

A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY ON YOUNG PEOPLE’S VALUE DIFFERENCES FROM
THEIR PARENTS ALONG THE MATERIALIST/POSTMATERIALIST AXIS

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ISTANBUL, 2022

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to discover the challenges for secular middle-class youth in Turkey with materialist-postmaterialist value differences with their parents climbing the social ladder. The fact that the focused group is comparatively more advantageous than the lower-income groups in terms of socioeconomics can make their problems invisible. In this respect, the subject of this study has not been adequately covered in the literature, and it is crucial to study. The study used the in-depth interview method, and eight young people between the ages of 20 and 30 were reached with snowball sampling. Since the materialist-postmaterialist value difference is based on socioeconomic improvement in Ronald Inglehart's theory of value change, in this study, attention was paid to the fact that the parents of the young people were born in poor families and climb the social ladder through university or vocational education in order to better capture the value difference in this sense and to see its effect. Thus, it is predicted that parents who grow up in a poor family will have materialist values, while their children who grow up in a more wealthy family will have postmaterialist values. The data obtained at the end of the interviews showed that the subjective well-being of young people who have value differences from their parents is damaged, and they become more vulnerable psychologically. In addition, it has been observed that the state administration in Turkey directly offering a set of values and a lifestyle to the youth negatively affects their happiness and sense of belonging.

Keywords: Materialist, postmaterialist, values, subjective well-being, mental health sense of belonging.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de ebeveynleri sosyal sınıf atlamış ve materyalist-postmateryalist değer farklılıklarına sahip seküler orta sınıf gençliğin yaşadığı zorlukları keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Odaklanılan grubun sosyoekonomik açıdan alt gelir gruplarından göreceli olarak daha avantajlı durumda olması, yaşadıkları sıkıntıları görünmez kılabilir. Bu açıdan bu çalışma konusuna literatürde yeterince yer verilmemiştir ve çalışılması önemlidir. Çalışmada yöntem olarak derinlemesine görüşme kullanılmış, 20 ve 30 yaş aralığında sekiz gence kartopu örneklem ile ulaşılmıştır. Ronald Inglehart’ın değer değişim teorisinde materialist-postmaterialist değer farkı sosyoekonomik iyileşmeye dayandırıldığından, bu çalışmada da bu anlamdaki değer farkını daha iyi yakalamak ve etkisini görebilmek için, gençlerin ebeveynlerinin yoksul ailelerde doğup üniversite veya mesleki eğitim aracılığıyla sınıf atlamış olmalarına dikkat edilmiştir. Böylece, yoksul bir ailede büyüyen ebeveynlerin materialist, daha varlıklı bir ailede büyüyen çocuklarının ise postmaterialist değerlere sahip olacağı öngörülmüştür. Görüşmeler sonunda elde edilen veri, ebeveynleriyle değer farkı yaşayan gençlerin öznel iyi oluşlarının zarar görebileceği ve psikolojik olarak daha kırılgan olabileceklerini göstermiştir. Buna ek olarak Türkiye’de devlet yönetiminin gençlere doğrudan bir değerler seti ve yaşam biçimi sunmasının da gençlerin mutluluklarını ve aidiyet duygularını negatif etkilediği gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Materyalist, postmateryalist, değerler, öznel iyi oluş, akıl sağlığı, aidiyet duygusu

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Prof. G. Demet Lüküslü for her exceptional patience and guidance through the writing process of my thesis. The jury members Assoc. Prof. Fazilet Ahi Özmen Akalın, and Assist. Prof. Aysu Banu Koçer Reisman, I am grateful for their suggestions and contributions.

I need to express special thankfulness to the administration of the Political Science and International Relations department at Yeditepe University. To Prof. Cengiz Erişen for keeping me on track with grace, Assoc. Prof. Gizem Alioğlu Çakmak for her valuable encouragement, and Selin Türkeş Kılıç for sharing her memorable experiences with me and giving me a perspective; I feel blessed to have your support.

My colleagues Emirhan Duran, Batuhan Şar, and Furkan Durmaz deserve my special thanks for their understanding and support during the most challenging days.

Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my family and Assist. Prof. Ebru İlter Akarçay. We expect to share unconditional love and support with our blood relatives, but establishing such a bond with someone we are not related with blood is one of the unique treasures found on earth. I am one of the luckiest people in the world.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The youth is such a loaded concept that even defining it is challenging. It is not all about biology and age. We see a married guy with a child at 22 and a student at 29. Kehily (2007) states that youth is a life stage between childhood and adulthood. Therefore being a youth, as a transitory category defined by reference to other stages, is a sociological, historical, and cultural process but not a biological one (Wyn & White, 1997). Bourdieu¹ (2016) emphasizes the concept's socially constructed nature and states that "youth is just a word." Again, not just the definition, but the lived experience of being young is also challenging. In society, youth represents the country's future, change, and progress (Lüküslü, 2020). In this sense, Turkey is not an exception, and there is a high expectation from young people.

Turkey's forthcoming presidential and parliamentary elections in June 2023 are the main reason behind the widespread contemporary expectation. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute's 2023 population projection, 13.54% of the general population (6,220,549 people aged between 17-23) will vote for the first time in June 2023 elections. For this reason, there is a heated debate about the values, priorities, and voting behavior of young people in Turkey addressed in newspapers, news channels, and discussion programs as "Generation Z." But what do we know about young people in Turkey? Before the answer, I should note that naming generations are shaped around marketing literature and based on the U.S.A. society. Adhering to Karl Mannheim's "Problem of Generations" study, first published in English in 1952², generation means a similar age group (cohort) with similar historical and social experiences (Mannheim, 1952).

Consequently, Generation Z refers to young people born in the second half of the 1990s and early 2000s with similar incidents in the U.S.A. society. Because of globalization, the same age cohort in Turkey has similarities with Generation Z. Knowing that generations are not homogeneous (Mannheim, 1952), the particular generation unit of the study will be young people coming from secular middle-class families with similar

¹ Originally published in French as "Questions de Sociologie" in 1981.

² Original publication is in German, 1928.

characteristics to Generation Z, aged between 20 and 30. I aimed with this study to discover the challenges for secular middle-class youth having materialist-postmaterialist value differences with their parents in Turkey. In other words, I intended to search for how it is to be young in a middle-class secular family with parents who experienced upward mobility in Turkey.

According to Ronald Inglehart, the generation living in poverty in their childhood has materialist values and prioritizes security and economic well-being (Inglehart, 1977). Starting with *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Ronald Inglehart examined over an extended time period how this fundamental socio-economic difference shapes the values of individuals and how those values affect European politics (Inglehart, 1977). In the process up to the present, Inglehart has preserved his claim that he put forward in 1977 and has based his current studies on this argument (Inglehart, 1981; 1990; 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Norris & Inglehart, 2019). The main breaking point behind my idea is based on Xavier Gaullier's generation analysis. According to Gaullier, rapid societal change can cause breaks in intergenerational interaction (Gaullier, 1998, p. 33, as cited in Lüküslü, 2008). In the section of society I focused on, two generations in the same house coexisting together: materialist parents, and postmaterialist children. Socioeconomic change causes value change, but rapid societal change may lead to experience it in the same household which causes breaks in intergenerational interaction.

On the other hand, with the changing socio-economic conditions, the children of the materialist generation are born above a certain level of welfare (Inglehart refer to this as "survival taken-for-granted") which makes them prioritize not security and economic well-being but autonomy and self-expression. The values of these children are beyond materialism; they are post-materialist (Inglehart, 1977). From this point of view, I revealed how the existing social contract, which has become inoperative between materialist and postmaterialist generations, causes ruptures in the interaction between generations and how this disconnection affects the experience of being young in the Turkish context.

