobs, like doctorship and engineering, it is necessary to get a certain success; but for lower positions, like for civil servants and worker, it becomes a selection. I think that our people [Arab Alevi people] should be able to employed without discrimination or should not be exposed discrimination while receiving service.

(Ahmet)

Need for making sense. The result revealed that Filiz, Ahmet, and Fulya had the need for making sense of some events. For example, Ahmet explained two different narratives in which he could not make sense of his friends’ attitudes towards him:

I also had a friend whom I was very intimate with. We were very intimate, so close. I do not know why, but the last year of the university, he has become distant from me. He was from Urfa, I say so. I do not know his reasons. I do not know whether it was related with the same reason or not.

Fulya said that she always asked questions like ‘why is being Alevi disturbing people?’ while working in a Sunni region to understand their anger towards Alevi:

I constantly asked this question to myself while I was there. ‘What does it mean to be an Alevi? Why is it so disturbing for these people? What are they told? Those questions were in my mind too much. What is told about Alevi makes me so uncomfortable.

Filiz mentioned to an effort to understand her family’s attitudes towards race and their self-esteem and feeling of fear towards other people:

I could not understand many people. My brothers and sisters or many people who I admire academically, people who are open-minded, very knowledgeable, much more open to be criticized, when the issue comes to ethnic identity, suddenly they react. I cannot understand anything, yes.

Need for drawing boundaries and distancing. Three of the participants reported need for drawing boundaries and distancing. Fulya said that all people should protect his place and not to disturb others by referring the different cultures: “We have come to this world, and everybody in this world has a good or bad place, okay, I say that nobody expands his/her own space and take another's space. Everyone will keep happily if everyone preserves his/her space.” Ahmet also reported that he wants to become distant from where he is working now due to discrimination and prejudices:

Of course, after that, this is probably umm-I am looking from the humanistic perspective - but others perceive it as ethnicity. I felt there was discrimination. Because of that, I can also say I feel distant from this place. I mean, I had no idea that I'd come to this neighborhood [Arab Alevi neighborhood] before. But yeah now I want to come and work into my environment. Of course this is not possible in the near future, I know that.

Selim showed his intention to become distant to his ethnic origin with the below extract: “One could not become distant from his/her own origins. Even one stays away and tries to forget, the origin follows the one.”

Need for Knowing/learning. Demet and Mahir explained some narratives and conversations occurred with their friends in which there was some points that they could not understand or know:

I did not know that they dance semah in that way, I fell into the void.

(Demet)

For example, the other day I came across with one thing. For example, it is known among the people living Ankara, we did not know, I did not know in fact. When they are playing games they say something like 'from the milk'. Or 'from the soup' or 'bean'. None of my friends from Hatay knows this, but almost everyone I met in Ankara knows. At least I can give you such an example..

(Mahir)

Need for breaking prejudices. Fulya and Ahmet stated that when they contacted with prejudiced people, they may change their thoughts. They said those people should be explained that the prejudices are wrong and not reflect the truth. Fulya reported that she contacts and has relationship with people to make them know her and break prejudices:

I was visiting my neighbors again and when they called me I went and spent time with them. Here we were sitting, chatting. Because you know the person in the environment, can I explain? If I had been taken sheltered, if I had stayed home, I could not explain myself to those people. I wanted them to know me, to see that it is not the case. Because they were prejudiced, I could see it. He needed to break the prejudice. We spent time together with my neighbor and made cakes, we had teas and we went to visit their relatives.

Similarly Ahmet also reported that when he was in the university, he made friends with some student came from out of Antakya. After having relationships, he said that they told him they had some prejudices about Alevis until meeting with them:

I studied university in again in my own country. Maybe that's why I did not encounter much negativity. Friends coming from outside (of Antakya), had additional thoughts about Alevis. There were prejudices. After we became sincere with our friends, after they visited our homes and we heard from them. I think some of those prejudices are overcome and changed. They had had very different negative thoughts.

4.1.7. Superordinate Theme 7: Coping with Negative Emotions and Experiences Accompanying the Process of One's Realization of His/Her Identity and Negative Experiences

The current superordinate theme consists of 16 subordinate themes which indicate ways of coping with experiences and negative emotions related with ethnic identity and discrimination. *Building secure zones/relationships, disengagement from/not building relationships with/distancing from people, trivialization,*

avoidance, and *rationalization* are some of subthemes of the current superordinate theme (see Table 9).

Table 9

Emergent Themes for Coping with Negative Emotions and Negative Experiences

Superordinate themes and Subordinate themes	Participants
Coping with negative emotions and experiences accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her identity and negative experiences	
1. <i>Building secure zones/relationships</i>	P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9
2. <i>Disengagement from/not building relationships with/distancing from people</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P7, P9
3. <i>Trivialization</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P6, P8, P9
4. <i>Avoidance</i>	P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, P7, P8, P9
5. <i>Rationalization</i>	P1, P2, P4, P5, P6, P7, P8, P9
6. <i>Blame</i>	P1, P2, P3, P5, P6, P7, P9
7. <i>Effort to speak Turkish properly</i>	P1, P3, P6, P7, P8, P9
8. <i>Acting defensively/Having arguments</i>	P1, P2, P3, P9
9. <i>Effort to explain/teach one's own culture</i>	P2, P5, P7, P8
10. <i>Studying/Self-improvement</i>	P1, P2, P7, P9
11. <i>Denial</i>	P6
12. <i>Consulting parents or religious leaders</i>	P2, P3, P6
13. <i>Being successful</i>	P1, P7
14. <i>Behaving reactively</i>	P1, P6
15. <i>Fighting alienation with revolutionism</i>	P1
16. <i>Identification with dominant identity/Concealing the identity</i>	P1

Building secure zones/relationships. Except Derya, all participants reported that they tend to build secure zones or secure relationships when they faced with discrimination or something negative about their ethnic/religious/cultural identity. Demet said that in the second year of university she met with friends from Antakya with whom she felt as she was in her neighborhood:

After that, in the second class, I met XX, from Harbiye, I met XX, from Serinyol, I met XX from Çekmece.... From the drawer ... I got to know some people like Antakya, like my neighborhood. Then I met XX from Samandağ. And I met XX from Ankara.

Parallel with this, Selin stated that you unintentionally get closer to ones who is similar to you: “You are getting closer to the ones similar with you. You also make your friend choice in accordance with similarity, you did this choice unintentionally.” Mahir explained that one of his friends applied for a job but he was not accepted because of his ethnic identity. Thus, Mahir stated that his friend started to prefer to work with identical people: “That job did not happen, and after that, my friend’s first choice has become working with people from the same ethnicity.” Similar with this extract, Ahmet also stated that after he started to feel discrimination, he feels the need of being close to his neighborhood:

Of course, after that, this is probably umm-I am looking from the humanistic perspective - but others perceive it as ethnicity. I felt there was discrimination. Because of that, I can also say I feel distant from this place. I mean, I had no idea that I'd come to this neighborhood [Arab Alevi neighborhood] before. But yeah now I want to come and work into my environment. Of course this is not possible in the near future, I know that.

Filiz explained that in high school she realized that degrading is common in Antakya so she wanted to go away, to a secure place:

Both sides have a structure that separates each other, then what to do? I thought I should escape from there and I escaped. I became very happy when I learned that there is such a place, METU for example, that everyone was ‘from us’ and that a mixed structure could be formed when we were gathered, for example, after I was graduated from such a high school.

Selim said that when he went to Antakya for school, he was hesitating to make friends from Antakya, thus he came back to friends in his neighborhood. Fulya pointed out that during the university, political views are became important and they may have relationships based on this point:

But at high school, at college, it’s a little bit different. Political views start to be concerns, so your identity becomes more apparent. You spend time with people who share similar opinion with you. It became more obvious there. But as I said, even in my environment there were friends from Maraş, from Elazığ. We had an intimate relationship. Yes, you know, okay, they are not

Alevis, but I never wonder what they are. They came to us and stayed with us and also I visited them. This is not the primary thing concerned.

Salih explained that when he went to university, he had friends from Antakya thus they introduced him to people they know. He said that those people were close to each other as a result he did not had problems there: “You cannot know it because naturally you have to be introduced to people who are similar with you.”

Disengagement from/not building relationships with/distancing from people. All participants, except one of them, reflected that when they feel there is discrimination, otherization, or humiliation, they prefer to disengage from this kind of environment or become distant from people. Selin, Demet, Derya, Filiz, and Fulya noted that when they perceive any discrimination or humiliation from somebody, they do not contact, communicate, or share anything with them or they leave:

In an interview, there was nothing professional asked, but questions like ‘Where do you come from?’ ‘Where do you live?’ ‘Is this what you think?’ ‘Oh, and you graduated from METU?’ ‘What did you do? Did you attend the Gezi protests? Were you kept under custody then?’. They ask questions full of such heavy accusations, their looks change as you respond, they discriminate against you, you feel like a person to be feared of, I mean you see people thinking ‘We know the student profile we get and if we hire this person, God knows what’s gonna happen?’... And I remember running away after all this.

(Filiz)

I did not have such a blind relationship with the girl [who called them Fella]. Then I set a distance, for example, you put that person on the opposite side.

(Selin)

I did not like this situation. I did not like it and I said, “It is not possible, I mean, as college graduate and teacher, he should not be here”. You are distant from that person, you do not have any communication anymore, you just salute. You cannot share anything except that. I could not share with him, nor would not to prefer sharing anything with such a person.

(Fulya)

Moreover, Ahmet and Salih stated that they need to get away in situations in which prejudice and discrimination are exist. Ahmet also pointed out that people who are hard core in terms of prejudices towards Alevis would not be friends:

One hears something, thinks, or witnesses, how can I say, to someone speaks, one speaks, one talks, or speaks, or more precisely, words. He may believe it, but when he sees that there is no such thing around him, he should make an

autocriticism of it and say, "It was like this, but it was wrong." Of course, we will keep approaching sincerely and friendly to such person. We will also end our sincerity with the people who have fixed idea in the opposite direction. I mean, I do not think I would be friend with such people. "

Selim reported that he tried to keep away himself from his culture because it disturbed him so much: "The longer you stay, the more you try to forget, the origin follows the person."

Trivialization/Devaluation. Almost all of the participants had an attempt to devalue the people who are prejudiced or do discrimination. Most of them mentioned that the reason of stigmatization, prejudice, and discrimination is illiteracy. For example, Demet undervalued the worship of the women who tried to affect them:

I think that woman did not even know how to pray. She came to do a show because she would sit up and may be get up. It is very easy to fast, you do not eat, you pray. I think a person who could not even do it would not have prayed. That woman is doing a show there. She's trying to attract us.

They have tried to devalue the people discriminate them by attributing their attitudes to ignorance:

But if you say people something like, 'your name is actually in Arabic', 'the majority of names in Turkish come from Arabic', but they do not know it but they say something like 'aa are you Arabs?' but do not know that all cultures are intertwined. Half of the language you speak already comes from Arabic. You will not be able to talk if you subtract them, so even if you can talk, you will not be able to express yourself properly. But people are so ignorant, they do not see it as a wealth, they uses it only as a means of alienation.

(Selin)

I just laugh at their minds when things like that are done. I think how far back they drop. That is it.

(Derya)

Even this difference is seen as a reason for to be hated from us, the Alevis. They are accusing us of not believing at all. I just see it as ignorance.

(Mahir)

On the other hand, Filiz undervalued her reactions she gave towards society by saying they were because of adolescence:

But then what is happening, some bans are put on, and of course by the effect of the adolescence, you say 'I should overcome these bans'. 'Does my family object to it? yes. Does his family object to it? yes. Does society find this

absurd? yes. Then I have to do it. I think it was just an adolescent's way of thinking. Rather than perception of doing something, it is the perception of doing in opposite way the thing what you are supposed to do. Then I do not think it based on a full humanism at that time.

Additionally, she explained how Arab Alevi people have wrong knowledge about their history. She undervalued their perceptions:

We were a republic and entered our willingly [in Turkey]. Now when you look from the historical point of view, you want to tell the fact that people of that age, this is an obligation, otherwise it would be a colony of another country, this was a political decision. 'No, we were a republic, we decided, we wanted to be governed by Atatürk and we came here. It was our authority'.

Ahmet and Salih used insulting words while talking about people who discriminate them. Ahmet said that: "I mean, openly, when I see a person or a friend of mine as a disgusting creation, I can say it clearly". Selim sarcastically talked about Arab Alevis' sacred space and emphasized that his father was opposed to shrine:

My father was also against shrines, although my mother likes shrines. He ridiculed and did not take shrines seriously in accordance with his belief. Because shrines in Islam are not favorable, in essence of Sunnism. As the boys passed through there, they would kiss the stone of the wall around the shrine that separated it from the road. It is so holy ... Like them, like every child, I do not know anything, I also... 'Prophet Idris this is a feared saint' ...

Avoidance. Another coping strategy is avoidance. Participants expressed avoidance mentioned that when they feel themselves insufficient or discriminated, they prefer to keep silent or not to say about ethnic identity. Selin said that due to belief that they would not have any chance for being government employee, especially when there is interview, she almost never tried to apply there: "Or there is a grade exam etc. in governmental department but at the end, there is an interview, too. I bizarrely think that I do not have any chance." Selin, Derya, and Ahmet stated that they generally do not talk about religion or denomination at work or when they are socializing:

Interviewer: Have you ever encountered directly with such people, Sunni, Turkish, Kurdish, etc. and any related events?

Derya: I have argued.

Interviewer: Do you remember the first moment? When was the first time it happened, these topics are talked about, emerged ...

Derya: I debated about 7 months ago or something. Normally I do not argue about such issues. "

(Derya)

I do not know if imam has told them. Because I never talked about religious, sectarian issues with anyone else. I just did my job, that's all.

(Ahmet)

Fulya said that she did not feel that she was ridiculed when she went to Antakya, however, at one point during the interview, she noted that she had goals (like going to university) thus she did not hear what other people said. I think she might avoid from negative discourses: "Because I had to enter the university. I was a little different student. For me, I would have study at university, I should have stood on my foot. That ambition made me read books, and I did not hear much [other people]." Selim mentioned that when he felt himself insufficient in terms of Turkish, he generally preferred not to talk: "But I always tried to talk TR correctly. This time it's not enough, you keep silent, you talk a little, until you learn". At the beginning of the second interview, Mahir was asked about the first interview. He said that it was good and had a chance to think on these issues. Afterwards he asked to tell what he thought, he gave an evasive answer as shown below:

Mahir: At least I have remembered the times in the past when we first socialized with other people. So I questioned, what we did, whether it was right, how we were influenced.

Interviewer: Was there any answer after you thought how you were affected?

Mahir:(Laughing) I would say, after I fell asleep or something.

Rationalization. Participants presented some rationale for some issues. For example, some participants expressed the reason for the difficulties in Turkish/standard accent that Arab Alevis have. Fulya stated that she had difficulties in Turkish but did not feel ashamed and so many students coming from rural areas were same:

Why should I be ashamed, eventually we have come from the village, we grew up in the village, we firstly encountered such an environment in high school. Additionally, we were living in a rented flat and our parents were not with us. These were natural for me, it was usual. Because most of the people around me were like me. So at high school, even though it was a different environment, we were generally the ones coming from the villages.

Some other participants accounted some rationale for not to be able speak Arabic and for not to teach their children Arabic. For instance, Selin explained that her environment was not convenient to learn Arabic:

I did not learn it at a certain age. After that, it's hard to learn. There has never been such a thing in school or any setting like that. Perhaps I have not grown up in an environment where people were like me, from my ethnic background. It may have an effect. For example, my brother's school was in Samandağ. Samandağ is a region where the Arab Alevis mostly inhabit. Imm so his friends were already speaking Arabic among themselves. My brother is seven years younger than me. Therefore, it may be related to the environment in which you are completely surrounded.