The topic is significant in several aspects. Firstly, relative to youngsters from low socio-economic status families, the struggle of the mentioned group of people is invisible

because of the taken-for-granted, certain level of socio-economic facilities. However, the strife of every segment of society is considerable and worth working on. Second, I took a theory from the field of political science and apply it to sociology. In doing so, I studied the impact of changing values on individuals, not the change in society, as Inglehart did.

Given the Turkish Statistical Institute's suicide data, life experiences and subjective well-beings of young age groups are issues that should be carefully considered³.

As underlined by the discipline of sociology since its beginning, as Durkheim argued in his study of Suicide (2005)⁴, this dissertation underlined how a very personal feeling is directly linked with social facts. For my study, I used the in-depth interview as a methodological tool to access data. Accordingly, I started with a summary of Inglehart's theory and the case of Turkey, and then followed the methodology part before the findings of study.

³ According to 2019 data, the age group in which suicide is most common is 20-24 with 12.2%. This rate is followed by 30-34 age groups with 10.9%, 25-29 age groups with 10.7%, and 15-19% age groups with 9.3%. When we look at the trend over the years, we see that there are ups and downs among themselves, but the highest rates are always among these age groups.

⁴ First published in German in 1897, in English in 1952.

2. VALUES AND GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCE: MATERIALIST VS POSTMATERIALIST VALUES

Ronald Inglehart brings a point of view to the modernization theories by considering people's values (Inglehart, 1977). In doing this, he draws on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Pyramid (1943). According to Maslow, human behavior has five main motivations, and there is a hierarchical order among them. The first and most basic one is physiological needs. These needs include survival needs such as shelter, food, water, and reproduction (Maslow, 1943). Human beings take their motivation to the next level only after meeting these vital needs at the pyramid's base. When survival needs are satisfied, safety needs come to the fore. This time, human behavior is motivated by activities that will ensure physical and economic security (Maslow, 1943). Materialist values come to the fore in the absence of these two steps: The values of people who grew up in need of physiological and safety needs are shaped accordingly, and they act following these needs in the future. As the survival and security concerns disappear, the needs for love and belonging come to the fore this time (Maslow, 1943). Emotional needs such as bonding with family and friends, belonging to a group, and intimacy are the main determinants of behavior at this stage. After these first three stages, which Maslow marked as lower needs, esteem and self-actualization (higher needs) stand out. The first stage is feeling that the person is valuable and deserves respect (self-respect) and confidence in his/her potential (self-esteem) (Maslow, 1943). Self-actualization in the last pyramid stage is about realizing one's potential. The last three levels of the pyramid can also be related to postmaterialist values.

According to Inglehart, economic growth and stability during the post-World War II era have changed people's values in Western countries. Before the increasing prosperity (in the aftermath of World War II), people prioritized physiological and safety needs. These are needs like food, personal security, property, and employment (Maslow, 1943). Inglehart points out that in such an environment, with survival issues, people's needs shape personal values in a materialistic way (Inglehart, 1977). Therefore, they prioritize economic growth and maintaining order (economic and physical security). People with materialist values, need strong leaders and government for order, and fundamentalism is more visible in their political behavior. Economically, they prioritize economic growth and private or state ownership. Their source of motivation is personal

achievement. Emphasis on absolute rules, predictability and higher power in religion are more salient. In a family, they maximize reproduction but only in a heterosexual family (Inglehart, 1997, p. 48). The Conservatism is tangible in all their values.

Changing socioeconomic conditions after World War II changed the values of age cohorts born in relatively higher levels of prosperity. This meant the needs of the younger generation were no longer the same as those of the older generation. Because after World War II, survival was not an issue anymore; it was taken for granted (Inglehart, 1977). Therefore, we take Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs one step further and encounter the necessities of love, belonging, a sense of connection, freedom, self-esteem, and self-actualization, respectively (Maslow, 1943). Inglehart argues that people who grow with these needs during their early childhood will also value things like freedom of speech, self-expression, and gender equality (self-expression and the quality of life) (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). He calls these values postmaterialist values. There is a de-emphasis on political authority but a demand for self-expression and participation in political aspects. While the authority of state and individual ownership loses its significance among postmaterialist people, the top priority is the quality of life and their subjective well-being. Flexible rules and situational ethics also replace rigid religious authority. Individual sexual gratification, self-expression, and the emphasis on the meaning and purpose of life are at the forefront (Inglehart, 1997, p. 48).

One of the most critical handicaps of this theory is that people's values may differ in their youth and adulthood. Cohorts born at a time of higher welfare may have postmaterialist values in their youth but may have materialist values when they get older. Therefore, an intergenerational value gap may not occur. Inglehart clarifies this point with the socialization mechanism (Inglehart, 1981). According to him, people's values are shaped in early childhood, and these values remain mostly constant in adulthood. Hence, the values of people who spent their early childhood under different socioeconomic conditions differ, and these values established in childhood do not change substantially in adulthood (Inglehart, 1997). The effort of the older generation to transfer their values (cultural heritage) to the younger generation will conflict with the actual experiences of the younger generation, and the intergenerational value change will take place in the long run (Inglehart, 1981).

Ronald Inglehart preserved his materialist-postmaterialist value change argument from the Silent Revolution, which he wrote in 1977, in his studies until today. In addition, he continued to use statistical measurements in his research according to the postmaterialist index in the World Values Survey, which he pioneered in the 1970s. In the book they wrote with Christian Welzel in 2005, they highlight the relationship between economic development, cultural (value) change and democracy by highlighting self-expression values, which are based on postmaterialist values (these are the core components) and measured with the postmaterialist index, but which emphasize equality and freedom more (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Another study, which claimed that rising populist support in Western countries might be a reaction against postmaterialist values, was published in 2019. According to the argument they expressed as *The Backlash against the Silent Revolution*, the postmaterialist values and attitudes of the younger generation caused a reaction in previous generations and led them to give stronger support to authoritarian-populist parties (Norris & Inglehart, 2019). In his most recently published book, he stuck to his previous argument and studied how the change in economic conditions eroded traditional norms and how this caused a worldwide decline in religiosity and how it could have future implications (Inglehart, 2021).

In summary, Inglehart argues that value change is caused by socioeconomic change, which in turn causes cultural change. By generalizing this connection to Western countries, he puts advanced democracy on the ground of cultural change. I do not aim to explain advanced democracies, but I follow Inglehart's theoretical framework in my study. In my hypothesis, the similar social and historical experience that shapes the generations (as Mannheim argues) is the improving socioeconomic conditions that Inglehart mentions in his theory. Meanwhile, the change in values caused by changing socioeconomic conditions is the crisis that Gaullier points out as causing breaks in intergenerational interaction (Gaullier, 1998, p. 33, as cited in Lüküslü, 2008). Therefore, two generations that have experienced different absences during their childhood, have different values, and have a related break in intergenerational interaction.

The value change theory was developed on Western societies. Inglehart bases his theory on the changing socioeconomic conditions and the increase in economic welfare after

the war. Economic growth positively correlates with being included in the global capitalist system (Firebaugh, 1996). Europe, which experienced the Bourgeois Revolution in the 18th Century and is the locomotive of capitalism, where the concept of Laissez-faire, Laissez-passer, was born. However, in the case of Turkey, the progress and establishment of capitalism started at the beginning of the 20th Century (Boratav, 2019, p.285). The difference lies not only in temporality but also in the structure of the respective societies and people's values. Although we observe a certain level of economic growth in Turkey in the last 200 years (relatively slow in the pre-republican period but accelerated after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey) (Pamuk, 2021), it did not cause the value and cultural change that Inglehart proposed. Therefore, I should emphasize that when we talk about value change in Turkey, we talk about something different from Europe. The materialism-postmaterialism value change in the Turkish case is among those who experience socioeconomic change at the individual level, not at the level that will change the culture in general. In order to understand Inglehart's theory of value change in the case of Turkey, we need to understand how society's values have been shaped since the beginning.