Moreover, Fulya noted the reason of not teaching Arabic to children by referencing her mother's point of view:

There may be some concerns about teaching either the mother tongue fully, or the mostly spoke, dominant formal language. This may be one reason. Another reason is that the number of working women has increased, some are teachers, lawyers, some are doctors, and therefore Turkish has entered our lives as an obligation. We feel like we can communicate easily with our kids when we speak Turkish. For example, even before school age comes, you send your kid to different courses, to learn an instrument, ballet, or dance. Then, there is a compulsory language necessary for communication. So the kid faces Turkish everywhere as it is the formal language. And as I said, we did not know Arabic fully. You know the spoken and written language is different in Arabic. We never learned to write Arabic. They didn't teach us... So we could learn neither Turkish nor Arabic fully. Maybe this is what some parents think, they do not want their children to experience any hardships in exams, in relationships, in their dialogues, while socializing. Some think they can communicate better in Turkish and choose to communicate easily with their sons or daughters.

Some of the participants pointed out that Arab Alevis deviate from cultural traditions and religion. Fulya gave some reason for that:

But right now in the Alevi culture, as we talked with you before, there is something that is prevalent which I really like: their attitudes towards education. I am proud of saying that I am an Alevi in this sense. Our women are now able to come to the position of a man outside and have begun doing

almost everything. These are beautiful things. Because of this, we came to the point of not being able to do some cultural values, a little bit, not forgetting.

Furthermore, Selim, Filiz, and Mahir talked about their friends' reactions towards them and then they tried to bring some explanations about those reactions and not to sustain those friendships:

Normally, I'm not really a person like that but I've put a lot of logic for it. I said 'Yes things like that can happen. It is not possible for my ideology to match up with someone who has probably reached this level of discrimination even though we have sustained our friendship. I cannot be friends with such a person, it is good'.

(Filiz)

Demet and Salih accounted for not to fast:

Because you need to be spry, you are chatting with people, you need thirst and it is summer. I looked at that thing. Is it in the Qur'an ... It is said that if you are not blocking the physical and health things, fast. But if you are blocking, I do not remember exactly, but do not fast. Allah has not obliged you to such a thing anyway, it has not imposed you.

(Demet)

Demet also had an attempt to rationalize her visiting of sheikh by emphasizing his intellectual side:

As much as I know, when searched in google, he is shown up. He was graduated from Religious Vocational School and from university, I define him as an intellectual sheikh. He will also enter to the exam in order to be religious culture teacher. I see that this guy's been researching.

Blame. Most of the participants blamed someone for different issues. For example, Demet blamed Sunni people for her emotions towards them: "They are the ones who sharpen these feelings." In addition to that, Derya and Fulya blamed people who discriminate them and are prejudiced for not to questioned and search the things they heard about Alevis. Ahmet also reported even they educate students with a different view, they are affected by their parents or exposed to different attitudes thus the education may not work. Derya told that "I mean, they just believe what they hear from the outside. I also believe what I hear from outside, but the one which is logical. They do not make sense. If they go and research". Besides these, Selin accused of her father due to not to teach her Arabic and Fulya blamed her father for not to teach writing Arabic, "For example, my father taught my brothers the writing

[Arabic] but did not teach the girls. We learned that language incompletely, too. In that sense, I reproach my father. But they have not taught.” On the other hand, Selim accused his father of not teaching him Turkish: “My father did not teach me [Turkish], my mother did not know any word of Turkish. But my dad could have paid a little more attention.” Additionally, Filiz found fault with Arab Alevi people. She noted that because of high self-esteem they have, they say their identity loud which may result in coding towards Arab Alevis:

I think they are coding. Because the majority of the people in Antakya are already born with the following message: "You will see such people when you go out and they are not like us. Nobody is like us ". Then, as I said, with that self-reliance, with that protection mechanism, "yes I am the superior, different, and nobody is like me". So people can prefer to say 'Arab' if I mean 'I'm from Antakya' or 'I'm from Hatay' if I use more common codes like I said. This causes the other person to code you, actually the code you give yourself.

Effort to speak Turkish properly. Participants mentioned to an effort to learn and speak Turkish properly. I observed that when they feel that they can speak properly, they may feel themselves stronger. Selim said that: “For example, becoming a Turkish person makes it stronger, let's say in terms of linguistic sense. For example, I can discuss language with everyone. It makes me strong.” Some of them reported proud for not to be understood that they are Arab when speaking Turkish. For instance, Derya accounted that “They do not even think I'm Alevi when I speak Turkish.”. Mahir and Fulya explained that they tried to learn Turkish to speak properly through talking with Turks or reading books. Both of them said that their speaking was better than their mates:

We had a Turkish teacher in middle school, he had a prize about stories. Right, it was very effective. He generally brought books constantly for us. ... By his effect, our writing and speaking Turkish was a little better than the children coming from other villages.

Filiz said that she does not have accent but if she would have, she will spend effort to make it proper: “I would not have had trouble, but of course I would try to correct it in college ... It is alike speaking English properly as a teacher.” Lastly, Selin made an explanation about effort to speak Turkish properly and said that it may be a defense mechanism:

Because it could be. Today when a German speaks with accent and it is said 'aaa so pretty' It could also be done to people in that society when you speak with accent, but it is not done. It is not done because we are talking about a kind of difference that they do not like. Hence, it may have developed such a defensive mechanism ...perhaps in the younger part.

Acting defensively/Having arguments. Four of the participants asserted that they may argue or act defensively when they encountered with discrimination or stigmatization. For instance, Selin stated that:

Then you start to emphasize 'we are clean'. Because if this is the issue that is being addressed, maybe you need to mention things about cleaning, where you are, unnecessarily. Knowing how to being judged is something like, how can I say... It feels like beaten from the beginning. Why do I have something like this about me? Then I must defend myself. However, no one has to defend anyone, no one has to defend himself, because these are personal issues.

Effort to explain/teach one's own culture. Some of the participants claimed that they tried to explain and teach their culture to people from other culture and are prejudiced. They mentioned that explaining and having connection may break prejudices. Mahir reported that they an effort to tell about their culture and worship: "We try to tell and teach these issues as much as it is possible. We give examples of these. Here 'we do this, we do it like this, our beliefs are different, our worship is in a different way'".

Studying/Self-improvement/Trying to learn more. Not all but some of the participants uttered that they study, read books, and search for self improvement. They mostly mentioned to reading books for improving Turkish. "I wish I could speak as well as they could or I would have to read more to make it happen," I said, and I concentrated in high school." Additionally, Selim claimed that the person who reads and studies could get rid of pressure welded due to ethnic identity: "For the person who reads, it is easier to get rid of it. With language, etc. ... As I said, I have a certain tendency in this regard. These are helping."

Denial. At some points, Filiz stated that being minority is not a problem: I think being a minority is not a problem, it should not be a problem.

I interpreted this thought as a denial of being minority. Additionally, she described the discrimination that she exposed as ‘they cannot manage to do discrimination’:

...

Of course, the formation of high school people, the way how perceive it were in that sense. Then I cannot see like that, of course. At that time, they were came to me as very confusing issues. Actually, nobody knows what it is. I started to think that in fact, everybody is trying to discriminate, but nobody can manage then came at that time, for example.

Consulting parents or religious leaders. Demet, Derya, and Fulya consulted their parents or a religious leader when they confronted with an event or questions about their ethnic/religious identity. They asked their parents or sheikh to get knowledge about points that they feel themselves as not knowing.

After that, a little reading, a little high school, there are sheiks to get information. I tried to get information from the intimate ones about what is, what is not.

(Filiz)

If it is a concept that I do not know, I would ask to my family. Because there was such a topic in high school. If my mother does not know, I would bring the subject in a different place and explain what it is.

(Derya)

Being successful. Selim and Fulya said that being successful is something protective against alienation. Selim stated that: “If a student is lazy, s/he was more despised. I was not a lazy student. I was a good student, especially in secondary school.” Fulya also reported that being successful at school may close other deficiencies like accent etc.:

And success was covering some things. Here are the high scores, gratitude, thanks, appreciation of the teachers, doing a little bit of being honored by the teachers, you say as an individual, "it is not relevant to my speaking, some understand". Or I figured it out this way.

Behaving reactively. Selim, Demet, and Filiz stated that at some points they did something which make their identity visible to other people. Filiz explained that she started to tell her identity loud against the advice to conceal the identity:

Since then, things have started. I purposely started to tell people. The need for saying ‘yes, I am Arab, which is something that can be said with a loud voice.

Therefore, if you want to stop communicating with me, please do it from the very beginning' clearly is arisen. Or I do not know, for example, it is understood via accent. I do not speak much Arabic since I was a child so it does not understood. I remember it a few times, for instance, not to say directly 'I am Arab', yes this definition has to have, but I remember I squeezed a few words into Arabic. Not so natural. I remember that I was thinking 'people somehow should learn, know'.

Demet also explained that when her workmate asked her why she does not fast, she started to not to hide her water: "I said if they say that, if they do not respect me, I also do not keep my water in the drawer, I drink normally. I have been doing it for 2 years or 3 years, I do not keep it."

Fighting otherization with revolutionism. Selim accounted that he became distant to his ethnic identity due to shame. In order to overcome with the shame of being minority and the guilt of distancing, he became revolutionist to struggle for minorities' and otherized people's right:

You already talk about common issues about daily life, problems, politics, sociological, and social sense, but without budging from our point of view, from our revolutionary point of view. When you do not budge from, even being revolutionist is judged it is not so embarrassing. So you are protecting that color, under the revolutionary sheath, you are protecting it in its essence. You stand against discrimination, you stand for the oppressed, defend the others. This is courage which is coming from a revolutionary consciousness. So then, becoming distant from ethnic root is not too disturbing, it is not something embarrassing anymore.

Identification with dominant identity/concealing the identity. Selim said that getting married with a Turk Sunni woman and not to teach his children Arabic were helpful to conceal the Arab Alevi identity. He noted that his marriage and speaking Turkish properly helped him to identify with the dominant culture: "The fact that my own children do not know Arabic, the mother does not know Arabic, and the mother tongue is Turkish, made it easier for me to conceal my identity, my previous identity."

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter includes a summary of the findings of the current study and discussion of the findings in the light of the literature. This study was conducted to find answers to the following questions. *How do members of cultural groups form their cultural identity? What do they experience throughout this process? What kind of emotions are elicited from those experiences? How do the individuals cope with those experiences and associated emotions?* For the study, qualitative method was applied as it provides the opportunity to identify ‘meaning’ and variables -such as emotions- which could not be captured from quantitative data (Cromby, 2012). Specifically, steps of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) proposed by Smith (2011) were employed as the methodology of the current study. Thus, nine members of Arab Alevi community, a minority group inhabiting in Turkey, were interviewed via semi-structured interviews. Two interviews were conducted with each participant approximately with one week intervals and each interview took approximately 50 minutes. Data analyses were done based on IPA guidance and steps (Smith, Jarman, & Osborn, 1999). Of the analyses, seven superordinate themes emerged: *‘The process of ethnic identity formation’*, *‘Ways of defining the cultural identity’*, *‘The perceived image of cultural identity’*, *‘Negative experiences due to identity’*, *‘Emotions accompanying the process of one’s realization of his/her identity and negative experiences’*, *‘psychological needs elicited from the narratives’*, and *‘Coping with negative emotions elicited from identity formation process and negative experiences’*. Each superordinate theme consists of many subordinate themes.

The first superordinate theme, the process of ethnic identity formation, includes three subordinate themes, which are *the assumption that everybody is the same*, *realization of one’s differences*, and *ways of gathering information*. Most of the participants reported that before their encounters with people from different

cultures, they were thinking that everybody was the same, everybody was speaking Arabic, and there was no difference among people. It is because individuals live in their community where all individuals are same and speak Arabic. This point is parallel with Phinney's (1989) first stage of ethnic identity development model: the unexamined ethnic identity stage. Phinney (1989) states that in this stage, a minority individual is not concerned with issues regarding ethnic identity yet. Some of the participants stated that they had not thought about this issue until confronting with people from other ethnicities or sects by going out of their community or village for formal education etc. For some of them, this confrontation took place without going out of the city. For example, Selin confronted with the issue of minority identity while talking to her cousin and Filiz confronted with it via her primary school teacher who was Kurdish. After this confrontation, participants were in quest of gathering information about their minority identity. Participants reported that they asked their families, consulted a religious leader, or did research about their ethnic identity, sect and stigmas. This process is parallel with the second stage proposed by Phinney (1989); *ethnic identity search* (moratorium) in which one begins to search and explore his/her own ethnic identity. Cross (1978; as cited in Phinney, 1990) stated that the person may move into this stage as a result of an encounter (Cross, 1978, as cited in Phinney, 1990). This finding is congruent with Tummala-Narral and Sathasivam-Rueckert's (2016) findings. They stated that talking with family, with adults, and with peers are identified as help seeking strategies during the ethnic identity processes for immigrant-origin adolescents.

The second theme of the current study was shaped around the question of how individuals define their culture. Three subthemes emerged about the definition of cultural identity theme: concepts used for the naming, positive and negative definitions related with ethnic/cultural identity. Most of the participants mentioned speaking Arabic as a characteristic of Arab Alevi people. Additionally, they brought up some religious characteristics like shrines, religious bayrams, and teaching children to pray at a young age. However, Selin stated that Alevism or religious characteristics associated with it consist of cultural elements, too. These definitions are parallel with the definition of culture proposed by Veroff and Goldberger (1995) (see chapter 1). Phinney (1990) also said that language, religion, cultural practices, and social activities are indicators of ethnic involvement. Furthermore, when they

were asked to name their ethnic identities, some of the participants preferred to use 'Alevi', while others used the term 'Arab Alevi'. Only one participant defined himself as Nusairi. Mertcan (2013) stated that although the terms Nusairi, Alevi, and Arab Alevi refer to this community, members of the community generally prefer to use Alevi or Arab Alevi terms. Some of the participants talked about their culture as being tolerant, a composite one, having a rich cuisine, caring about living together/able to act in unity, keeping women out of religion with regard to men, being open to learning/valuing education, not comprising religious formalism or coercion, not being sexist, and trying to resist oppression as positive characteristics of their cultural identity. As much as I observed those positive definitions or features were uttered by participants via making a comparison with the dominant culture. They brought up those features as something their culture contains but the dominant culture lacks these. Parallel with this, Yıldız and Verkuyten (2011) stated that in one of the Alevis publication, features of Alevis are generally presented by referencing to the differences between Alevis and Sunnis. During the interviews, some of the participants placed special emphasis on the features of Alevism regarding being tolerant, humanistic and caring about living together. I thought that it may be a reaction to the discrimination and classification which they were exposed to. Pantea (2014) also reported that Roma participants generally mentioned humanistic perspective rather than ethnicity during the interviews. Participants' emphasis on this issue could have emerged with an attempt to make their ethnicity invisible, so as not to be exposed to discrimination.

Considering women's position in religion, Derya and Selin touched on this topic in different ways. Derya looked angry because women are kept away from religious sanctions. On the other hand, Selin defined this position as an advantage for women because she thought that when there are no sanctions or worship for women, it ends up with no pressure. Findings of Güneş (2013) are congruent with the current ones. He conducted a study with Arab Alevi women to see their perceptions and thoughts about being exempt from the religion. He reported that women do not have clear thoughts about this topic. Güneş (2013) stated that the number of women who reported discomfort due to their position in religion and the number of women who perceived this situation as normal and seemed reckless were almost equal. Güneş (2013) reported that being exempt from the religion provides area of freedom for

women and autonomy. Women claimed that they are comfortable because they can live their religion as much as they want. However, Güneş (2013) defined this position as a ‘freedom misconception’. He claimed that it looks like a defense mechanism against ‘being ignored’ in religion. Rather than criticizing their positions in religion, women prefer to accept this position and become more active in social life (Güneş, 2013).

Participants of the current study reported some negative definitions or features about Arab Alevi identity: objecting to cross-cultural marriages, being an Arab Alevi contradicts with being a Kemalist, having the perception of privileged minority, the presence of corruption, the presence of reactionary attitudes. Being against cross-cultural marriages was reported by two participants. One of them emphasized this issue more than the other; it is thought that it may be because her family does not accept Filiz’s boyfriend who is not Arab Alevi. The same participant also talked about other features mentioned above with the feeling of anger towards Arab Alevis. She spared a long time talking about the Arab Alevis’ perception of privileged minority that she thinks they have. She stated that this perception leads to exposure to discrimination. In fact, it was interpreted as she is disturbed by discriminative attitudes; however, she preferred to put the blame on Alevis’ perception about their being privileged minority.

The third superordinate theme is the image of ethnic/religious/cultural identity perceived by others. *Positive images* and *negative images* constitute the subordinate themes. This theme emerged around the participants’ perceptions of how they are perceived by others. When we consider positive images that the participants think that members of majority groups have about Arab Alevis or Alevis, only two participants reported some positive images. They stated that due to the differences present between cultures, members of other cultures wonder about Arab Alevi identity. Additionally, only one participant pointed out that Arab Alevis are perceived as open-minded, cosmopolitan, and republican. During the interviews, I observed that participants generally focused on negative experiences related with their identity thus, this probably was the reason why only two participants brought up positive images. On the other hand, it is also possible that participants do not have any idea about other people’s positive perceptions of Arab Alevis.

Eight participants reported different kinds of negative images that members of other cultures (especially dominant culture) have. They stated that Arab Alevis are perceived as nonbeliever/irreligious, a different person/a different species, individuals speaking with an accent, betrayer, second class, fearful, wrong, a threat by the administration, should be avoided, and are viewed with hate, ignored, and called Fellah. According to some participants, members of other cultures find it strange that they speak Arabic. While talking about these perceptions of other, participants experienced different kinds of emotions varying from anger and shame to inadequacy.

The fourth superordinate theme consists of the reported negative experiences related with ethnic identity of participants. Those experiences are discrimination/classification, stigmatization, prejudice, being judged, and otherization/alienation. As it is claimed by Frost (2011), stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination and stigma are embedded and they are difficult to separate from each other. All participants mentioned discrimination whether they experienced it directly or heard about it and some of them talked about considerations for classification. Those negative experiences occur based on, for example, accent (due to Arabic accent while speaking Turkish) or based on just being Alevi in different instances. All these negative experiences were reported to be experienced in different contexts, like at work, at school, or while getting service from the government. In the literature, it is also revealed that racism and discrimination may occur in different contexts, like school, neighborhood (Tummala-Narral & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016) and at work (Plaut et al., 2014). Considering different forms of ethnic discrimination proposed by Contrada and his colleagues (2001), almost all types of discrimination were reported by the participants. One of the participants stated that he was asked about extinguishing the candle game which he found very insulting (verbal rejection). Additionally, another participant stated that she was shunned in high school, after her ethnic/religious identity has been found out by her friends. One participant reported that, one of the teachers working in her school manipulated the students' parents trying to convince them into not registering their children to her class (avoidance). Another one explained some events that took place in her workplace (like not shaking hands with her because she is a woman) which could be an example for devaluation. Some of them reported inequalities in terms of

treatment or services coming from the government. Research suggests that not directly experiences of discrimination but even the possibility of encounter with discrimination makes the individual feel stressed (Contrada et al., 2000; Sawyer et al., 2012). Although in the current study, the stress level or psychological symptoms were not measured directly, anticipating discrimination or prejudice may predict the acts or behaviors of participants. For example, one of the participants mentioned that she thinks that she does not have any chance for working in government offices due to her ethnic/religious identity so she does not even apply for these kinds of jobs.

Some of the participants also reported some prejudiced beliefs about Alevis like, 'Alevis are dirty' and 'Alevi girls sleep with boys recklessly'. One of the participants stated that while she was living and working in a district inhabited by Sunnis, the Sunni people were surprised at how clean she was as an Alevi member. Furthermore, some of the participants explained that they are asked about extinguishing of candle, which is a stigma about Alevis, existing for hundreds years. Frost (2011) stated that stigmatization may inhibit the full participation of the stigmatized group in the society due to the likelihood of being rejected. Parallel with this, the current findings also revealed that participants may search for secure zones to stay distant from the negative experiences like discrimination and stigmatization. Besides being judged and prejudiced by the majority group, some participants noted that they are also judged by people of their own group due to, for instance, not speaking Arabic. Otherization/alienation is another subtheme that emerged from the analysis.

When participants were asked about the reasons for those negative experiences, some of them said that it is associated with the policies of the government. Some said that it is due to lack of education and some added that it is not something about sects but about people themselves.

Emotions accompanying the process of one's realization of his/her own ethnic/religious identity and negative experiences related with ethnic identity constituted the fifth theme. A wide range of emotions emerged during the interviews. Some of them were directly verbalized but some of them were inferred from the participants' tone of voice and explanations. The emotions were gathered under two subthemes: positive emotions and negative emotions. Five of the participants reported positive emotions (feeling pride, being hopeful, and relief) related with their

ethnic identity and experiences. Pride also emerged in the previous studies (e.g. Tummala-Narral & Sathasivam-Rueckert, 2016; Lee, 2005). When we consider Sue and Sue's (2013) model, we can see that feeling of pride emerged in the dissonance stage with a conflict with shame and in the integrative stage. When talking about negative experiences related with ethnic/religious identity, some participants said that they are hopeful as they believe that these adverse experiences will end up sometime in the near or far future.

Anger, shame, feelings of inadequacy/insufficiency/lack of confidence, anxiety/apprehension/uneasiness, despair/hopelessness, sadness, feeling disturbed, being excluded/despised, finding it ridiculous/not logical, guilt, astonishment, fear, disappointment emerged as negative emotions experienced by participants and are congruent with the findings of previous studies (e. g. Pantea, 2014; Kim, 2012; Mellor et al., 2009). Although all participants reported feeling of anger, they were angry at different things. Some of them reported anger directed to discriminative and prejudiced people, to Arab Alevi members due to privileged images of themselves, and to people who tend to make their own identity clearly visible. Considering shame, as mentioned before, verbalization of shame is difficult. It was observed that only one participant directly articulated feeling of shame during the interviews. In the current study, shame was generally associated with being Arab, feeling ignorant, not to speaking Turkish properly/Arabic/accent, where one lives (urban - rural settings), being oppressed, being mocked/despised/feeling degraded, stigmas, being Alevi, Sheikhs, not being understood, other's avoiding shaking hands, having hidden his/her identity, poverty. Gilbert (1998) stated that shame interferes with social relationships through negative self evaluation which results from the inhibiting positive emotions. Parallel with this, some participants state that their social interactions are affected by the feeling of shame. For example, due to accent, stigmas, poverty, or concerns about being understood, members of minority group may hesitate to establish relationships with members of other cultures. Shame has a strong relationship with feeling of inadequacy and at some points it even emerges from inadequacy (Mellor et al., 1998). Participants reported feelings of inadequacy about failing to speak Turkish and Arabic properly, not having enough knowledge about their culture.

Another emotion emerged from the analysis was anxiety-apprehension-uneasiness. Mostly reported points associated with anxiety were the possibility of

exclusion and oppression/humiliation, the encounters and assimilation, failing to speak Turkish properly. Being in despair and hopeless also arose from the analysis. For example, some participants stated that they do not think that discrimination will come to an end. Sadness was found to emerge from the prejudices, discrimination/categorization, failing to express one's self, relationship breakdowns due to ethnic identity, being viewed as a different person, a different species, and assimilation/cultural elements losing their value.

Some psychological needs, related with ethnic identity and its position in the society, were inferred from the interviews. It is seen that most of the participants have needs for being alike/building intimacy and commonality, being accepted/being respected, concealing identity, maintaining the culture, being different, equality, making sense, drawing boundaries and distancing, and knowing/learning knowledge associated with their identity and culture. When those needs are examined carefully, we can conclude that all these needs essentially refer to the need for being accepted. For example, participants who seek equality and intimacy may have a desire to be same so as to be accepted. Additionally, when they have a tendency to conceal their ethnic/religious identity, it may be interpreted as an attempt to conceal the differences so as not to be perceived as different and to be accepted.

The seventh and last superordinate theme was coping with negative emotions and experiences accompanying the process of one's realization of one's own ethnic/religious identity and negative experiences. Different kinds of coping strategies emerged from the analyses, like building secure zones/relationships, trivialization/devaluation, avoidance, blaming, disengagement from/not building relationships with/distancing from people, rationalization, spending effort to speak Turkish properly, acting defensively/having arguments, having an effort to explain/teach one's own culture, studying/self-improvement/trying to learn more, denial, consulting parents or religious leaders, being successful, behaving reactively, fighting alienation with revolutionism, identification with dominant identity. That is, when participants reported feelings of discomfort due to discrimination, prejudice, or stigmatization, they reported that they avoided the prejudiced environment or disengaged from the people, and then sought a secure zone and relationship to feel safer. These kinds of zones or relationships generally consist of individuals from the same ethnic identity of participants or individuals who do not judge them. Güneş

(2013) claimed that Arab Alevi women feel stronger in interpersonal relationships and think that they can manage them. However, in more social and comprehensive situations, they feel anxious and less confident about the relationships. Güneş (2013) reported that women think that they have a chance to make themselves understood in interpersonal relationships but that in community they are directly labeled without being given a chance to explain themselves. Most of the women reported that the religion or sect is not an important factor in the selection of friends and neighbors; however, it is critical for the selection of neighborhood. When the inhabited environment is considered, women said that they felt more comfortable and safer in places where the Alevis live (Güneş, 2013). Ramos and his friends (2012) stated that when individuals highly seek distance from the majority group, individuals' perception of discrimination becomes associated with individuals' high identification with minority group. Additionally, they noted that if host group discriminates one person, the distinction between "us" and "them" increases and may end up with increased minority identity for the ones seeking distance. Seeking distance from majority could be a crucial coping strategy against discrimination (Ramos et al., 2012). Additionally, it was observed that when one talked about discrimination or negative emotions originating from others' attitudes, s/he tends to devalue this person or situation. Furthermore, they encouraged themselves to study more at school, to be successful and to learn more about their identity to cope with shame and inadequacy. Karaosmanoğlu (2013) pointed out that Alevis living in urban areas explore Alevi culture via reading and discussing and they criticize the culture. They connect themselves to Alevism based on their interpretations of Alevism. Romero and his colleagues (2014) stated that if one has positive feelings about his/her ethnic group, makes an effort to understand and learn about one's background, and if one solves his conflict associated with ethnic identity, this person becomes protected against discrimination stress. Most of the participants tried to find some rationale for different issues like why they were not able to speak Arabic or Turkish properly. Additionally, they stated that they make effort to speak Turkish properly. When we consider this point, it can be seen as a coping way against negative emotions accompanying that situation. Interestingly, two of the participants' college educations are directly related with Turkish (e. g. Turkish philology) and one participant's education is about English philology. During the interviews, I observed

that most of the participants were careful with their Turkish and made special effort to speak it properly during the interviews.

Most of the participants blame someone for different points. For example, some of the participants blamed their parents for not teaching them Arabic and some of them for not teaching Turkish. Some others blamed Sunni people for the discrimination they were exposed to.

Some participants reported that they have arguments with or act defensively against the ones who make them exposed to discrimination or stigmatization. On the other hand, some of the participants reported that, at some points they attempt to explain to the prejudiced people their culture and try to correct people's misconceptions about their culture. Furthermore, some of the participants stated that when they first encountered their being different, they firstly consulted their parents or religious leaders to learn about their cultural identity. Parallel with this, Iwamoto and his colleagues (2013) found that during the adolescence period, participants started to reconstitute their misconceptions about their ethnic groups by consulting their families and peers. Additionally, they attempt to explain and teach their culture to their peers and to rebut the peer's misconceptions (Iwamoto and his colleagues, 2013).

Two of the participants brought extracts including some reactions which aimed to make their identity visible for other people. Some participants stated that those reactions were against advices for concealing the identity and they were experienced during the adolescence.

One of the participants reported that he fights against alienation/discrimination with revolutionism. He stated that despite being a revolutionist, and struggling against all types of alienation, he still remains as the other. He noted that being revolutionist was more acceptable than being Alevi or Arab in the society; although his position still kept him as the other, it was soothing for him against the feeling of guilt arising from rejection of his Arab Alevi identity. He had an effort to conceal his ethnic/religious identity via identification with the dominant culture.

5.1. The Association between Emerged Themes

When all themes are analyzed carefully, it is seen that all have associations with each other and are even intertwined. It was observed that the process of realization of the identity starts with the encounter with other ethnic/religious identities. The encounters generally include negative experiences, like discrimination, stigmatization, alienation, or prejudice. Thus, feelings elicited from these experiences are also correlated with the ethnic/religious identity itself. The encounters generally corresponded to adolescence period because participants went out of the village or their community for formal education at that period. During or after university, they started to better accept their identity and felt pride. However, as Iwamoto and his colleagues (2013) showed the participants then encountered new challenges like job discrimination. They may be exposed to glass ceiling effect and struggle with the work environment which is not consonant with their cultural identity (Iwamoto, et al., 2013). In the current study, some of the participants reported that they were comfortable and did not experience adverse situations during their university years; however, they encountered discrimination and prejudice afterwards in their work environment.

Exposure to negative events forms participants' perception of how other people perceive Arab Alevis. When we consider how participants define Arab Alevi identity, we see that it shows parallels with how they define themselves. Additionally, it was observed that, participants' definitions of themselves and Arab Alevi identity contains some aspects which have some opposite features of dominant culture's definition of Arab Alevis. For example, the participant who stated that Arab Alevis are perceived as betrayed emphasized that he is a citizen of Turkey. Additionally, especially participants who defined themselves as believing in religion emphasized the religious features of Arab Alevis against the perception of 'nonbeliever'. Congruent with this finding, Huynh and Fuligni (2012) stated that perceived discrimination of emerging adults of ethnic minority group is lessened while their perceptions about society's negative attitude towards their ethnicity increase. That is, even though the perceived discrimination is not experienced much, and it even decreases as the time passes, the degree to which emerging adults feel devalued does not decrease (Huynh and Fuligni, 2012). Huynh and Fuligni's study revealed that individuals are in the exploration process during the emerging adult

period and thus, they can see how the society perceives their group. In the current study, most of the participants stated that they did not experience any direct or crucial discrimination; however, it was seen that they are aware of the negative evaluation of the society towards them.