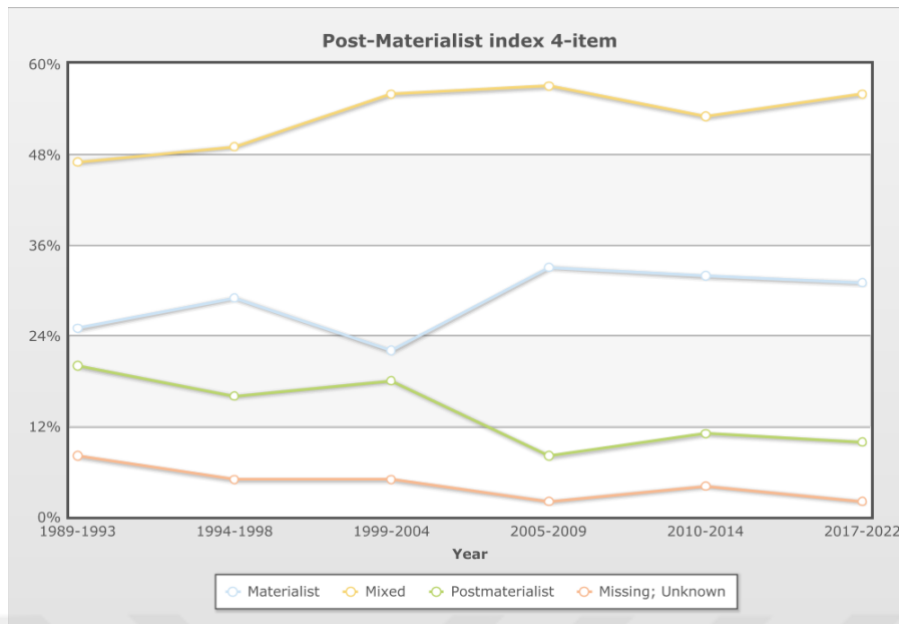
Discussions revolving around value change in Turkey go back to 1980s. Even though the change in values is a common phenomenon in every society, concerns are raised in Turkey since the beginning of the 1980s that the society's values were increasingly degrading. This was because the change in society from agricultural to industrial economic basis has gained speed with neoliberal policies and globalization. During the 1980s, the country's population more than doubled, rural-urban migration (urbanization) increased, and the economy shifted highly from agriculture to the service sector. While there was no significant middle-class at the establishment of the Republic (Boratav, 2019; Keyder, 1987; Pamuk, 2021), with the expansion of university education in the 1960s (Lüküslü, 2020), the middle-class emerged during early 1980s (Uner & Gungordu, 2016) reaching 45% of the total population during these years (Yılmaz, 2007).

Educated people from the first generation of the Republic of Turkey unhappy were with the changing values and blister this change in their memoirs (Atabek, 2003; 2010; Urgan, 2021). For example, Mîna Urgan (1915 - 2000), a professor of English Literature, disapprovingly uses the statement of "Özal's Children" in her memoir to

refer to the youth of the 1980s who grew up in the new order of society (Urgan, 2021). Among the values expressed with contempt, are selfishness and self-interest rather than collective benefit, increasing emphasis on materiality and financial success (the American dream), and weakening trust in the institutions. In the contemporary political, social and economic landscape of the country, corruption and bribery are no longer condemned but normalized so much so that they are even presented as handy and permissible mechanisms to reach one's goals (Esmer, 1998, p. 45). Self-interest, materiality, and financial success bring the economic dimension of materialist values to mind that is, prioritization of economic growth, individual ownership, and achievement as the source of motivation.

According to the global database World Values Survey (WVS), which explores people's values & beliefs, their change over time, and their socio-political impact, the Turkish society does not fully align with western society patterns. While institutions such as the family, religion, and the army in the Ottoman tradition were still at the center of the social value system in the 1990s, it is seen that traditional values are eroded at the same time (Ergüder, Esmer & Kalaycıoğlu, 1991). Figure 1 shows Turkey's materialism-postmaterialism value distribution between 1989 and 2022. In Turkey, mixed values are the highest on average, while postmaterialist values are the lowest. In addition, it should be noted that postmaterialist values decrease over time. Although we did not have systematically collected data like the WVS prior to 1989, it can be said that the 1980s were the years when materialist values increased. People have moved from a collectivist attitude to an individualist one especially in economics. Desire for making more and more money and personal success came to the fore. Mentioned similarities with the economic pillar of materialist values affirm the change.

Figure 1: Materialist-Postmaterialist Value Distribution in Turkey between 1989-2022.



Source: World Values Survey. <https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>

Esmer (1998) states that the importance attributed to money in the 1980s may cause a tendency toward postmaterialist values in the following process. In his study published in 2012, he mentions that Turkey has not yet broken away from the values associated with survival and the postmaterialists are almost non-existent (Esmer, 2012). Considering these value distributions together with age, we see that until 2018, people aged 50 and over had the highest share in materialist values, and people up to 29 years old in postmaterialist values. However, in the 2018 data, we observe that the value distribution of all age groups has almost reached the same point. Postmaterialist values even show that people aged 50 and over slightly exceed the younger cohorts. You can find the corresponding figures in the Appendix part.

So how does the value change in Turkey affect young people? When discussing values in Turkey, it is necessary to think about them together with the state and education institutions. It is because values are used to shape young people (and, therefore, the country's future) through education throughout the Republic's history. Therefore, I should emphasize here that we are talking about two dimensions when we point out value change: the first is the direct determination of a value system by the state and its imposition on young people through education, and the second is the indirect effect of changes in the organic functioning of society on value systems. The values of the founders of the Republic of Turkey are values that have been created organically.

However, in the following process, these values were instilled in the youth through education to create national consciousness.

Republican values emerged in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, accompanied by changes in the schooling system. The Ottoman Empire, which started to fall behind Europe, started some reforms at the end of the 18th century to keep up with the changing world (Heper, 2006). At the forefront of these reforms were those made in the field of education. The traditional Ottoman education system (*mektep* and *medrese*) began to break away, and Mahmut II started to include secular schools in the system for the first time (Lüküslü, 2020). The practices of systematizing education, which started in the military field, continued in the civil field during the Tanzimat period (1839-1876) (Wishnitzer, 2010). With these reforms, students started to enter classes according to age groups and take time-tabled lessons, unlike the traditional system. This break with tradition triggered peer socialization. Because now, the master-apprentice relationship based on age hierarchy (vertical socialization) has started to lose ground to horizontal socialization and peer relationships (Wishnitzer, 2010).

All these developments led to the formation of generations in the Ottoman Empire. Based on this, François Georgeon (2012, p. 69-78) asked, “Can the concept of generation be the key to understanding the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Kemalist Turkey?” His question is helpful to understand the Republican values which were later used as an education policy to raise Kemalist, modern, and national youth. According to him, “schooled youth” (*Mektepli gençlik*) has emerged with the changing education system of Ottoman Empire. People who participated in a community with peers (*Harbiye, Tıbbiye, Mülkiye*) formed a community with a new type of solidarity (horizontal socialization). Thereupon Abdulhamid II tyrannical regime led young students to share a common historical experience (Georgeon, 2012). As we will remember from Mannheim, shared historical experience is one of the essential criteria for talking about a generation (1952). In the last periods of the Ottoman Empire, the struggles against this common historical experience (the Period of Autocracy – *İstibdat Rejimi*) were shaped in the schools as mentioned above. They formed the basis of the “Young Turk Movement” (Georgeon, 2012).