Emotions that emerged from the analyses are connected with the associations explained above. Negative experiences and perceived image of Arab Alevis by other people evoked many emotions, like, shame, anger, inadequacy, anxiety and sadness. Besides perceptions of people, the mass media such as TV, radio etc.(Sue & Sue, 2013) and national policies (Berry & Sam, 1996) have a role in intensifying the inferior, inadequate, and devalued position of minorities. All these points bring about some needs of participants, like need for being alike/building intimacy and commonality, need for being accepted/ being respected, need for concealing identity, and need for maintaining the culture. Taking into account all of the needs reported by the participants, it can be concluded that they have a desire to be accepted and to be equal, as well as to maintain their cultural values. However, it seems that they do not believe in the likelihood of being treated equally while being identified with their minority identity, thus they make an effort to emphasize the commonalities with the dominant culture or how they are different than other Arab Alevis. Some of the participants talked about the differences between themselves and the members of the dominant culture. It may be an effort to cope with the idea of not being accepted by the dominant culture.

On the other hand, Contrada and his colleagues (2000) stated that, considering members of devalued ethnic groups, although research generally focused on the negative effects of the prejudice and stereotypes on the self-concept, it does not necessarily end up with low self-regard. They discussed that individuals of ethnic minority groups are not perceived as passive victims but active agents who try to understand and cope with different kinds of threats. Findings of the current study also include a variety of coping strategies against negative experiences, psychological needs and emotions that are elicited from the realization of ethnic identity. Trivialization/devaluation, which is one of the strategies used by the participants, is generally implemented in situations which make the participants feel shame. Although it is not reported in the findings section of the current study, besides coping strategies, resilience factors are also crucial and have an extensive

place in the literature for coping with adverse experiences. For example, not as a coping factor but as a resilience factor, Lee (2005) stated that ethnic identity pride is found to be the most useful factor in the condition of low perceived discrimination. However, Lee (2005) added that in the situation of high perceived discrimination, ethnic identity pride could not buffer this relationship and increased depressive symptoms and decreased social connectedness are observed. Similarly, Mellor and his colleagues (2009) found that identity of Mapuche people is strengthened when they are exposed to discrimination. The aroused identity plays an important role in the combat against discrimination experiences. Additionally, Mellor and his friends (2009) stated that when self-controlling strategies (e.g. cognitive re-interpretation) and strengthening of ethnic identity come together, they appear as resilience for the members of the minority group against adverse effects of discrimination. Congruently, Şirin (2013) also concluded that the individuals tend to give precedence to Alevi identity over ethnic identity in the case of discrimination. Participants in the present study reported that having grown up in a cosmopolitan city and the features of their culture are some critical points which could be accounted as resilience factors. This point is further supported by Berry and Sam (1996). They noted that ethnocultural groups inhabited in multicultural areas should experience less conflict because they have contacts with other groups voluntarily. Members who have spent most of their lives, while growing up, in an acculturative area, have the ability to manage two cultures (Berry & Sam, 1996).

In the current study, ethnic identity stages of participants are not focused specifically. However, taking into account how the ethnic identity develops is crucial because at each stage and process, we can monitor change in self-esteem and resilience factors which help the individual while coping with adverse situations that result from the discrimination experiences (Romero et al., 2014). Romero and his colleagues (2014) showed ethnic affirmation functions as a protective factor against depressive symptoms and enhances the self-esteem. While considering ethnic identity stage, self-esteem stayed stable in the achieved ethnic identity stage at the high discrimination level for the minority youth (Romero et al., 2014). That is, Romero and his colleagues (2014) stated that both ethnic affirmation and achieved ethnic identity stages are perceived as resilience factors, which facilitate minority youths' positive reactions to negative situations resulting from discrimination stress.

I observed that older participants gave more detailed information about their ethnic identity and were more willing to talk about their processes. It was seen that they had spent more time thinking about this topic than the younger ones. Romero and his friends (2014) also revealed that older youth were at the achieved stage and had an effort for exploring their identity and had feelings of resolution.

5.2. Discussion of Themes in the Light of the Lacanian Concepts

Considering emerging themes, the process of ethnic identity corresponds with Lacan's mirror stage. Lacan described the mirror stage as a concept which represents a persistent structure of subjectivity (Evans, 1996). Like the infant's first encounter with his image in the mirror, members of ethnic minority groups' first encounter with being different makes the individual surprised and frustrated due to lack of coherence of identity (can be called with the dominant identity). Individuals firstly think that everybody is same (like infant's perception of omnipotence of mother); however, later on they realize that they are different and have a sense of mastery. This position may end up with depressive symptoms, according to Lacan. Additionally, in the Imaginary realm, recognition of similarities with and differences between one and other people is identified and one may be attracted by or disrelish them. In the current study, it can be observed that some participants are attracted by the dominant members and try to identify with them, while some others have a tendency to be different from the dominant members. How Arab Alevis are perceived and negative experiences related with ethnic identity function in a way to keep both minority group members and majority group members in the imaginary order. By the discrimination, stigmatization, prejudice and alienation, members of minority groups stay in the position of victims which may result in jouissance.

Language which produces both individual's and general reality, is important for Lacan ("Lacanian terminology", 2012). According to Lacan, language becomes the big other and provides an opportunity for mutual agreement. Symbolic is displayed in laws, social construct, and language (Bailly, 2009). Arab Alevis experience difficulty in language, specifically with the mainstream, dominant language (Turkish). They give importance to it and make an effort to acquire it to communicate with, to understand the members of majority groups and to be understood by the members of the dominant culture. When taking into account the

current analyses, it can be stated that the dominant culture (Sunni) substitutes the big Other (Alevism and its doctrines are expected to be the big Other), especially at the beginning of the identity formation process. Analyses revealed that the first encounter with being different generally comes out by some traumatic events (e.g. discrimination). These traumatic encounters make the individuals frustrated. However, the main expectation is being loved and accepted, which is not met. Lacan stated that when a subject tends to have a demand, it is an indication of a lack of something. That is, the theme of 'psychological needs' may indicate this lack of something. According to Lacan, there is an expectation from the Other to complete this lack (Bailly, 2009). Considering the 'psychological needs' theme, it can be said that there is an expectation from the members of the dominant culture to meet their demands. However, the thing that is demanded is not the thing that is really needed and this space between demand and need is where desire takes place. After that point, as Lacan mentioned, the desire of the Other (Sunni community) becomes the desire of the Subject (here, Arab Alevi community). That is, trying to speak Turkish properly, to prove how religious and successful they are, are some points which individuals aim to reach in order to be loved, accepted and respected by the dominant group. As the time passes, individuals may notice that there are also other both big and small Other by whom they can also be accepted and loved. Here, the individuals realize their desire and start to develop strategies in accordance with it. For example, building secure zones, effort to explain their own culture to the members of dominant culture, rationalization are some of those strategies. That is, the members of minority groups do not wait like a victim but they have efforts to struggle for their desire.

As mentioned before, desire is one of the central terms in Lacan work ("Lacanian terminology", 2012). According to Lacan, desire is a condition rather than an affect. (Bailly, 2009). Lacan perceived desire as a 'condition that plays a structuring role in the Subject' (Bailly, 2009, p. 110) and it is an element of other affects. That is, he stated that one cannot have affects like anger, jealousy, and disappointment (Bailly, 2009). As well as desire, anxiety also possesses a central role. Thus, not anxiety but other emotions that emerged from the current analyses are accounted as elements which sustain the imaginary order. Taking anxiety into account, it arises when the desire is not met. Thus, according to Lacan, when anxiety exists somewhere, desire also exists there (Bailly, 2009). In the current study,

participants reported anxiety about being excluded, humiliated, and assimilation which correspond to desire of being loved, included, and accepted.

Lacan stated that when a child has a good function in Symbolic -language, laws, and social structures- order, the child has an opportunity to read and to learn, and to take part in the society and to enjoy with them. In the current study, I think by the acquisition of Turkish and rules of dominant society, individuals start to function and to participate well in the society. This point comes to me as parallel with Berry's integration stage where individuals are integrated into both their culture and the dominant culture, feel inner security and appreciation.

5.3. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Studies

This study is conducted with qualitative method, namely with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This analysis requires a small sample size so the generalizability issue arises. Furthermore, IPA relies on interpretation so during the process, the subjectivity of the researcher is salient.

Questions, like what participants expect from the therapies and how they perceive therapeutic processes was not included in the current study. These kinds of questions could be taken into consideration in future studies.

The interviews and analyses did not consider participants' stages of the ethnic identity specifically. Therefore, future study could take into account the stages and related emotions, attitudes and coping strategies. Arab Alevi members constituted the sample of the study. For a broader view, other minorities living in Turkey could also be interviewed. Although they are intertwined, the effects of sects and ethnicities could be investigated separately. Moreover, in order to understand transgenerational factors and effects, parents of participants also could be interviewed, as well as participants.

CHAPTER 6

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study presents a phenomenological understanding of experiences associated with ethnic identity, related emotions and coping strategies. Although there are many studies focusing on phenomenological analysis of emotions (e.g., Rørtveit et al., 2010) in the literature, in Turkey, these kinds of studies are limited yet. Additionally, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) has recently begun to be applied in clinical psychology studies conducted in Turkey and they are still limited (e.g. Demir, 2014; Maraş, 2016). Additionally, in clinical settings, emotions are generally studied in individual level, by focusing on personal factors. However, as mentioned in the literature review, there are also environmental factors, like culture, stigma etc. Thus, I think this study could present an understanding of emotions and experiences related with minority identity.

Previous studies showed that due to negative experiences, such as stigmatization and discrimination, occurred in one past, members of cultural group may become more rejection sensitive and experience psychological difficulties. Thus, a clinical psychologist should keep in mind these possibilities when working with a client from a cultural group. It is necessary because Turkey is a multicultural society and a clinical psychologist working in the field has high possibility of encounter these individuals. Therefore, as a therapist being culturally competent is become crucial (Sue & Sue, 2013). This study is important because it may serve for professionals to provide clinical skills, empathy, and self-awareness.

Through considering results of the studies about experiences of minority groups, culturally adapted clinical interventions can be developed (Iwamoto, et al., 2013). I think it is critical especially for the psychological services provided by the universities. When one comes to university, besides difficulties associated with leaving the family etc., as it was shown in the current study, some problems related with cultural identity also appear. Thus, the understanding of ethnic identity is

crucial because it is included in the overall adjustment of minority group adolescents (Phinney, 1989).

Malott (2009) reported that when a counselor works with a member of ethnic group, s/he should consider labels preferred by the clients for his identity. Besides labels, a counselor should also regard the client's identification with the dominant culture and the client's culture and values (Malott, 2009). The present study provides some labels and cultural values of Arab Alevis based on their narratives. Being aware of those points makes the counselor stay away from the stereotypes.

Another critical point is how national policies arrange group relations (Berry & Sam, 1996). Berry and Sam (1996) stated that the national policies may affect even the terminology used for the groups. For example, the notions, like "cultural communities," "nationalities," or "ethnocultural groups", are preferred when the integration is adopted as the national policy. Integration policies should encourage cultural groups to become involved in the wider society and the larger society should be encouraged to contain cultural groups (Berry & Sam, 1996). On the other hand, when national policies focus on assimilationist policies, the term of "minorities" is appeared. "Minoritization" itself becomes as a risk factor which can be resulted in marginalization thus, even assimilation policies should oriented the larger society to perceive others as members (Berry & Sam, 1996). Additionally, Şirin (2013) noted that the policies should take into account the demands and expectations of Alevis and also all other minority groups. Therefore, studies, similar with the current study, may provide findings that could be taken into account while national policies attempt to arrange group relations. White, Harvey, and Verrelli (2015) proposed two stage bidirectional approach for researcher and educators who attempt to study on reduction of prejudice, discrimination, and group bias. They suggested that in the first stage, empirical findings are needed to understand both minority and majority groups' attitude towards each other. Based on those foundations, in the second stage, intervention for intergroup relations should be developed between both groups. White and his colleagues (2015) stated that these interventions should consider both minority and majority groups' voices based on the empirical research. The current study provides voice of one of the minority groups in Turkey.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Turkish Summary/Türkçe Özet

KÜLTÜREL KİMLİKLE İLİŞKİLİ DUYGULARIN, PSİKOLOJİK İHTİYAÇLARIN VE BAŞ ETME YOLLARININ KLİNİK AÇIDAN YORUMLANMASI: YORUMLAYICI FENOMENOLOJİK ANALİZ ÇALIŞMASI

BÖLÜM 1

GİRİŞ

Doktora eğitimim sırasında terapi hizmeti verirken farklı kültürel gruplardan danışanlarla çalışma fırsatını yakaladım. Bu süreçlerde, danışanların paylaştıkları ortak duygular olduğunu gözlemledim. Daha sonra, farklı etnik kimliğe veya mezhebe sahip olmanın kişilerin gelişimi üzerinde nasıl bir etkisi olduğu üzerine düşünmeye başladım. Dünya üzerinde azınlık kimliği, kültürel kimlik gibi konular çokça çalışılmış olsa da Türkiye’de bu konulara daha çok sosyoloji, tarih gibi bölümlerin eğildiğini görmekteyiz. Psikoloji alanında ise daha çok sosyal psikoloji tarafından çalışılmışsa da klinik psikolojinin henüz pek de yönelmediği bir alan olarak durmaktadır. Ancak, Türkiye’nin çok kültürlü bir yapıya sahip olduğu düşünülürse alanda çalışan bir klinik psikoloğun farklı kültürel kimliklerden bireylerle çalışma ihtimalinin yüksek olduğu düşünülebilir. Bu noktada da kimlik edinme süreçlerinde bireylerinin yaşadıklarının gelişimleri açısından önemli olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu tür süreçleri anlamak önem kazanmaktadır.

Bu bilgiler ışığında bakıldığında bu çalışmanın amacı, kültürel kimlikle ilişkili deneyimleri, duyguları ve baş etme yollarını anlamaktır. Bireylerin kültürel kimliklerinin farkına vardıkları deneyimleri, bu süreçlere eşlik eden duyguları, baş etme yollarını anlayabilmek adına analiz edilmiştir. Dolayısıyla şu sorulara yanıt

aranmaya çalışılmıştır: Azınlık gruplara ait bireyler etnik kimliklerini nasıl oluşturmaktadır? Bu süreç içerisinde neler deneyimlemekteler? Bu deneyimler sonucunda ne tür duygular ortaya çıkmaktadır? Bireyler bu deneyimlerle ve duygularla nasıl baş etmektedirler? Bu amaçla, Türkiye’deki kültürel gruplardan biri olan Arap Alevi bireyler çalışmanın katılımcılarını oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmadan elde edilen bulgular literatürde yer alan etnik, azınlık kimlik modelleri çerçevesinde hem de kimikleşme konusunda önemli bir yere sahip olan Lacan’ın kavramları çerçevesinde tartışılacaktır.

BÖLÜM 2

LİTERATÜR TARAMASI

2.1. Etnik, Kültürel, Dini Azınlık Kimlikleri

Bireyin kendini nasıl algıladığı ve nasıl bir birey olduğu nerede, ne zaman ve nasıl yetiştirildiğinden etkilenmektedir (Thomas ve Schwarzbaum, 2006). Tüm bunlar kültürle ilişkilidir. Kültür Veroff ve Goldberger (1995) tarafından şu şekilde tanımlanmıştır:

Ortak bir geçmişi paylaşan, genellikle belirli bir coğrafi bölgede yaşayan, aynı veya birbirine yakın bir dili konuşan, ortak ritüelleri, inançları, değerleri, kuralları ve yasaları takip eden ve bunlara göre belirgin bir şekilde tanımlanabilen ve çocuk yetiştirme, akrabalık ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesi, güç düzenlemeleri, bir toplumun nasıl bir işleve yarayacağını belirleyen rolleri gibi kültürel olarak normatif uygulamalara tabi olan insanların bir araya gelmesi anlamına gelir.

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını Arap Alevi bireyler oluşturmaktadır. Arap Alevi kimliği hem etnik (Arap olmaktan dolayı) kimliği, hem de dini (Alevi olmaktan dolayı) kimliği içermektedir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada ikisini de kapsadığı düşünüldüğünden Arap Alevi kimliği ‘kültürel kimlik’ olarak anılacaktır. Kültürel kimlik aşağıdaki şekilde tanımlanmıştır:

...en basit haliyle aidiyet duygusudur. Bu, ortak bir dostluk, inanç, çıkar ve temel yaşam prensiplerini içerir. Birey kendi kültürünü tanımladığında, genellikle yıllar içinde aktarılan gelenekleri benimser. Bir insanı kültürel mirasa bağlayan

kültürel kimlik, aynı geleneklere ve temel inanç sistemlerine sahip olan diğer insanlarla özdeşleşmelerine yardımcı olabilir.

(“What is a cultural identity?”, 2016)

Kültürün insanlar üzerinde ve çocukların gelişim süreçlerinde önemli bir etkisi vardır (Thomas ve Schwarzbaum, 2006). Çocuklar ‘ben kimim?’ sorusunu sormaya başladıklarında toplumdaki rollerini, değerleri ve kalıp yargıları da değerlendirirler ve etnik azınlık grupların çocuklarının gelecek planları da toplumda nasıl algılandıklarına dair algıları tarafından şekillenir (Thomas ve Schwarzbaum, 2006). Etnik ve dini grupların bireylere pozitif kimlik, anlam, kültürel dünya görüşü sağlamak ve kesinlik ve aidiyet hissi vermek gibi işlevleri vardır (Verkuyten & Yıldız,2007).

2.2. Etnik, Kültürel Kimlik Gelişimine Yönelik Modeller

Dünyada etnik, kültürel kimlik gelişimine dair ortaya atılmış birçok model bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan biri Sue ve Sue 1990 yılında Irksal/Kültürel Kimlik Gelişimi modelini önermişlerdir (Sue ve Sue, 2013). Model, uyum, çelişki, direnç ve immersiyon, içebakış ve bütünleştirici farkındalık olmak üzere 5 aşamalı bir gelişme süreci içermektedir (Sue ve Sue, 2013). Her aşama, azınlık danışanlarla çalışan terapistler için daha iyi anlama sağlama açısından yararlı olabilecek dört inanç ve tutum bakımından ele alınmaktadır (Sue ve Sue, 2013). Bu inanç ve tutumlar azınlık kimliğini oluşturmaktadır ve a) öz benliği, b) aynı azınlığın diğer bireylerini, c) başka bir azınlığın bireylerini, d) çoğunluk bireyleri nasıl algıladıklarında kendini göstermektedirler.

Uyum aşamasında kişinin daha çok egemen kültürün değerlerine yönelirken, kendi kültürüne karşı utanç hissetmektedir (Sue ve Sue, 2013). *Çelişki aşamasında* kişi kimliği sorgulamaya başlar, kimliğe dair inkâr kırılır ve utanç duygusu ile gurur duygusu arasında çelişki yaşanır (Sue ve Sue, 2013). Üçüncü aşama olan *direnç ve immersiyon aşamasında* kişi egemen kültürün değerlerini reddetmeye, kendi kültürüne yakınlaşmaya başlar. Bu aşamada görülen en yoğun duygular utanç (kendi kimliğinden utanmış olmaktan dolayı), suçluluk (egemen kültürün kendi kültürüne karşı tutumuna katkı sunmuş olabileceği düşüncesi nedeniyle) ve öfkedir (egemen kültüre karşı) (Sue ve Sue, 2013). *İçebakış aşamasında* birey, grubunun kendisiyle çelişen düşüncelerini fark eder ve kendi özerkliğini kazanmaya çalışır. Son olarak,

bütünleştirici farkındalık aşamasında kişi hem kendi kültürünün hem de egemen kültürün öğelerini kabul eder.

Sue ve Sue'nun önerdikleri modelin yanı sıra Phinney (1989) de etnik kimlik oluşumunu üç aşamalı bir modelle açıklamaktadır. Bu modele göre, ilk aşama olan *sorgulanmamış etnik kimlik* aşamasındaki azınlık bireylerinin bu konuda düşünmedikleri ve bu konunun henüz gündemlerinde olmadığı görülmektedir. *Etnik kimlik arayışı aşamasında* birey kimliğini araştırmaya ve sorgulamaya başlamıştır. Bu sürece geçiş genellikle bir 'karşılaşma' ile mümkün olabilmektedir (Cross (1978)'tan aktaran Phinney, 1990). *Kazanılmış etnik kimlik aşamasında* kişi güven duygusuna sahiptir, etnik kökeni anlamaya ve onunla övünmeye başlamıştır.

2.3. Kültürleşme

Berry (1997) göç nedeniyle yer değiştirmek durumunda kalan insanların yeni ortamlara nasıl uyum sağladıkları üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu bağlamda; herhangi bir kültürel bağlamda büyüdükten sonra başka bir ortamda yaşamaya başlayan insanlara ne olur?, bireyler yeni ortamlarda nasıl davranıyorlar, önceki durumlarını nasıl koruyorlar veya davranışlarını değiştiriyorlar mı?, yeni toplumda nasıl yaşıyorlar? gibi sorular üzerine odaklanmıştır.

Berry (1997) 'kültürleşme'yi grupların karşılaşmaları sonucunda ortaya çıkan kültürel değişimleri anlatmak için kullanmıştır.

2.3.1. Kültürleşme stratejileri

Berry (1997) çoğulcu toplumlarda kültürel gruplar ve bu gruplara ait bireyler kültürleşme sürecinin nasıl yaşanacağı konusunda baş etmek durumundadırlar. Kültürleşme stratejileri grupların karşılaşmaları sonucu ortaya çıkan iki ana konu etrafında şekillenmektedir. Bunların ilki, bireylerin kültürel kimliğe ne kadar önem verdikleri ve onu koruma yönünde ne kadar çaba sarf ettikleri olarak anılan kültürün korunması konusudur.

İkinci konu ise, diğer kültürlerle iletişim boyutlarını veya kendi aralarında kalmaları temalarını içeren temas etme ve katılım gösterme konusudur. Bu iki konunun bir araya gelmesiyle 4 kültürleşme stratejisi ortaya çıkmaktadır. *Asimilasyon stratejisi* bireyin kendi kültürel kimliğini korumaması ve egemen kültürle iletişim kurma çabası olarak tanımlanmaktadır. *Ayrılma stratejisinde* birey kendi kültürünü koruma

yönünde çaba sarf ederken diğer kültürlerle iletişim kurmak için herhangi bir isteği yoktur. *Bütünleşme stratejisinde* ise birey hem kendi kültürünü korumaya çalışır hem de diğer kültürlerle günlük iletişimi kurmaya çalışır. Marjinalleşme stratejisinde birey kendi kültürünü korumaya önem vermezken diğer kültürlerle de iletişim kurmak için çaba göstermez. Berry (1997) kültürleşme stratejilerinin belirlenmesinde hem bireylerin nerede yaşadıklarının hem de ulusal politikaların önemli olduğunu belirtmiştir.

2.4. Etnik / kültürel kimlik nedeniyle ayrımcılık ve damgalama

Birçok toplumda yer alan azınlık gruplar, kimlikleri nedeniyle damgalanma, ayrımcılık, ön yargı ve kalıp yargı gibi durumlara maruz kalabilmektedirler. Frost (2011) bahsi geçen bu deneyimleri birbirinden ayırt etmenin zor olduğuna değinmiştir. Damgalanma, kişinin diğer özelliklerini gözden düşüren ve göz ardı eden bir özellik olarak tanımlanır (Goffman, 1963). Bazen bir eksiklik ya da başarısızlık olarak tanımlanır ve damgalanmış kişinin algılanmış kimliği ile gerçek kimliği arasında bir fark vardır (Goffman, 1963). Frost (2011) damgalamanın, damgalanan grubun topluma katılımını engelleyen yapısal bir eşitsizlik içerdiğini belirtmiştir.

Contrada ve arkadaşları (2000) etnik ayrımcılığı “bir kişinin etnik yapısından dolayı haksız muameleye maruz kalması”. Literatürde damgalamanın (Frost, 2011) da ayrımcılığın (Contrada ve ark., 2000) da fiziksel ve psikolojik sağlık açısından stres faktörleri olarak gösterilmişlerdir. Türkiye’de yaşanan Alevileri göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda Yıldız ve Verkuyten (2011) Alevilere yönelik Osmanlı döneminde başlayan ayrımcılığın Cumhuriyet döneminde devam ettiğini ve yaşamın farklı alanlarında görüldüğünü iddia etmişlerdir. Buna ek olarak, Türkiye’de yaşayan Aleviler ve Hıristiyanlar, toplumun onları dışladığı düşüncesinde olduklarını ve eşit haklara erişemediklerini ve devlet hizmetlerinden eşit olarak yararlanamadıklarını belirtmişlerdir (Doğruel, 2013).

2.5. Kültürel Kimlikle İlgili Deneyimler ve Kültürleşme İle İlişkili Duygular

Literatürde etnik kimlik oluşumu, ayrımcılık, damgalama ve önyargı nedeniyle ortaya çıkan farklı duygular ve sonuçlar rapor edilmiştir. Psikolojik zorlukların, depresyonun (Kim, 2012) ve somatik semptomların (Huynh ve Fuligni,

2012) yanı sıra geçmiş çalışmalarda utanç, öfke, güçsüzlük duygusu, belirgin olmayan kötü duygular, utanç, aşağılanma ve travma gibi duyguların da sıkça rapor edildiği görülmektedir (Mellor ve ark., 2009). Bu negatif duyguların yanı sıra Tummala-Narral ve Sathasivam-Rueckert'ın (2016) çalışmalarında katılımcılar kimliklerinden dolayı gurur hissettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir.

2.6. Etnik/Azınlık Kimlikle İlişkili Olumsuz Deneyimlerle ve Baş Etme Yolları

Azınlık gruplara sahip bireyler yukarıda bahsedilen olumsuz deneyimlerden ve duygulardan kaynaklanan olumsuz etkileri gidermek için farklı stratejiler geliştirmektedirler. Bazı çalışmalarda şu yöntemlere başvurulduğu görülmüştür: Kişilerin kendi kültürlerini akranlarına anlatma ve yanlışlarını düzeltme çabasına girmek; arkadaşlarıyla, aileleriyle veya okuldaki yetişkinlerle konuşmak; kültürlerine ait etkinliklere katılmak; kimliklerini gizlemek, kendilerini dışarıya kapatmak; güvenli alanlar oluşturmak; etraflarında tanıdıkları kişilerin olmasını sağlamak (Eijberts ve Roggeband, 2016; Kim, 2012). Bunların yanı sıra, Mellor ve arkadaşları (2009)) ayrımcılık deneyimlerine karşı kendini koruyan, kendini kontrol eden ve ayrımcılık yapanları yüzleştiren stratejiler kullanıldığını göstermişlerdir.

2.7. Lacanyen Perspektif

Bu çalışmanın analizleri sonucunda ortaya çıkan temalar Lacanyen perspektiften de yorumlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu nedenle, bu bölümde Jacques Lacan'ın temel kavramlarına dair kısa bilgiler verilecektir.

2.7.1. Lacan'ın Ayna Evresi

Ayna evresi Lacan'ın temel kavramlarından birisidir (Evans, 1996). Ayna aşaması, öznelğin yapısının önemli bir bölümünü ifade eder (Evans, 1996). Evans'a (1996) göre, Lacan egonun şekillenme sürecinin özdeşleşme ile tanımlandığını belirtmiştir. Anahtar nokta şudur: Altı aylık bebek henüz gelişmemiştir ve koordinasyon eksikliği vardır, ancak bir dereceye kadar görsel sistem gelişmiştir. Dolayısıyla, vücudu kontrol etme yeteneğine sahip olmadan önce bebek kendini tanımlayabilir. Bebek aynadaki kendi görüntüsünü bir bütün olarak algılar: Ancak, bu imge ile kontrol edilemeyen vücudun deneyimleri arasında bir karşıtlık vardır. İmgenin bir bütün olarak algılanması, parçalanmış özneye karşı bir tehdit oluşturur, bu nedenle bebek kendi imajıyla rekabet etmeye başlar. Bunun bir sonucu olarak,

nesne ile imge arasında agresif bir gerginlik ortaya çıkar. Bu gerginliği gidermek için özne, egonun oluşturulduğu imgeyle özdeşim kurmayı tercih eder. Bir bebekte olduğu gibi, yetişkinler de sadece imgelerle değil, aynı zamanda tutarlılığın eksikliğinden kaynaklanan hayal kırıklığı ve saldırganlık hissini tamir etmek amacıyla fikirlerle de özdeşim kurabilirler (“Lacanian Terminology”, 2012).

2.7.2. Lacan’ın Üçlü Düzeni

İngesel. Bebeğin aynadaki görüntüsüyle karşılaşmasından ortaya çıkan zihinsel süreçleri ifade eder (Bailly, 2009). Bebek ayna görüntüsü ile özdeşim kurar, daha sonra bebek, egoyu ve ideal-ben’i aynadaki nesne hakkındaki fikrin izdüşümüne dayanarak kurar. Kavramlar sahte ve güçlü bir imge üzerine kurulduğundan, İngesel, illüzyon alanı haline gelir. İngesel alanda, Özne, başkalarıyla ne kadar benzer veya farklı olduğunu fark eder, dolayısıyla bundan etkilenir veya reddeder (Bailly, 2009).

Simgesel. ‘Sembolik’ terimi, tüm toplumlarda –en ilkel olanlarda bile- akrabalık, evlilik vb. ilişkileri düzenlemek için sembolik bir düzen olduğunu ve bu kuralların evrensel olduğunu göstermektedir (Bailly, 2009). Büyük öteki, Öznenin olduğu yasaları, toplumu ve varsayımları ifade eder. Dil, bireylerin ve genel gerçekliğin kurulduğu bir etmendir (“Lacanian terminology”, 2012). Nesnelere kelimelerle değiştiriyoruz ve bu sembolizasyon yoluyla insanlar iletişim kurabilir ve birbirini anlayabilir hale gelmektedirler. Böylece, Lacan için dil, büyük öteki olmaktadır. İmleyenler fikirlerin temsili anlamına gelir ve Sembolik alanda yer alır. Bebeğin ilk imleyeni annedir. Temsil yoluyla, şeyler düşünülür ve imleyenler arasındaki bağlantı, anlam üretir. ‘Eksiklik’, kişinin diline veya imleyenine erişebilmesi için bir zorunluluktur (Bailly, 2009). Başka bir deyişle, her şey ulaşılabilir olursa, dil kullanmaya ya da herhangi bir şey talep etmeye gerek kalmaz (Bailly, 2009). Kayıp ya da eksiklikleri ortaya koyduğu için, eksiklik deneyimiyle Sembolik’e ulaşılabilir. Eksik olan ile imleyenin onu nasıl sembolize ettiği ile anlam kazanmaktadır (Bailly, 2009).

Gerçek. İmleyenin gerçekliğin bazı parçalarına bağlanması sürecinde imleyen tarafından tutulamayan bazı parçaları tanımlar. Simgeselden farklı olarak, Gerçek tarif edilemez ve hayal edilemez. Bu özellikler Gerçeği imkansız kılar. Halüsinasyon, sanrı ve travmada kendini gösterir. Lacan, Gerçek’in nesnesinin endişe olduğunu belirtmiştir.