The Young Turk Movement was not the only movement of the period. It is also necessary to mention the New Ottomans Society, which was founded in 1865, and the İttihad-ı Osmanlı Cemiyeti (later became the Committee of Union and Progress), founded in 1889 by five students from the Military Medical School (Tıbbiye) (Akşin, 2019; Heper, 2006). The typical features of these formations are that well-educated segments founded them, and they received support from these segments of society. This generation is educated Ottoman intellectuals who took it upon themselves to save the country from the harmful environment it was in, revive the state, have a voice among the world's states, save the nation from oppression and captivity, and ensure that it lived worthy of humanity (Ahmad, 2016; Akşin, 2006; Heper, 2006). When we look at their political ideology and values, we see freedom, justice, patriotism, reformism, and democracy (Akşin, 2019; Georgeon, 2012; Heper, 2006; Özdemir, 2000; Zürcher, 2008;).

It should be noted here that the last generation of the Ottoman Empire was not homogeneous either. They also have differences of opinion among themselves. The groups that advocate the continuation of the Empire should not be forgotten. The concept of freedom (the term *Hürriyet* was often used at that time) (Georgeon, 2012) should be understood as the freedom of the state, rather than individual freedom. There is a collective stance on the values and principles of this period, far from individuality.

The system of values that emerged as a result of all these processes and those who adopted it led to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Common values were used to create an Imagined Community (Anderson, 2014; Seton-Watson, 1977) among Ottoman subjects under the nation-state and to instill national consciousness in citizens. The founders of the Republic wanted to establish a national education system that would spread Atatürk's Revolutions and the values of the republic to the general public (Türkoğlu, 2020). These policies implemented in Turkey, in the words of Lüküslü (2020), caused the formation of a Myth of Youth: youngsters living for the homeland, working hard for the country, defining the youth as a political category and an identity, which constituted the core of the republican values. Young people carried the duty of protecting the country and ensuring its survival until the 1980s. The change in value in the 1980s resulted from changes in society, apart from the state's direct influence on values.

The 1980s was a time of breaking for Turkey. Violence, the 1980 coup bans on politicians and those involved in politics, changes in economic policies, the massification of university education, neoliberalism, and globalization have also changed the values of educated youth. Young people are no longer ready to make all kinds of sacrifices to “save the country,” exist for the country, and work for society (Lüküslü, 2020, p. 167). There is a shift from collectivity to the individual. Young people “begin to make materialistic and conformist demands (like a good job, a good house, a good car, a good family) for their future, and they fear unemployment and lack of money the most” (Lüküslü, 2020, p. 166).

In the 1960s and 70s, each politically-organized group of youth was criticized and even murdered by those of the opposite view. Young people who grew up in the climate that emerged in the 1980s were criticized for being apolitical this time. The 1980s did not just cause the changes I mentioned. At the same time, it was the era when the rise of Political Islam in Turkey accelerated. After the AKP came to power in 2002, the values given by the state through education changed and the profile of the ideal youth (the future identity of the country) shifted from Kemalist, modern, and national youth to a pious generation (Lüküslü, 2016). The new “ideal citizen” and “other” distinction through schools has been more sharply imposed by the AKP government since 2011 (Eroler, 2019). Anyone and any activity that stood outside the line that the government considered reasonable has been marginalized and even banned. The recently banned concerts and festivals and the LGBT Pride Parade can be given as an example in this respect (Birgün, 2022; Gazeteduvar, 2022). These government policies pressure young people and make their lives more difficult. The group of youth I focus on comes from the secular middle-class that the government is trying to suppress. These young people, who are increasingly squeezed into narrow spaces in society, also experience conflicts of values with their parents at home.

The experience of being young is a historically and culturally changing concept. The experience of being young in the 1950s is not the same as the experience of being young in the 2000s. It is more about the social process than an age-related situation; anything that affects the social process will affect the youth experience. (Wyn & White, 1997). That is why youth (or generations) are not homogeneous or static (Mannheim, 1952;

Wyn & White, 1997). This difference is not something parents are aware of, and they expect the same in their children's youth as they did in their youth. Adult-centered perspectives accept the youth as a transitional category (transition perspectives), and other categories define the limits of being young (Furlong, Woodman & Wyn, 2011). According to a study conducted in the USA, there are five critical markers for adulthood; finishing school, getting a full-time job or earning your own money (economic independence), leaving your parent's home, getting married, and having children (Settersten, 2012).

Reiterating the emphasis that the category is not homogeneous, Settersten's five criteria also seem to be valid for middle-class youth in Turkey. Among these, the criterion of economic independence gains even more importance, as one must earn his/her own money for the criteria of leaving parents' home, getting married, and having children. The economic crisis, which has increased its impact on Turkey since 2018, has also increased the difficulties of being young (Kaya Erdoğan, 2021). The son of a father who was a married adult with a child and paid job in his 20s in 1980 may be at the same age, unemployed, and living in his parents' house today. Parents unaware of the effects of the changing social structure on their children can blame latter, and the young can be crushed under this burden. As I mentioned above, it is crucial to understand how the youth experience is affected in the family house and in a country where the values of young people and how they "should be" are directly interfered with by economic and political uncertainties.

3. METHODOLOGY

I used the in-depth interview as the primary data collection method for the research. One of the reasons for this is the difficulty of quantitatively measuring variables such as happiness and life satisfaction. Behind this difficulty is the fact that the definition of these two states differs between individuals. While one can answer “yes” to the “Are you happy?” question, when the question is discussed in depth, it can be seen that the answer “yes” is superficial. It was a situation that I observed in my interviews as well. While the answers given by the young people to the question asked while the interview was still cold may be positive, I noticed that both their thinking times and their answers varied when they were allowed to think in context. The fact that they trusted me as the interview progressed may have also affected it. Because while they were more comfortable in explaining their positive answers, the explanation of the answer “I am not happy” was a more disturbing process for the young people as it required them to give personal details. It made it more difficult for them to do this without trusting the researcher, me.

In addition, in-depth interview method allows access to detailed data on the participants’ beliefs, perceptions, and experiences (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). The eye contact that the informants make with the researcher, the parts they break this contact the body language they use while speaking, the parts of the interview where their voices rise, fall, and tremble, and the moments where their eyes fill with tears and they start to cry are also vital data for the research. In-depth interviews allow access to these details. In short, an in-depth interview was preferred because it is a method that allows the researcher to have an opinion on the topics the interviewee does not explain as much, and that makes it possible to examine the research question in detail (Kümbetoğlu, 2021, p. 71).

Since the research explored is the effect of changing values on the subjective well-being of young people, the essential criterion was the upward mobility of informants’ parents, with the assumption that the materialist-postmaterialist value difference could be observed. Here, what I mean by upward mobility is intergenerational mobility. That is mobility between the class of origin (parental class) and the class of destination (individual’s current class). For this, I consider ensuring that the grandparent profession

is a first or second skill level job in the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88) system, and the parent profession is a third or fourth skill level job. These levels indicate the educational status of the people. You can find more detailed information in Table 1.

Table 1a. Skill Levels of ISCO-88	
Skill Level	Education Qualification
First Skill Level	Primary Education (approximately 5 years)
Second Skill Level	Secondary Education (between 5 and 7 years)
Third Skill Level	Tertiary Education (between 3 and 4 years): Not leading to a university degree
Fourth Skill Level	Tertiary Education (between 3 and 6 years): Leading to a university degree or equivalent
Source: Bergman & Joye, 2001.	

Table 1b: Major Groups and Skill Level of ISCO-88		
Code	Major Groups	Skill Level
1	Legislators, senior officials, and managers	n/a
2	Professionals	4th
3	Technicians and associate professionals	3rd
4	Clerks	2nd
5	Service workers and shop and market sales workers	2nd
6	Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2nd
7	Craft and related trades workers	2nd
8	Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2nd
9	Elementary occupations	1st
0	Armed Forces	n/a
Source: Bergman & Joye, 2001.		

Based on previous social stratification studies, parents' criteria for moving up the social ladder were determined by whether they had a university education or vocational training (Breen, 2010; Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Breen & Luijkx, 2004). Nevertheless, it should be noted that what I am talking about here is not relative social mobility. I am not mentioning an individual upwards mobility depending on the skills of individuals in a society where social fluidity exists. Of course, social fluidity and merit are necessary, but there is also a massive upward mobility (absolute or total social mobility). It can be observed when the structure of society (e.g., from agricultural to industrial society) changes. In such cases, the occupational structure changes, the demand for qualification increases, there is an educational expansion, and a larger area is available for a skilled workforce (Bell, 1973; Blau & Duncan, 1967; Breen & Luijkx, 2004; Kerr et al., 1960). In short, the social changes in occupational structure and the transition occur massively from the lower to the upper layers.

This structural change is crucial to understanding the study's methodology and argument. First of all, there may be situations where the class of origin of the individual is more decisive for upward mobility than the education and merits (ability and effort) s/he has (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1999). However, the change in the social structure and mass upward mobility removes the focus of my study from the individual level and paves the way for a social discussion. In a study they conducted on 11 European states, Breen and Luijkx (2004) observed that the class structures of countries changed significantly in the 1970s and 1980s, and intergenerational mobility increased. Emphasizing that this trend continued in the 1990s, the authors state that farming occupations tend to decrease in these countries where agriculture is an important sector, while the upper and lower service class (Goldthorpe et al., 1987) are on an upward trend. In the case of Turkey, similar changes can be seen in the same decades. The socioeconomic changes mentioned in the theory section, the increasing migration from rural to urban areas, the transition from agriculture to the service sector, the increase in the number of schools, and the increase in the number of qualified workforces caused total social mobility, and the middle class was formed as a result.

I reached the target audience of the study with the snowball strategy. This strategy works in such a way that the interviewees give the name of another person with similar characteristics. Thus the sample grows as they are interviewed like a snowball

(Kümbetoğlu, 2021, p. 99). The hard-to-reach, disadvantaged groups in society are relatively more accessible with snowball sampling than other sampling techniques (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019). It is not randomized and is preferred when there is no information about the size of the universe (Black, 2002, p. 55). Even though it is used in exploring topics “particularly sensitive and vulnerable, and require a degree of trust in order to become a willing participant, it should be noted, however, that snowball sampling is employed for accessing the everyday, mundane, and mainstream.” (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019) Since the snowball sample is non-random, it is weak in terms of generalization, representativeness, and external validity, and these features are not sought in such studies. In addition, it should be noted that this sample is dependent on selection bias, as the informants are reached through the researcher's network and are limited to a small number (Parker, Scott & Geddes, 2019).

After conducting eight interviews, I preferred not to increase the number of informants because the sample came to a homogeneous structure (Sarantakos, 2013, p. 183), and the themes were formed. In addition, the fact that the topic became more sensitive than I planned also prevented me from meeting with more informants. Adhering to the experiences in the literature, I stretched the interview in parts with emotional responses, took a break (Cowles, 1988; Davis et al., 1996), changed the subject, or allowed the interviewees to set the subject and pace (Brannen, 1988) in a way that made them feel comfortable. Under the confidentiality principle, I did not include the actual names of the interviewees but the pseudonyms in the quotes I included in the analysis part of the study. Before starting the interviews, I obtained written consent for the audio recording from the informants; I gave information about the study (without directing them) and stated that I could share it with them after I concluded it if they wished.

Table 2. Demographic Information of Interviewees

Interviewee	Year of Birth	Gender	Education	Father's Occupation	Grandfather's Occupation
Nilsu	1993	Female	Doctorate	Dentist	Clerk
Pelin	1995	Female	Graduate	Senior Banker	Factory Worker
Berk	2001	Male	Undergraduate	Teacher	Coffee Maker
Eylül	1999	Female	Undergraduate	Teacher	Farmer
Yağmur	1999	Female	Undergraduate	Electronic Engineer	Factory Worker

Mert	1999	Male	High School	Dental Technician	Life spendet in prison
İpek	1998	Female	Undergraduate	Civil Servant	Worker
Kağan	1995	Male	Graduate	Computer Engineer	The father passed away when his son was a child

In Table 2, you can find the basic demographic information of all participants. Here in the table, I only included the occupation of the participants' father as an indication of class membership, but I should emphasize that I made a tremendous effort to find informants with similar class histories both from the mother and father's sides. The only exception in the study is Berk. His grandparents from his mother's side were teachers (later, his grandmother chose to become a housewife). Berk was the only informant who was like friends with his parents and had robust communication. He states that he is a happy and satisfied young man with a strong sense of belonging to his village and family. When the discussion came to perfectionism, he also stated that he is a perfectionist but different from others. As I discussed below, there was a desire to become the most one can be (self-actualization in the Hierarchy of Needs). It may be because his mother is aware of his spiritual needs, like belonging and love, due to the financial possibilities of the house she comes from. The study does not let us generalize the findings but can give us a perspective on the topic and the argument.

I conducted seven of the interviews face-to-face and one with Google Meets. While my primary preference was to have face-to-face meetings, considering the Covid 19 epidemic, I adhered to informants' demands and let them determine the venues of meetings to earn their trust. Although there was little difference between online and face-to-face interviews (Krouwel et al., 2019), the fact that the interviewee was only visible in the camera angle made it difficult to capture his gestures and facial expressions beyond his verbal expressions. Plus, at the beginning of the interview, I was concerned about the presence of someone else in the environment where the interviewee was. Since the subject of the study was family relations and my interviewee was in the family home, I was afraid that the informant would not feel comfortable and could not give honest answers. However, in the deepening part of the interview, I concluded that the informant gave sincere answers with his attitude and answers that I

could observe. Therefore, although the internet connection interrupted the meeting from time to time, I can say that it was close to face-to-face interviews. Recent studies show that online meetings, which have increased with Covid 19, may be preferred as face-to-face meetings instead of being the “second best solution” in the coming period (Lobe, Morgan, & Hoffman, 2022). According to a 2020 study by di Gregorio (2021), two-thirds of 346 qualitative researchers want the increased number of online interviews to continue. It seems that eliminating of geographical distance problems and financial and time savings have been influential in the increase in the popularity of online interviews (Lobe, Morgan, & Hoffman, 2022).

I used a semi-structured form in the interviews. In other words, I determined the themes of the meeting and wrote the concepts that I wanted to collect data on, but I did not bring them into the form of questions. In the flow of the conversation, I tried to reach the information on themes and concepts when appropriate. The reason is that the fully structured guide and questions I prepared in my first pilot interview made the interview unnatural and restricted the interviewee. However, since the young people I met were already willing to explain, it was enough for me to direct them to themes and concepts. I identified five themes for the study. These are; Demography, family, values, social media, and subjective well-being.

I started the interview with the theme of demographics in order to get to know the informants better. Under this theme, I got information such as age, gender, occupation, marital status, and education. Later, I learned how many siblings they have under the title of family and what professions their parents and grandparents were engaged in. After the more mechanical, standard, or procedural questions like these, I let the interview flow without asking many questions and without intervening. I listened to the informants, but tried to keep them on track. The theme about the family was the part where the interview deepened. After the standard questions, there were intense conversations about the informants’ relationships with their family members, their parents’ relationships with each other, how they spent time as a child, and how things work at home. We also talked about the house where the young people's parents grew up (as they were told).