2.7.3. İhtiyaç, İstek ve Arzu

Lacan için, arzu duygudan öte bir durumdur. Lacan'a göre arzu Özne'nin yapılanmasında önemli bir role sahiptir (Bailly, 2009, s.110). Arzunun yanı sıra kaygı da bu kadar merkezi bir role sahiptir; ancak Lacan'a göre bu varoluş, arzu ile arasında bir gerilim ile ortaya çıkmaktadır: Kaygının olduğu yerde arzunun da varolduğundan bahsetmek mümkündür.

Bir kişi bir talebe yöneliyorsa, bir şeyin eksikliğinin bir göstergesidir ve Ötekinden bu eksikliği tamamlaması yönünde beklentisi vardır. Bununla birlikte, istenen şey gerçekten ihtiyaç duyulan şey değildir ve talep ile ihtiyaç arasındaki bu alan arzunun olduğu yerdir.

Özne talep ettiği şeye Ötekinin sahip olduğu görüşündedir; Bununla birlikte, Öteki, muhtaçlık açısından Özne ile benzer bir durumdur.

2. 8. Türkiye'deki Arab Aleviler

Alevi topluluğu, Türkiye'nin en büyük ikinci dini topluluğu (Poyraz, 2005) ve en büyük azınlık grubudur. Kürt ve Türk gibi farklı etnik grupların üyelerinden oluşur (Şirin, 2013). Arap Alevi topluluğu Türkiye'nin güneyinde yaşayan azınlık topluluklarından biridir (Güngür, 2017). Mertcan (2013) "Nusayri", "Alevi" ve "Arap Alevi" terimlerinin bu topluluğa işaret ettiğini; ancak, genellikle kendilerini "Arap Alevi" veya "Alevi" olarak tanımladıklarını belirtmiştir.

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını oluşturan Arap Aleviler, Türkiye'nin güneyinde, Akdeniz bölgesinde yer alan ve Suriye'ye sınırı olan Antakya'da büyümüşlerdir. Antakya, çokkültürlü özelliğinin yanı sıra Türkiye'nin en kozmopolit kenti olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Kaypak, 2010). Antakya'da Arap Alevi, Arap Hıristiyan, Arap Sünni, Türk Sünni, Kürt, Çerkes, Ermeni, Afgan, Roman Çingeneleri ve Yahudiler gibi on iki etnik/dini grubun yaşadığı belirtilmektedir (Kaypak, 2010; Doğruel, 2013). Kentte hem Türkçe hem de Arapça konuşulmakta ancak tüm grupların paylaştığı ortak dil Türkçe'dir (Doğruel, 2005). Türkçe'nin eğitim dili olması nedeniyle ebeveyn ve çocuklar arasındaki etkileşimde Arapça'nın yerini almaya başlar. Eğitim sistemine kolayca adapte olabilmek için bir strateji olarak kullanılır.

Dini gereklilikler yalnızca erkeklere öğretilir ve kadınlar dini gerekliliklerden muaftır (Güneş, 2013). Din bilgisi, ergenlik döneminde erkekler için önceden belirlenmiş bir 'amca' tarafından verilir. Ergen, 'amca' ile biraz zaman geçirir ve

onları gizli tutmak için Arap Aleviliği, gelenek vb. temelleri hakkında bilgi aktarır (Güneş, 2013). Arap Alevi kültürüne çok sayıda adak ve bayram var. ‘Ziyaret’ inancı çok kuvvetlidir ve Arap Alevileri için ibadet yeridir.

BÖLÜM 3

METODOLOJİ

3.1. Neden Niteliksel Çalışma?

Niteliksel çalışmada araştırmacı, metin şeklindeki verileri dikkate alır ve onları sayısal verilere dönüştürmeden üzerinde çalışır (Schwandt, 2001). Olayları, hipotezleri test etmek yerine soru sorarak veriyi anlama çabası vardır (Carter & Little, 2007). Nitel çalışmalar, dile getirilen deneyimlerin ayrıntılarını ve yapısını daha anlaşılır hale getirmek açısından fırsat sağlar (Cromby, 2012).

3.2. Neden Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz?

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz (YFA), doğrudan olaylarla değil bireyler için deneyimlerin anlamıyla ilgilenmektedir (Smith, 2004). Bu çalışmada da araştırmacı olayların kendisinden öte olayların katılımcılar için anlamına, olaylarla baş etme süreçlerine ve duygularına odaklanmıştır. YFA araştırmaları, belirli bir grubun yaşantılarını anlamak, müdahale programları geliştirmek, nicel araştırmalarla bulunan derneklere anlam vermek, mevcut teoriyi yeniden değerlendirmek ve insanların sosyo-ekonomik özelliklerini anlamak noktasında yardımcı olabilir (Larkin & Thompson, 2011).

3.3. Örneklem ve Prosedür

YFA ile uyumlu olarak, bu çalışmada 9 Arap Alevi katılımcı yer almıştır. Katılımcıların yaşları 18 ile 70 aralığında değişmektedir. Katılımcıların 5’i Antakya’da, 3’ü Ankara’da, biri ise İzmir’de yaşamaktadır. Katılımcılarla, her birinin arasında yaklaşık bir hafta olmak üzere, iki görüşme yapılmıştır. Her bir görüşme ortalama olarak 50 dakika sürmüştür. Aşağıda, görüşmelerde kullanılan örnek sorular yer almaktadır:

1. Kendinizi etnik kimlik açısından nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz?
2. Kimliğinizi nasıl öğrendiniz?

3.(Aile ortamındaysa) Diğer kimliklerle (özellikle çoğunluk grubu ile) ilk karşılaşmanız nasıldı?

4. (Eğer bir zorluk belirtiliyorsa) Bu durumla baş ettiniz mi? Baş etmede hangi faktörler etkiliydi?

5. Bu zorlukları yaşamış olmanıza dair açıklamanız nedir?

Her görüşme ses kayıt cihazı ile kaydedilmiş, ardından yazılı transkript haline getirilmiştir. YFA'nın adımlarına uygun olarak verilerin analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir.

BÖLÜM 4

SONUÇ

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz sonuçlarına göre, çalışmada yedi üst temaya ulaşılmıştır. Bunlar; *kimliğin oluşma süreci, etnik/kültürel kimliği tanımlama ve algılama şekli, kültürel kimliğin diğerleri tarafından algılanan imajı, etnik/kültürel kimlik nedeniyle ortaya çıkan negatif deneyimler, kimliği fark etme sürecine ve negatif deneyimlere eşlik eden duygular, psikolojik ihtiyaçlar ve kimliğin oluşum sürecine ve negatif deneyimlere eşlik eden duygularla baş etme.*

4.1. Kimliğin Oluşma Süreci

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analiz sonuçlarına göre, kimliğin oluşma süreci üst temasına ait üç alt temaya ulaşılmıştır.

Başlarda herkesin aynı olduğunu düşünme. Katılımcıların çoğu etnik kimlik oluşum sürecinin başında herkesin aynı olduğunu düşündüklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Arap, Alevi ya da 'öteki' (Selim) olduklarından haberdar olmadıklarına değinmişlerdir. Herkesin onlar gibi olduğunu ve diğer etnik veya dini kimliklerin farkında olmadıklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Ahmet bu durumu şöyle açıklamıştır:

Bunların üzerine konuşma, düşünme ihtiyacı duymadık çünkü hep aynıydık zaten. Bulduğumuz ortam hep aynı etnik grup, hep aynı mezhep, aynı sosyal düşünce diyelim. Aynıydı, dolayısıyla bunları konuşacak, düşünecek tartışacak bir ortam oluşmamıştı.

Becoming aware of being different. Tüm katılımcılar, insanlar arasındaki etnik veya dil farklılıklarının farkına varma sürecinden bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcılar, bu sürecin eğitimleri sırasında, başka kültürlerden insanlarla karşılaşmaları sonucunda veya arkadaşlarıyla konuşurken yaşandığını belirtmişlerdir. Demet şöyle bir anıyla yaşadıklarını anlatmıştır:

İlk defa üniversitede tanıştım. Dolmuşta giderken bir arkadaşımın, daha doğrusu arkadaşım değil de, sınıftan bir çocuğun ‘sizin bayramınız varmış, gid ‘1 gadir bayramı,’. Ben o bayramı herkesin bayramı zannediyordum. Öyle deyince ben de bir şeyler dank etti, sorgulamaya başladım.

Kültürel kimlik hakkında bilgi toplamak. Üçüncü alt tema, ‘farklı olmanın’ farkına vardıktan sonra kimlik hakkında bilgi toplamakla ilgilidir. Aile ile etnik/dini kimlikle ilgili konuşmak, dini bir liderle konuşmak ve araştırma yapmak (kitaptan), bilgi alma yolları olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Selin, annesine kendilerinin kim olduğunu öğrenmek adına sorular sorduğunu anlatmıştır:

Bunu şey yaptıktan sonra annemle falan konuştum hani böyle bir durum- biz tam olarak neyiz? mesela, en basitinden bu soruyu soruyorsun, biz nerden gelmişiz?. Sonra bunun daha genelde işte lise şeyinde aldığım cevaplar muhtemelen çok basit cevaplar çünkü ben bunun bilincine dediğim gibi üniversitede vardım. Lisedeyse bu daha şey bazındaydı işte, ‘biz Aleviyiz, biz böyle yaparız’. İşte atıyorum ‘bizim adağımız var’.

4.2. Etnik/Kültürel Kimliği Tanımlama ve Algılama Şekli

Yorumlayıcı Fenomenolojik Analize göre katılımcıların tanımları ve kimlik algıları için üç alt tema ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu tema katılımcılara Arap Alevi kimliği ile ilgili sorulan sorular çerçevesinde ortaya çıkmıştır.

Katılımcılar tarafından kimliği tanımlamak için kullanılan etiketler. Katılımcılara kültürel kimliklerini nasıl tanımladıkları sorulduğunda, bazı dini özelliklerin yanı sıra ‘Arapça konuşan’, ‘Alevi’, ‘Arap Alevi’, ‘Nusayri’ ve ‘Araplık kökeni olan’ gibi tanımlamalar yapmışlardır. Örneğin, Mahir’e kültürel kimliğinin özellikleri sorulduğunda “Anadil, din ve kültür. Öyle söyleyebilirim” şeklinde cevap vermiştir. Buna ek olarak Selin de Arapça’dan bahsetmiştir:

Yani, şöyle ki, benim ailemde büyüklerin çoğu Arapça konuşuyor zaten. Benim ablamların ilk iki ablamda Arapça konuşuyor. Biz konuşamıyoruz, bize kadar gelmemiş çünkü birbirimizle konuşmaya başladık artık ablamlarla falan. İnum aile toplantılarda ya da bayramlarda vs. herkese Arapça konuşuyor

zaten. Ben konuşamıyorum ama aşına olduğum için bunu yadırgamıyorum. Dışardan gelen insanlar için başta garip geliyor. O zaman mesela fark ediyorum bunun farklı bir kültür olduğunu. Araplık kısmı orda yaşıyor galiba.

Etnik/kültürel kimlikle ilişkili pozitif tanımlamalar. Bu alt tema katılımcıların kültürel kimliklerine dair dile getirdikleri pozitif tanımlamaları içermektedir. Kültürlerinin hoşgörülü olması, karma bir kültür olması, birlikte yaşamaya/toplu hareket etmeye önem veren bir kültür olması, yemeklerinin güzel olması, kadınların dinden uzak tutulması, dini anlamda şekilcilik olmaması, eğitime önem verilmesi gibi özellikler katılımcıların kültürlerine dair olumlu olarak getirdikleri tanımlamalardır. Örneğin, Demet bu durumu şu ifadelerle anlatmıştır: “Alevilikte ben zorlama olduğunu düşünmüyorum, görmedim şimdiye kadar. Daha hoşgörülü bir din olarak, din demeyeyim mezhep olarak görüyorum diğerlerine göre”. Benzer bir biçimde Filiz de şu ifadeleri kullanmıştır:

Kesinlikle hoşgörüyü dair. Özellikle benim ilgi çekici bulduğum şey küçük yaşlardan beri, her dine ve her peygambere ve her felsefeye aynı gözle bakıyor olmak. Yani birini diğerinden ayırmamak. Benim en çok ilgimi çeken nokta olmuştu. O yüzden kendimi çok daha yakın hissediyorum.

Etnik/kültürel kimlikle ilişkili negatif tanımlamalar. Bu alt tema, katılımcıların bazıları tarafından ifade edilen bazı olumsuz tanımları veya olumsuz etnik kimlik özelliklerini göstermektedir. Olumsuz özellikleri dile getiren katılımcılar kültürlerindeki insanların başka kültürlerle evlilik olmasını istemeyen, ayrıcalıklı azınlık algısına sahip olan, Alevi oldukları halde Kemalist olan, yozlaşma ve gerici tutumlar gösteren kısımlarını olumsuz özellikler olarak dile getirmişlerdir. Filiz bu duruma dair şunları söylemiştir:

İş yapıyorlar evet, mesela Sünnilerle iş yapıyorlar, Sünnilerle arkadaş oluyorlar ama iş mesela aile birleştirmeye, evlenmeye falan gelince çok ciddi çizgileri var onlarla ilgili. Çünkü bana kalırsa korkuyorlar. Yani o güvenli alandan çıkmış olacaklar ya da o güvenli alana başka birini almış olmak korkutuyor belli ki.

4.3. Başkaları Tarafından Algılanan Kültürel Kimlik İmajı

Bu tema, ‘insanların etnik kimliğiniz hakkında ne düşündüğünü düşünüyorsunuz?’ gibi sorular sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonuç olarak, insanların zihninde var olduğu düşünülen imajlar, olumlu imajlar ve olumsuz imajlar olmak üzere iki alt tema altında toplanmıştır.

İnsanlar tarafından algılanan pozitif imajlar. Sadece iki katılımcı, diğer insanlar tarafından algılanan olumlu imajlara değinmiştir. Kùltürlerinin başka kùltürlerdeki insanlar tarafından merak edildiğini, Cumhuriyetçi, kozmopolit ve açık görüşlü olarak algılandığını belirtmişlerdir. Selin bu durumla ilgili olarak şunları söylemiştir:

Aleviler genelde Cumhuriyetçi, açık görüşlü insanlar olarak algılanıyor aslında. İı işte...CHP dönemin partisi olduğu için ve bu zamana kadar geldiği için işte Aleviler CHP'nin zaten en büyük destekçisidir, koruyucusudur vs. tarzında şeyler var, görüşler var aslında.

İnsanlar tarafından algılanan negatif imajlar. Görüşmeler sırasında katılımcıların getirdiği olumsuz imajlara baktığımızda, birçoğu Arap Alevilerinin veya Alevilerin inanmayan/dinsiz, farklı bir insan, farklı bir tür, aksanlı konuşan, korkulan, hain, Fellah, ikinci sınıf, kaba bir toplum olarak algılandığını; Arap Alevilere nefretle bakıldığını, Arapça konuşulmasının garipsendiğini, yok sayılan, uzak durulması gereken ve yönetim tarafından tehdit olarak algılanan bir topluluk olduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bu durumla ilişki olarak Derya “Dinsizler-miş. Dinsizmişiz yani, dine inanmıyormuşuz, namaz kılmıyormuşuz.” Şeklinde bir ifade kullanmıştır. Diğer bir örnek ise Demet'in görüşmesinde ortaya çıkmıştır:

Arapça konuşuyorum. ‘Aa sen Arap mısın?’ diye, şey gibi farklı bir insan, türmüş gibi bakıyorlar. Ben onu ilk üniversitede fark ettim ve şimdiye kadar hala şey yapıyorum. Bir arkadaşım, liseden. O da öğretmen, Denizli’de okudu. Daha beyaz tenlidir, açık tenli, sarı saçlı falan. Üniversiteye gittiğinde bir hocası ‘hayatımda ilk defa sarışın Arap gördüm’ diye sınıfın ortasında söylemiş.

4.4. Etnik/Kùltürel Kimlik Nedeniyle Ortaya Çıkan Negatif Deneyimler

Tüm katılımcılar, kùltürel kimliklerinden kaynaklanan bazı negatif deneyimlere değinmişlerdir. Ayrıca, bu tür negatif deneyimlere ilişkin bazı nedenler ve açıklamalar kaydettiler. Böylece, mevcut üst tema *ayrımıcılık ve sınıflandırılma, damgalanma, ön yargı, yadırganma, ötekileştirilme ve bu deneyimlerin nedenlerine dair açıklamalar* şeklinde altı alt tema içermektedir.

Ayırımıcılık ve sınıflandırılma. Tüm katılımcılar, kendilerinin deneyimlediği veya başka insanların deneyimledikleri ayrımıcılık veya sınıflandırmalardan bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcılar tarafından ifade edilen ayrımıcılık içeren deneyimler, iş yerlerinin veya okulların yanı sıra kamu hizmeti alırken de gerçekleşebilmektedir.

Örneğin, Ahmet direkt bir ayrımcılığa maruz kalmasa da iş yerindeki uygulamaların ayrımcılık içerdiğinden bahsetmiştir:

Mesela biliyorsunuz şu an müdür yardımcılarını müdürler seçiyor ve şimdi müdür yardımcısı seçilirken bazı öğretmen arkadaşlarımıza teklif geliyor. Ama her nedense Arap Alevi olan arkadaşların hiç birine teklif gelmiyor. Yani bu da ayrımcılığın en önde gelen kanıtıdır. Yani bu tür olaylar bunu hissettiriyor bize, görüyoruz, yaşıyoruz. Ama birebir işte, nasıl diyeyim, direk yüzümüze karşı ayrımcılık gerektiren davranışlar tabi ki olmuyor. Mesela işte, A arkadaşımıza, B arkadaşımıza, C arkadaşımıza müdür yardımcılığı teklif edilirken belki de daha çok hak eden, bana göre tabi bu, diğer arkadaşlarımıza, bana teklif gelmiyor. Bu da ayrımcılıktır.

Diğer bir örnek de Fulya ile yapılan görüşmede şu şekilde dile getirilmiştir:

Sonra çevredeki insanlar, biraz da okuldaki öğretmen arkadaşların tanımlamasından yola çıktılar. İşte “okula bir Alevi öğretmen daha atanmış” dediler. Hatta birinci sınıfları alacağım zaman bir tane öğretmen velileri etkilemişti. Zeki olabilecek çocukları tahmin ediyordu o orada birkaç yıllık çalışandı. Siz bu öğretmene vermeyin gerek yok demiş. Sonradan öğrendim.

Damgalanma. Görüşmelerde damgalanmaya dair bazı yaşantılar dile getirilmiştir. En çok bildirilen damgalanma ‘mum söndü’ olayı ile ilgili olandır. ‘Mum söndü’de Alevilerin ensest ilişkileri olduğu düşünülmektedir. Selin kayınpederiyle bir konuşması sırasında böyle bir damgalama olduğunu öğrendiğinden bahsetmiştir: “Dedi ‘mum söndü olayını biliyor musun?’ dedi. ‘Bilmiyorum’ gerçekten bilmiyordum. ... Ama işte sonra babasıyla konuşurken ‘nedir o?’ falan dedim. İşte dedi ‘Alevilerin’ dedi ‘ensest ilişki kurduklarını düşünürler. İşte mum söndü olayı şey yaparlar’ dedi.”

Önyargı. Katılımcıların bazıları Arap Alevilere yönelik ön yargılar olduğundan bahsetmiştir. Demet’in iş yerinde deneyimlediği önyargı örneğini şöyle anlatmıştır: “Ben bunun bir önyargı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Öyle yapıyor ya mesela... O adam orada önyargılı olarak bakıyor, ‘bu Arap’ tamam. ‘Türkçesi böyle, normal sıradan bir şey vereyim telefonu kapatsın, sonra yeni telefonları açayım.” Fulya da benzer bir şekilde ilk görev yerinde önyargılı davranıldığını hissettiğini belirtmiştir: “Orada şeyi sezdim bir önyargı var”. Diğer bir önyargının da Aleviler’in kirli olduğu yönünde olduğu dile getirilmiştir. Mesela Fulya, Sünnilerin yoğunlukta yaşadığı bir bölgede çalışırken komşuların sahip olduğunu düşündüğü önyargıları şöyle ifade etmiştir: “Temizlikle ilgili. Çok temiz olmadığımıza dair”.

Yadırganma. Katılımcıların bazıları hem kendi kültürlerinden insanlar tarafından hem de diğer kültürlerin insanları tarafından yadırgandıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Demet, farklı bir gözle, farklı bir tür olarak algılanmanın rahatsızlık yarattığını belirtmiştir:

İnsanlar farklı bir gözle bakmadığı sürece ben açıkçası durup dururken ‘ben Aleviyim’ etnik kimliğimi falan... İnsanlar yadırgadığında sadece rahatsız oluyorum. ‘Hmm Arapmış, Aleviymiş’ falan dendiğinde beni ve aynı şekilde birçok arkadaşımı rahatsız eden şeydir.

Buna ek olarak, Selim ortaokuldayken Türkçeyi çok iyi öğrenmek ve konuşmak için çaba gösterdiğini, bu nedenle daha az Arapça konuştuğunu ve dolayısıyla da bu durumun çevresindeki [köydeki] insanları rahatsız ettiğini söylemiştir:

Türkçe’yi çok iyi öğrenmeye, konuşmaya çaba sarf ettim. Köye döndüğümde, aileme döndüğümde de TR konuşarak o kimliğimi, yeni kimliğimi pekiştirmek istedim. Arapça az konuşturdum. Hatta çevremde rahatsızlık da oluşturmuştum benim Arapça’yı konuşmak istemeyişim. Rahatsız etmiştir çevreyi.

Ötekileştirilme. Selim ve Filiz, kimliğinin ötekileştirilen özelliğinden söz etmişlerdir. Özellikle, Filiz, ötekileştirilmenin nedenin Alevilerden korkulmasını sağlamak olduğuna vurgu yapmıştır:

Tabi ki ensest dediğimiz şey her yerde olan bir şey tarihte her ne kadar bir topluma ya da bir etnik kökene sınırlayamasak da ensest diye bir gerçek var. Toplum olarak bunun buraya etiketlenmiş olması bence Arap Alevi’si toplumun oluşturduğu bir şey değil. Bu tamamen işte ötekileştirme, korkulacak bir şey haline getirme, işte dini politika için kullanma vs. bütün bunlar için daha önceden oluşturulmuş şeyler olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Negatif deneyimlerin nedenlerine dair açıklamalar. Görüşmeler sırasında bazı noktalarda katılımcılara negatif deneyimlerin nedenleri hakkında ne düşündükleri sorulmuştur. Yönetimle ilgili olduğunu düşünmek, eğitimsizliğe/cahilliğe bağlamak ve etnik kimlikten öte insanla ilgili olduğunu düşünmek şeklinde nedenler dile getirilmiştir. Örneğin, Derya, siyasetin ve dinin insanları birbiriyle çatışmaya sokmak için bunu yaptıklarını düşündüğünü belirtmiştir:

Sadece insanları birbirine düşürmek için yapıyorlar bunu. Sadece siyaset ve din bu konuda böyle. Bu iki konuda insanları birbirine düşürüyor. Bu yüzden saçma geliyor. Daha farklı bir şekilde yaşayabilirler hani, birbirlerine düşmeden, birbirlerine karşı gelmeden.

Selin tahammülsüzlüğün ve ayrımcılığın nedenini eğitimsizliğe bağladığını ifade etmiştir:

111 ya şöyle aslında biraz konuştuğın insanla ilgili ama genelleme yapacak olursam yine hoşgörülü değil. 111 özellikle de karşı tarafın eğitim seviyesi ya da insanlık seviyesiyle ilgili bir şey bunu algılama biçimi. Ama geneline baktığım zaman değil. Çünkü şu an zaten toplumda belli bir negatife gidiş var. Herkes gergin, herkes tahammülsüz karşısındakine, başka olan kişiye. Şu an ekstra zaten bir memnuniyetsizlik var bence. Eskiden de 111 eskiden de vardı, eskiden de cahillikten dolayı vardı, işte uydurulan hikâyelerden dolayı vardı. Ama pek bir şey değişmedi galiba bakınca.

4.5. Kimliği Fark Etme Sürecine ve Negatif Deneyimlere Eşlik Eden Duygular

Katılımcılar, görüşme sırasında kimliklerinin oluşma sürecine ve negatif deneyimlere eşlik eden birçok duygu rapor etmişlerdir. Bu duygular, *pozitif duygular* ve *negatif duygular* olan iki alt tema olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu duygular genellikle ‘Ne hissettiniz?’ gibi sorularla veya bir deneyim veya düşünce hakkında konuşurken ortaya çıkmıştır.

Pozitif duygular. Katılımcıların hepsi değil ancak bir kısmı gurur, umutlu olma ve rahatlama gibi pozitif duygulardan bahsetmişlerdir. Örneğin Selin kültürüyle guru duyduğunu ifade etmiştir:

Kültürün 111 kültürümün güzel olduğunu düşünüyorum, beğeniyorum, nispeten daha açık görüşlü olduğunu düşünüyorum Türkiye’nin geneline göre. Dolayısıyla da bundan bahsederken 111 hani iyi bir şeyden bahseder gibi bahsediyorum, gururla bahsediyorum.

Diğer taraftan Selim lise döneminde Türkçe konuşurken, köydeki diğer çocuklardan daha güzel konuştuğuna değinilmesinden gururlandığını belirtmiştir:

Hep Türkçe’yi iyi konuşmaya çalıştım. Böyle bir kompleks vardı içimizde. Amaç Türkçe’yi iyi öğrenmek, yabancıların TR’inden kendimi kurtarmak. Lisedeyken hatta Türk çocuklar diğer alevi çocuklara göre benim daha güzel konuştuğumu söylerlerdi. Bu hoşuma giderdi.

Negatif duygular. Öfke, utanç, yetersizlik/güvensizlik hissetme, kaygı, umutsuzluk, üzüntü, rahatsızlık hissetme, suçluluk, korku, hayal kırıklığı gibi duygular olumsuz duygular olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu duyguların çoğunun negatif deneyimlerle ilişkili olduğu görülmektedir. Örneğin, katılımcılar önyargılı olan, ayrımcılık yapan insanlara ve Arap Alevilere karşı öfke ifade etmişlerdir.

Yani açıkçası o ana kadar ııı arkadaş olarak gördüğüm bir insan iğrenç bir mahluk olarak göründü karşımda, açık söyleyeyim. Böyle bir şeyi gerçekten hele bir kızın düşünebiliyor olması beni çok şaşırttı. Ve demin de söyledim. Üniversiteye kadar bir insanın böyle bir şey düşünebilmesi aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi.

Utancın ise Arap olmak, cahillik hissetmek, köyde yaşıyor olmak ve damgalanmak gibi konularda ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir: “Ben de o şekilde- ben zaten bunları konuştuktan sonra o zamana kadar bunları bilmediğim için utandım kendimden” (Selin).

Katılımcılar Türkçe’yi iyi konuşamamak, Arapça’yı tam olarak öğrenememiş olmak, kültürlerinin tarihi hakkında yeterince bilgi sahibi olamamak gibi konular nedeniyle yetersizlik/eksiklik hissettiklerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Buna örnek olarak Demet’in görüşmesinden bir alıntı aşağıda yer almaktadır:

Bu onunla ilgili bir bayram, ben de hani bilmiyorum ‘id ‘l gadir bayramı’. Ondan sonra da ben, açıkçası bu bizim de eksikliğimizdir. Annemle babamı da o zamanlar şöyle suçlamıştım: Bize niye anlatmıyorsunuz? İşte biri sordu ortada kaldı.

Katılımcıların dışlanma, aşağılanma, asimile olma, kimliğin ortaya çıkması konularında kaygılı oldukları görülmüştür.

Ondan sonra bizde şey vardır, kırık TR olunca ‘bunlar Arap’ diye... Bence bunu da düşünmüşlerdir. Hiç sormadım ama öyle tahmin ediyorum. Bir de annelere ilkokuldayken ‘Arapça konuşmayın sakın’ demiş anneannem anneme yanlış hatırlamıyorsam. Öğretmen öğrenir, dışlanır, sınıfta mı bırakır ne yapar bilmiyorum. Ondan kaynaklanan bir durum olduğunu düşünüyorum.

4.6. Psikolojik İhtiyaçlar

Analiz sonucunda psikolojik ihtiyaçlar, *benzer olma/yakınlık/ortaklık kurma ihtiyacı, kabul edilme/saygı duyulma ihtiyacı, kimliği gizleme ihtiyacı, kültürün devam etmesi ihtiyacı, farklı olma ihtiyacı, eşit olma ihtiyacı, anlamlandırma ihtiyacı, sınır koyma/uzaklaşma ihtiyacı, bilme/öğrenme ihtiyacı ve önyargıları yıkma ihtiyacı* şeklinde on alt tema içermiştir.

Benzer olma/yakınlık/ortaklık kurma ihtiyacı. Tüm katılımcılar, benzer olma, yakınlık kurma ve/veya ortak olma gereksinimini yansıtmışlardır. Bunu, diğer kültürlerle veya kendi kültürleriyle benzerliklerini vurgulayarak ifade etmişlerdir.

Selin uzun süredir biri Sünni, biri Alevi olan iki arkadaşıyla ilişkilerinin devam ettiğini, ancak Alevi olana kendini daha yakın hissettiğini belirtmiştir:

Ama şimdi sorarsan mesela kalan iki tane o dönemden arkadaşım var, biri Alevi biri Sünni. Tabi ki Aleviyle daha samimiyim. Ama sanırım bu biraz aynılık duygusundan geliyor. Çok fazla paylaştığım ortak değerim var. Onunla ilgili de olabilir. Öyle.

Mahir başka kültürlerle benzerliğine vurgu yapmıştır:

Ama ilk Türk olmadığımı öğrendiklerinde [arkadaşları] şaşırıyorlardı. Görünüş olarak, konuşma tarzı olarak, davranış olarak diyecem de davranış olarak da çok bir fark olduğunu düşünmüyorum zaten. Hemen hemen birbirimizin aynısıydık. Sadece işte o etnik kökene indiğimizde biraz değişik oluyoruz, o da çok farklı olmuyor zaten. Konuşuluyor, geçiliyor.

Kabul edilme/saygı duyulma ihtiyacı. Katılımcıların çoğu, inanç, din, dil, kültür ve siyasi görüş açısından kabul görme ve saygı duyulması ihtiyacını dile getirmişlerdir. Konuyla ilgili olarak Mahir şunları dile getirmiştir:

Ya da şöyle. İki insanların kendi siyasi görüşlerinin veya dini görüşlerinin farklı olabileceğini anlatmak ki temel unsur bu. Her iki grup da diğer grubun dinine ya da ibadetine ya da ibadet etme şekline saygı duysa hiçbir sıkıntı olmayacak. Şurada patlıyor, ‘bizimki bu, doğru olan da bu. Bizimki doğruysa diğeri yanlış’. Diğer taraf da sizin için böyle düşünüyor. Haliyle bir çatışma oluyor ve anlaşamama durumu.