Under the theme of values, I applied Inglehart's postmaterialist index as in survey studies, but I also listened to their comments and ideas on the subject. In addition, they talked about their priorities in life, their motivations, their spiritual beliefs, and what they think influenced them. I used the social media theme to make the interview more comfortable and to give the informants a chance to rest. After the theme of family and values, many interviewees experienced intense emotions, and continuing the theme of subjective well-being without caring for them would have reduced the efficiency of the interview. Under the title of social media, we talked about how they are with technology, what games they play, what they think about social media, how much time they spend, which platform they use the most, how people behave on social media, and how social media affects them.

Under the subjective well-being theme, we examined the topics of happiness and life satisfaction. Here, in addition to the feeling of belonging, peace, perfectionism, emptiness, and loneliness, the topics of anxiety, depression, and suicidal thoughts were the topics we frequently talked about. Since the topics we discussed under this theme were also sensitive, these parts of the interviews were very intense and tiring. Therefore, I planned the flow of the themes in the order I described here. However, when the interviewee went out of this queue, I did not interrupt him/her to avoid disturbing the conversation's natural flow. Furthermore, I did not ask about the concepts under the themes in a specific order. I just made sure they were all discussed. Interviews with this guide lasted between 1-2 hours.

After the interviews, I fully transcribed all the voice recordings and combined them with my hand notes that included the gestures and facial expressions of the interviewees. For extracting the common themes, I used five different colors for the five topics mentioned in the guideline and colored the essential expressions of youth in every topic. At the end of the process, the four main themes that stood out were low subjective well-being, including mental health (ongoing or overcome), perfectionism (still existing or in a struggle to bring it down), lack of sense of belonging (to the spaces), and father figures (replaced by mother if she is the breadwinner).

For the primary data collection method, in-depth interview is used, but the research is designed regarding the World Values Survey. While argument cluster around values,

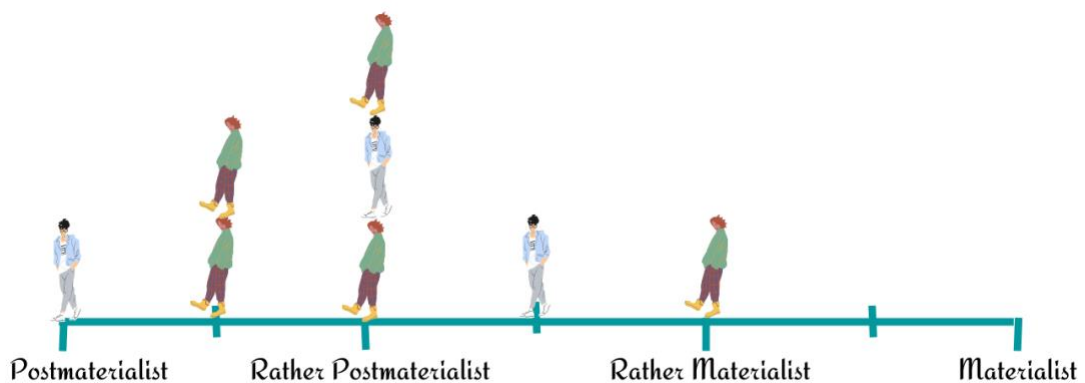
specifically materialist-postmaterialist values, I have used the original questionnaire form of the WVS for collecting data about the value tendencies of youth. I achieved Postmaterialist Index 1 and 2 from the World Values Survey (WVS, 2017-2022) under the Values theme of the guide. Here I chose two of the three indexes of WVS. I preferred this way as one question is not sufficient to have an idea about the postmaterialist tendencies of young people, and three questions are outrageous for an in-depth interview. In WVS, the responder is not asked to rank the answers to the postmaterialist questions. Instead, they are asked what their first and second choices are. If both options are materialist, the respondent is coded as a materialist. If both are postmaterialists, s/he is coded as postmaterialist. If the first is materialist, and the second is postmaterialist, s/he is coded as rather materialist. If the first is postmaterialist, the second is materialist, s/he is coded as rather a postmaterialist (WVS, 2017-2022). Therefore, while classifying young people as materialists/postmaterialists, I stick to the methodology of WVS, according to their first two options. However, rather than just picking the two most important options, I asked them to prioritize the options from 1 to 4. Thus, I got information about not only the essential option but also the least significant option. You can find Postmaterialist Index 1 and 2 in the following table.

Table 3. Postmaterialist Index-1. What the aims of this country should be for the next ten years? Please put them in order.
- A high level of economic growth (Materialist)
- Strong defence forces (Materialist)
- People have more say about how things are done (Postmaterialist)
- Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful (Postmaterialist)
Postmaterialist Index-2. What the aims of this country should be for the next ten years? Please put them in order.
- Maintaining order in the nation (Materialist)
- Giving people more say in important government decisions (Postmaterialist)
- Fighting rising prices (Materialist)
- Protecting freedom of speech (Postmaterialist)

I made the materialist/postmaterialist classification based on WVS. Nevertheless, since I asked two questions, I took the middle point of both classified questions and placed each young person at a point in the materialist/postmaterialist scale I prepared (Figure 2). So, for instance, a young person who appeared rather postmaterialist in both questions settled on the rather postmaterialist point of the scale. However, a youth who came out as a postmaterialist in one and rather postmaterialist in the other settled somewhere between the two.

The information I obtained as a result of my interviews is also coherent with the data of the World Values Survey. According to the value distribution of interviewees (Figure 2), there was only one person with completely postmaterialist values, while the remaining seven people were positioned in the middle (mixed). Most of them remained on the left of the scale, on the side close to postmaterialist values. Therefore, it can be said that the young people participating in the study have postmaterialist tendencies.

Figure 2: Postmaterialist value distribution of interviewees



Although the survey question found out where the young people are in the materialist-postmaterialist scale, the fact that this information was accessed by the in-depth interview method provided a more in-depth perspective on the tendencies of the young people. I believe that this deepness is valuable in better understanding the value judgments and thought systems of young people in Turkey. Moreover, it will help us understand how important it is to capture the information that cannot be captured with the survey question.

To better understand the situation, it is vital to seize the period when I conducted this study. In the international context, it is observed that security concerns have increased around the world with the Russian invasion of Ukraine. At the national level, there is one of the biggest economic crises in the history of the Republic of Turkey. In addition, the world has been living with a health crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic, since 2020. In such an environment, it was understandable that young people would prioritize issues of economy and security. However, while the economy and freedom of expression took the first two places in the priority rankings, the issue of security was mainly in the last place. It is because they do not perceive any threat of war and security and find the investments made here unnecessary.

At the same time, according to Freedom House reports, Turkey's freedom status has been 'Not Free' since 2018 (2022). Even though Norris and Inglehart argue that the rise of authoritarian populism is boosted by older cohorts but not younger postmaterialist ones (2019), some studies argue that there is no polarization of attitudes among cohorts (Mounk, 2018; Schäfer, 2021). People's (living with authoritarian governments for a long time) perception of democracy is changing, they are more critical of democracies, and youth give less importance to living in a democracy (Schäfer, 2021).

Turkey seems not to be an exception, and young people's ideas about democracy are affected by the political environment, which is becoming increasingly authoritarian (Akca, 2021; Bayulgen, Arbatli & Canbolat, 2018; Bozkurt-Gungen, 2018; Tansel, 2018; Topak, 2019). Moreover, the administration responsible for the existing situation comes through the ballot box. This administration (Erdoğan's government and AKP rule) still has a significant share of votes in the public opinion polls. Yağmur, who is between postmaterialist and rather postmaterialist on the scale, expressed her skepticism about democracy and gave the following answer regarding the option of "People have more say in government decisions":

What if you give these people more say? Never mind that, it's very debatable.⁵

⁵ Ya bu insanlara daha çok söz hakkı versen nölacak? Bunu boşver, bu çok tartışılabilir bir şey.

This points to their lack of trust and their alienation from society. As far as the points of engagement with society decrease, their sense of belonging to the community reduces (Daniel & Cornwall, 1993, as cited in Wyn and White, 1997).

Mert, the rather postmaterialist, said he did not support giving the right of say to the public because he thought reconciliation could not be achieved in a country of 81 million people. They find the public incapable of decision-making and do not believe that consensus can be reached peacefully in a crowded country. Therefore, on the one hand, they defend freedom of expression. But on the other hand, the young look at democracy from a different perspective. In my opinion, even though the study states that younger people are more satisfied with democracy than older people (Akboga & Sahin, 2020), these statements are essential for understanding the satisfaction with democracy over the last decade among young people between the ages of 20-29.

Another point that should be emphasized under this title is that the debates on modernization and democratization occupy a prominent place in the political science literature (Acemoglu et al., 2008; Diamond, Linz, & Lipset, 1989; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Lipset, 1959; Przeworski & Limongi, 1997), also occupy an important place in the minds of the young people I interviewed. While almost all of the interviewees were thinking out loud about economic development and freedom of expression, they said these two are linked, and one cannot exist without the other. For example, Kağan, the only postmaterialist on the scale, says:

I think this [freedom of expression] is more important than the economy, by the way. Because if this happens, I think that people will live in a more prosperous and comfortable way anyway. So the economy actually depends on it. Freedoms. Since we are not a very free country now, we live in a somewhat bad economy because the limitations and constraints are too many.⁶

⁶ Ekonomiden daha önemli bu [ifade özgürlüğü] bence bu arada. Çünkü bu olursa eğer zaten bi şekilde insanların daha refah ve rahat içerisinde yaşayacağını düşünüyorum. Yani aslında ekonomi de buna bağlı oluyo. Özgürlüklere. Şu an çok özgür bi ülke olmadığımız için aslında biraz da kötü bi ekonomi içerisinde yaşıyoruz. Sınırlamalar ve kısıtlamalar çok fazla olduğu için.

Eylül, on the other hand, remains undecided while considering which is the cause and which is the result:

If there is freedom of expression, there will be economic development. However, if there is economic development, more people will express themselves freely. These are connected, girl!⁷

I think that a subject discussed at an academic level in the West is preoccupying the minds of young people in Turkey who are unaware of these technical discussions, bringing the country to a unique place. Thus, I would like to put a question mark on determining whether an individual is a materialist or postmaterialist with a survey question. I would also like to emphasize the importance of context and depth.

⁷ İfade özgürlüğü olursa ekonomik gelişme de olur. Ama ekonomik gelişme olursa daha çok insanlar daha çok kendilerini ifade eder aslında. Bunlar bağlantılı kızım.

4. FINDINGS

In the beginning, I designed this study to examine the experience of being a youth in the context of changing needs and values with the changing social structure and how it affects young people's subjective well-being (happiness and life satisfaction). Of course, it was always in my mind that the work could have a dimension extending to psychology. However, as I started the interviews, the emerging picture was beyond my expectations. Of the eight people I interviewed, two were previously diagnosed with depression and anxiety, one was diagnosed with depression and OCD, and drug treatment was prescribed. Different from these youths, two other people had previously received psychological support. One of them continued his therapy. The other gave up seeing her therapist after the first few sessions. A young person with a diagnosis, a young person who gave up the sessions, and another young person who did not receive any support had previously thought of committing suicide.

Mert, 23 years old young man, while describing the conflict he had with his father since his high school years, tells how he gave up on suicide, which he came to the brink of three times:

I thought of committing suicide three times. Finally, I went out to the balcony. Our house is on the 4th floor, a very high-ceiling house. I went up to the edge of the balcony, and then I gave up, thinking that I wouldn't die if I jumped from there. I thought I would find a higher place tomorrow.⁸

Mert states that he vividly remembers the years he lived with his family in Antep. Mert has an older brother and a younger brother. His father desired his sons to learn the profession of a dental technician like himself and do the same job. His older brother could resist his father and move to his own way, but Mert first studied at the high school his father desired, then continued his father's profession. Mert states that behind this insistence of his father is his own experience, and he thinks that his children can lead a

⁸ “3 kere intihar etmeyi düşündüm. İkisinde çıktım yani böyle artık gerçekten. Bizim evimiz 4. Kat, baya da yüksek tavan evlerimiz. Balkonun kenarına kadar çıktım, atsam ölmem diye kendimi ordan vazgeçirdim yani. Yarın daha yüksek bi yer bulurum kafasıyla”

good life by staying in this profession, just as he has better conditions in his own life. However, Mert states that he was dragged into darkness due to not being able to do the job he would love to do and not being respected for his thoughts and desires, and the idea of suicide settled in his mind at this time. He found a way to get rid of this idea by escaping from Antep, which he did not belong to, and reminded him of the darkness he lived in.

İpek has also thought of ending her life before. However, she is having a hard time describing during our interview. She had planned her suicide before, but she gave up on this thought in order not to upset her mother:

I dream of my own thing (hesitates). I dream of my funeral. I looked at the thing [pills] once. You know, what things I should take, I die painlessly. How much of each pill should I take? Well, I always think of my mother. I think of my mother. Then, it is like that [I give up].⁹

İpek comes from a family where domestic violence is intense. She has two older sisters, little contact with her father, and her mother takes care of the house. She states that she cannot spend quality time with her mother. According to İpek, her mother thinks İpek despises her. That is why she always tries to give more financially. However, İpek says she respects her mother and expects something spiritual from her, not material. She mentioned that she overcame her thoughts of suicide thanks to the respect and love she felt for her mother. Therefore, she does not want to destroy her mother with the loss of her daughter.

Awareness about suicide and mental health is becoming increasingly important around the world. In addition to their biological causes, the effects of social factors are exciting topics in academia. Suicide was the fourth highest cause of death among individuals aged 15-19 worldwide in 2019, according to data from the World Health Organization. The same data also states that 77% of global suicide cases are in low- and middle-

⁹ “Kendi şeyimi hayal ediyorum (duraksıyor). Cenazemi hayal ediyorum. Ben şeye baktım bi kere biliyo musun hangi şeyleri alsam acısız ölürüm. Hangi haptan ilaçtan ne kadar almam lazım. Şey aklıma geliyo hep nasıl desem annem. Annem aklıma geliyo. Öyle de olunca böyle [vazgeçiyorum]”

income countries. This gives a clue for understanding the relationship between income, socioeconomic status, and suicide. Therefore, a pattern among groups with relatively better socioeconomic status may be invisible. The same is true when it comes to mental health. There is an enormous amount of literature on the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES), subjective well-being, and mental health (Ash & Huebner, 2001; Dohrenwend, 1973; Dohrenwend et al., 1992; Easterlin, 1995; Hagerty & Veenhoven, 2003; Hollingshead & Redlich, 2007; Warheit et al., 1973). Studies have shown that stressful life events increase the possibility of mental health problems and negatively affect individuals' subjective well-being (Reiss et al., 2019). Low socioeconomic status is a vital determinant of stressful life events, and children and adolescents from low SES families suffer statistically more likely from a mental illness in early or later life (Angelini et al., 2019; Arpino et al., 2018; Hempel et al., 2021; Lam et al., 2019; Pakpahan et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2022; Yang et al., 2022;). Even though numbers show that there is a clear link between subjective well-being and income, scientists still put a considerable amount of labor into understanding how these two factors work together, and we know that not just material well-being affects subjective well-being but social relationships are also vital (Burton & Phipps, 2010; McAuley et al., 2012).

In addition to existing literature, due to Covid-19, which has been shaking the world since late 2019 and has caused radical changes in people's lifestyles, mental health and suicide studies have increased (Cullen, Gulati, & Kelly, 2020; Kumar & Nayar, 2021; Pfefferbaum & North, 2020). Among Covid-19 investigations, a study conducted in Japan stated that the rate of mental health problems and suicide increased among young people. According to this, the reason for the increase is family-related problems and social concerns which strengthens the argument of social relationships that have deteriorated [with the pandemic] negatively affect mental health.

Speaking the effect of environmental factors and social relationships, it is impossible not to mention the influence of culture. Studies on the relationship between SWB and culture observe that the subject of SWB also differs according to countries and cultures (Diener & Diener, 1995; Pflug, 2009; Tuzgöl-Dost, 2010). This shows that what makes people happy is also shaped by the culture they live in. In individualist cultures, personal achievement and self-esteem are more influential on SWB (Oishi et al., 1999),

while in collectivist cultures, social relations are more prominent (Uchida & Ogihara, 2012). Similarly in the case of Turkey, there are valuable sociological studies on the effects of environmental factors, including income and relationships, on the subjective well-being of individuals during their adolescent and childhood (Akkan et al., 2019; Akkan et al., 2021; Şen & Selin; 2022; Şimşek & Demir, 2014; Telef & Furlong, 2017; Tuzgöl & Dost, 2010; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2012; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2013; Uyan-Semerci et al., 2017). In Turkey, which has a collectivist culture (Diener et al., 1995; Yaman et al., 2010; Yetim, 2003), social relations have serious impact on the SWB. Among social relations, family support has the most crucial effect (Şimşek & Demir, 2014). Plus, the democratic attitude of the father towards children in Turkey seems to be more effective than the attitude of the mother (Tuzgöl & Dost, 2010).

In a similar line to the studies that emphasize the importance of social relationships in childhood in the Turkish case, Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan state in their precious work that the absence of domestic violence is the most important indicator of a happy child. Besides, “being respected and having the support of his/her family is equally important as the lack of domestic violence” (Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2016). When they control their results with the socioeconomic status, they underline that children from higher SES put more importance on “having somebody in the family that he/she can share his/her problems with.” Their findings show that “getting social support is more important for higher SES categories,” which means the effect of SES on subjective well-being is undeniable, but how it affects the relationships in the family has crucial importance to understanding the overall well-being of a child (Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2016).

The findings of my study support Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan’s work. Youth the survival is taken for granted has lower subjective well-being and are even diagnosed with mental illnesses when they grew up in an environment with domestic violence, lack of respect, and family support. The profiles that emerged in the eight interviews I conducted created a scale. At one end of this scale, there is an interviewee profile with no signs of violence in the family and he has grown with respect to his personality, and at the other end, there is an interviewee profile which is worried that the father may kill the mother, and she has grown with lack of communication with her parents. Among the informants in between, some stated that they grew up with no physical but

psychological violence, and others stated that they lived with domestic violence for one or a large part of their childhood. While the young person who grew up in a respectful environment away from violence stated that he was happy and never felt the need for psychological support before, the other young person who was exposed to domestic violence, who was disconnected from her family and was often ignored, was diagnosed with anxiety and depression, used medication and had suicidal thoughts before.

My informant, Berk, 21 years old medicine student who has never been exposed to domestic violence on this scale, stated that he never felt the need to receive psychological support. Berk was also the only interviewee who was like friends with his parents, spent quality time with them, and had a strong relationship and communication. He gives the following answer to the question of what kind of family he grew up in and how the relations in the family are:

We always grew up as friends, so they (his parents) always acted like that. I don't remember any arguments or fights between us. I remember it from my childhood, and that's how it always is while I grow up... For example, we play games with my father at home. We (he and his brother) watch movies with my mom. We watch the series. My father doesn't like TV shows that much, but we watch several of them with my mother. I play games or something with my brother in the same way... My parents also get along very well. When I think about it, for example, I don't think of them having a fight. There is no quarrel between them. There would be a good speech between them. Peaceful¹⁰.

On the other end of the scale, İpek, 23 years old, has been diagnosed with depression and anxiety and has taken medication. She stated that she had suicidal thoughts before

¹⁰ Arkadaş gibi büyüdük hep yani hep öyle davrandılar. Aramızda tartışma kavga falan hiç hatırlamam. Çocukluktan aklımda kaldı ama yani büyüdükten sonra hep öyle... Babam ile mesela oyun oynarız evde genellikle. Annemle film izleriz. Dizi izleriz. Babam o kadar dizi sevmez ama annem ile izleriz. Kardeşimle yine aynı şekilde oyun falan oynarım... Annem babam da çok iyi anlaşıyor. Ben düşündüğümde mesela bir kavga edişleri aklıma gelmez. Tartışma falan olmaz aralarında. Güzel konuşma falan olur yani. Huzurlu.

and still needs support during our interview. She has little to no contact with her father. The mother provides for all her material needs. Her parents also live separately. She describes how her parents used to relate to each other and İpek:

There is no relationship between my mother and father at the moment. They do not engage. For example, when my sister was hospitalized, my mother expected support from my father... He blocked us from everything, he did not deal with us... He doesn't care much about us anyway. For the last 10, 12 years, I have never taken anything from my father (financially)... And on paper they still seem to be married... My mother wanted to leave the house because of the violence. Then we (mother and 3 children) ran away from home. So, I guess there is a perception. If she divorces her husband, he will kill her. For example, my mother was afraid of him (that the father would kill the mother)...¹¹.

The studies I mentioned above revealed that domestic violence negatively affects children and young people's the mental health and SWB. The data I obtained from my interviews was that the negative impact on young people increased as the dosage of violence and fear increased. Divorce rates are increasing in Turkey, and 55% of them are cases that end in contention rather than consensus. Moreover, domestic violence is the leading cause of divorce (Coşkun & Sarlak, 2020). But today, the difficulties of being young do not end with family conflicts and fights. Beyond physical violence, the children of middle-class secular families struggle to exist, be accepted, and be loved under the figure of a successful father (the same can be said for the mother, but mainly the father) at home. On the street and at school, they are tried to fit into the molds imposed on them by the state authority which decrease their SWB, and weaken their

¹¹ Annemle babamın arasında bi ilişki yok şu an. Muhattap olmuyolar. Mesela kardeşim işte hastaneye yattığında bile şey nasıl diyim ee şey yapmak istedi annem hani destek bekledi babamdan. O da hani benim kendi derdim zaten çok ben dedi şey yapamıycam uğraşmıycam dedi kendisine. Her şeyden engelledi bizi muhattap olmadı. Bizle çok fazla ilgilenmiyo zaten. Son 10, 12 yıldır falan hiç babamdan bir şey almadım (maddi olarak) ben. Ve zaten kağıt üstünde şeyler hala nasıl desem işte evli gibi gözüküyolar... Şiddet yüzünden zaten annem şeyaptı ayrılmak istedi. Sonra da biz evden kaçtık. Öyle olunca şöyle de bi algı var sanırım. Eğer karısından nasıl desem işte ayrılırsa şeyapar işte öldürür falan. Annem mesela korkuyodu ondan.

sense of belonging. The following three sub-headings deal with the themes that emerged from the interviews, which I find essential to frame the subjective well-being of young people.

a. Growing up in Families with “Successful” Father Figures

The father figure and the conflict with the father