Benzer şekilde Derya da “Yani onun Alevi olduğunu onun Sünni olduğunu kabul etmek. Hiçbir şekilde ayrımcılık yapmadan.” şeklindeki ifadesiyle bu ihtiyacı ortaya koymuştur.

Kimliği gizleme ihtiyacı. İki katılımcı hariç tüm katılımcılar, kimliği gizleme ihtiyaçlarını ve bunun nedenlerini dile getirmişlerdir. Örneğin, Selim genelde kimliğini göstermediğini, hatta bir noktada Arapça bildiğini bile gizlediğini ifade etmiştir:

Dışarıda da hiçbir zaman kimliğimizi cesaretle söyleyemedik, sıkıştırıldığımız zaman ancak. Yani “Arapça biliyor musun?” denmedikçe Arapça biliyorum dememiştir. Bize “Arapça biliyor musun?” dediklerinde “evet” demek zorundaydım. Hatta birinde çok daha uçuk bir şeyim var. Eğitimdeyken Arapça bilmediğimi çok yakın bir arkadaşına söyledim. Hala utanırım.

Kültürün devam etmesi ihtiyacı. Katılımcıların beşi kendileri için kültürü korumanın önemli olduğunu ifade etmişlerdir. Mahir asimile olmak istemediğini ve bu kültüre ait gelenekleri devam ettirmek istediğini dile getirmiştir: “Şu an ben oradan geldim ve bunu devam ettirmek istiyorum görüşümdedir. Yani asimile olmak istemiyorum.” Ahmet de dinin korunması konusundaki kaygılarını ve ihtiyaçlarını şu şekilde ifade etmiştir:

En önemlisi dini eğitim ın ın imkanı verilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü şu anda maalesef resmi olarak bir dini eğitimimiz yok ve bundan dolayı bir sürü aksaklıklar yaşanıyor. Özellikle gençler kendi dinlerini, kendi kimliklerini tamamen öğrenmeden, kendi kafalarında ulaştıkları cevaplarla yetiniyorlar ve zaman zaman ahlaki yönden zayıf duruma düşüyorlar. Onun için en önemlisi dini eğitim olarak diyebilirim yani.

Farklı olma ihtiyacı. Bazı katılımcılar egemen olan kültürden bazıları ise Arap Alevi kültüründen farklı olma ihtiyacını yansıtmışlardır. Selin, kimliğini savunurken sofistike hale getirerek onları azınlık veya kötü olarak algıladıkları insanlardan farklı olduğunu belirtmiştir:

Körü körüne bir şey savunup ya da körü körüne bir şey ın ı yani körü körüne bir şeye gidersen her türlü, zaten onlarda bir farkın kalmıyor, seni farklı ve kötü görenlerden ya da bir tehdit ya da işte bir azınlık, olumsuz bir azınlık olarak görenlerden bir farkın kalmıyor.

Diğer taraftan Mahir de diğer insanlar tarafından Arap olduğunun anlaşılmadığına vurgu yaparak Arap Alevilerden farklı olduğunu ima etmiştir: “İı mesela İngilizlerle falan konuşuyorduk ‘nerelisin?’ diye sorduklarında aslında Arap olduğumu söylediğimde bi şaşırıyorlardı, benzemiyorsun falan diyorlardı.”

Eşit olma ihtiyacı. Katılımcılardan bazıları hem hükümet tarafından hem de toplum üyeleri tarafından eşit muamele görme ihtiyaçlarını dile getirmişlerdir. Ahmet bu durumu şu şekilde açıklamıştır:

Yani bir ortamda bir insanın herhangi bir işe ya da hizmete ihtiyaç duyduğu zaman ın ın diğer insana, örneğin Sünni olan bir insana, nasıl davranılırsa aynı şekilde öbürüne de davranılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Mesela şu an düşünüyorum da devlet dairelerinde genelde Sünni vatandaşlarımız yerleşmiş durumda, özellikle bu üst düzey olmayan diyeyim çünkü doktorluk gibi, ne bileyim mühendislik gibi şeylerde belli bir başarıyı elde etmen gerekir ki girsin ama daha alt seviyelerdeki mesleklerde, memurluklarda, işçi kısmında daha ziyade bir nevi seçme oluyor. Oralara da bu ayırım yapılmaksızın bizim

insanların da girebilmesini ya da hizmet alırken yine ayırım görmemesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum.

Anlamlandırma ihtiyacı. Katılımcıların bir kısmı kendilerine yönelik tutumları anlamlandırma ihtiyacı içinde olduklarını göstermişlerdir. Fulya bu durumu şu cümlelerle anlatmıştır:

Sürekli bu soruyu sormuşumdur kendime oradayken. Bir Alevi olmak ne demek? Niye bu kadar bu insanları rahatsız ediyor ki? Ne anlatılmış ki? Bir dönem o da çok kafama takıldı. Alevilerle ilgili ne anlatılmış ki bu kadar rahatsız oluyor.

Sınır koyma/uzaklaşma ihtiyacı. Katılımcılardan üçü sınır çizme ve uzaklaşma ihtiyacı bildirmişlerdir. Ahmet, ayrımcılık ve önyargılar yüzünden şu an çalıştığı yerden uzaklaşmak istediğini dile getirmiştir:

Tabi ondan sonra bu biraz herhalde –ben insani yönünden bakıyorum- ama herhalde çevre etnik köken olarak bakıyor bu işe. Orada bir ayrımcılık hissettim. Ondan dolayı bu yerden de soğudum diyebilirim. Yani yoksa daha önce illa bu çevreye geleyim diye bir düşüncem yoktu. Ama evet şu anda artık kendi çevreme doğru kaymak istiyorum. Tabi yakın zamanda bu mümkün değil, onu da biliyorum.

Bilme/öğrenme ihtiyacı. Katılımcılardan ikisi arkadaşlarıyla iletişimlerinde anlamadıkları bazı noktalar olduğunu ve onları anlama ihtiyacı hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir.

Önyargıları yıkma ihtiyacı. Katılımcıların bazıları kendilerine yönelik önyargıları değiştirme, yıkma ihtiyacı içinde olduklarını göstermişlerdir. Örneğin, Fulya, öğretmenlik yaptığı bölgedeki insanların önyargılarını yıkma ihtiyacıyla onlarla iletişim kurduğunu belirtmiştir:

Ben yine komşularıma gidip geliyordum, ben yine o insanlar çağırdığı zaman aralarına giriyordum. İşte oturuyorduk, sohbet ediyorduk. Çünkü en iyi bir insanı siz ortamda tanıyabilirsiniz, anlatabiliyor muyum? Ben iyice kabuğuma çekilmiş olsaydım, eve kapalı kalmış olsaydım ben kendimi anlatamazdım o insanlara. Onlar beni tanısınlar ki bu olayın böyle olmadığını da onlar yaşayarak öğrensinler dedim. Çünkü önyargılıydılar, bunu görebilmiştim. O önyargıyı kırmak gerekiyordu. Oturduk beraber kek yaptık, beraber komşularıyla çaylar içtik, onların akrabalarına ziyaretlerine giderdim.

4.7. Negatif Duygularla ve Deneyimlerle Baş Etme

Bu üst tema etnik kimlik ve ayrımcılıkla ilgili olumsuz duygular ve deneyimlerle baş etme yollarını belirten 16 alt temadan oluşmaktadır. *Güvenli bölgeler / ilişkiler kurma, insanlarla ilişki kurmama/uzaklaşma, değersizleştirme, kaçınma, rasyonalizasyon, suçlama, Türkçe'yi düzgün konuşma çabası ve kendini geliştirme* alt temalardan bazılarıdır.

Güvenli bölgeler / ilişkiler kurma. Katılımcılardan biri hariç, tümü karşılaştıkları olumsuzluklarla güvenli alanlar yaratarak veya güvenli ilişkiler kurarak baş ettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Örneğin, Filiz bu durumla ilgili şöyle bir durum anlatmıştır:

İki tarafta da birbirini ayırıştırın bir yapı var, o zaman ne yapayım ben buradan kaçayım fikri geldi. Ve kaçtım mesela, ODTÜ gibi bir yerde aslında herkesin ayrı ayrı bizden olduğunu ve toplandığımızda karma bir yapı oluşabileceğini öğrendiğimde çok mutlu olmuştum mesela, öyle bir liseden çıktuktan sonra.

İnsanlarla ilişki kurmama/uzaklaşma. Katılımcıların çoğu aşağılandıklarını, ayrımcılığa uğradıklarını hissettikleri ortamlardan uzaklaştıklarını, insanlarla ilişkilerini sürdürmediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Bu duruma Filiz'in şu anlatımı örnek olarak verilebilir:

Direk hatta mülakatta, hiçbir şekilde mesleki hiçbir şey sorulmayıp, sadece işte 'nerelisin? Nerde yaşıyorsun? Haa böyle mi düşünüyorsun? Ha sen bir de ODTÜ mezunusun? Ne yaptın? Gezi'de de orda mıydın? Gözaltı var mı?'. Bu kadar ağır ithamlar içeren sorular sorup, bu şekilde bakışların değişmesi, bu şekilde ayırıştırılmak, belki de o insanların yine korktuğu bir eleman olmak, yani 'ben bunu alırsam, bize gelen öğrenci profili belli, Allah bilir ne olacak?' korkusunu hissetmek insanlarda, evet yani, koşarak kaçtığımı hatırlıyorum.

Değersizleştirme. Görüşmeler sırasında katılımcıların neredeyse tamamı, önyargılı olan veya ayrımcılık yapan kişileri değersizleştirme girişiminde bulunmuştur. Örneğin Demet, onları kendi inancı doğrultusunda etkilemeye çalışan kadının ibadetini göz ardı etmiştir.

O kadın bence namaz kılmayı bile bilmiyordu. Şov yapmak için geldi çünkü oturup kalkacaktı belki de önümüzde. Oruç tutmak çok kolay bir şey, yemek yemezsin, dua edersin. Onu bile yapamayan bir insan namaz kılamazdı bence. O kadın şov yapıyor orda. Bizi çekmeye çalışıyor.

BÖLÜM 5

TARTIŞMA VE SONUÇ

Bu çalışma, klinik psikoloji alanında kültürel kimliğin göz önünde bulundurulması açısından önem arz etmektedir. Tüm temalar dikkatli bir şekilde analiz edildiğinde, hepsinin birbiriyle ilişkileri olduğu ve hatta iç içe geçmiş oldukları görülür. Kimliğin oluşum sürecinin diğer etnik/dini kimliklerle olan karşılaşmalar sonucu başladığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu karşılaşmalar genellikle ayrımcılık, damgalama, ötekileştirilme veya önyargı gibi olumsuz deneyimleri içermektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu deneyimlerden çıkan duygular, etnik/dini kimliğin kendisi ile de ilişkilendirilir. Bu karşılaşmaların çoğunlukla ergenlik dönemine denk geldiği görülmektedir. Çünkü katılımcılar, o dönemde eğitim için yaşadıkları köyün veya kendi kültürlerinin dışına çıkmışlardır. Üniversitede veya sonrasında kimliğini daha iyi kabul etmeye başladıkları ve bununla gurur duydukları görülmüştür. Bununla birlikte, Iwamoto ve meslektaşları (2013) bireylerin işyerlerinde yeni ayrımcılıklarla karşılaştıklarını göstermişlerdir. Bu çalışmada, katılımcılardan bazılarının üniversite eğitimi sırasında rahat olduklarını ve olumsuz durumlarla karşılaşmadıklarını ancak çalışma ortamlarında ayrımcılık ve önyargı ile karşılaştıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Katılımcıların maruz kaldıkları negatif olaylar, yine katılımcıların diğerlerinin Arap Alevilerini nasıl algıladıklarına ilişkin algısını oluşturur. Katılımcıların Arap Alevi kimliğini nasıl tanımladığını göz önüne aldığımızda, kendilerini tanımlamalarıyla paralellik gösterdiğini görürüz. Ek olarak, katılımcıların kendileri ve Arap Alevi kimliğine ilişkin tanımlamaları, egemen kültüre ait Arap Alevileri tanımlama ile karşıt özelliklere sahip bazı yönleri içerdiği görülmüştür. Örneğin, Arap Alevilerinin ihanet ettiğine dair bir algı olduğunu söyleyen katılımcı, kendisinin bir Türkiye vatandaşı olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Buna ek olarak, bazı katılımcılar, Arap Alevilerin inançsız olduğu algısına karşı özellikle kendilerini inançlı olarak tanımlamışlardır.

Bu çalışmada, katılımcılar negatif deneyimleriyle ilişkili olarak bir çok negatif duygu rapor etmişlerdir. Ancak, Contrada ve arkadaşlarının (2000) belirttiği gibi azınlık kültürel gruplara ait bireyler her zaman bir mağdur olarak algılanmamalı.

Aksine, yaşadıkları olumsuz deneyimler karşısında nasıl baş edeceklerini sorgulayarak, araştırarak daha güçlü bir kimliğe bürünebilmektedirler.

Ortaya çıkan temalar düşünüldüğünde, etnik kimlik süreci Lacan'ın ayna aşamasına tekabül etmektedir. Bebeğin aynadaki görüntüsüyle ilk karşılaşması gibi, kültürel azınlık gruplarının farklı olma konusundaki ilk karşılaşmaları, kişiyi kimlik tutarlılığının eksikliği nedeniyle şaşkına çevirip hayal kırıklığına uğratabilmektedir. Bireyler öncelikle herkesin aynı olduğunu düşünür (bebeğin annenin uzantısı olduğunu düşünmesi gibi); ancak, daha sonra farklı olduklarını ve yeterli oldukları hissi taşıdıklarını fark ettiler. Lacan'a göre, bu pozisyon depresif belirtilere neden olabilir. Ek olarak, İmgesel alanda, özne ile diğer insanlar arasındaki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar görülür ve bunlardan biri onları cezbeder veya bunlardan uzaklaşır. Mevcut çalışmada, bazı katılımcıların egemen kültürün bireyleri tarafından etkiledikleri ve onlarla özdeşleşmeye çalışıldığı, bazılarının ise onlardan farklı olma eğiliminde olduğu gözlemlenmiştir.

Appendix B: Curriculum Vitae

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Büyükaşık Çolak, Canan
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 21 February 1984 , Hatay
Marital Status: Married
email: cananbuyuka@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Clinical Psychology	2010
BS	METU Psychology	2007
High School	Selim Nevzat Şahin Anatolia High School, Hatay	2002

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2008- Present	METU Department of Psychology	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

1. Bozo, Ö., Gündoğdu, E. & Büyükaşık-Çolak, C. (2009). The moderating role of different sources of perceived social support on the dispositional optimism-posttraumatic growth relationship in postoperative breast cancer patients. *Journal of Health Psychology, 14*, 1009-1020.
2. Büyükaşık-Çolak, C., Gündoğdu-Aktürk, E., & Bozo, Ö. (2012). The Mediating Role of Coping in the Dispositional Optimism—Posttraumatic Growth Relation in Breast Cancer Patients. *The Journal of Psychology, 146*, 471-483.

REVIEWER

AYNA Klinik Psikoloji Dergisi, 2014-present.

Appendix C: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Büyükaşık Çolak
Adı : Canan
Bölümü : Psikoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Clinical Interpretations of Emotions, Psychological Needs, and Ways of Coping Associated with Cultural Identity: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: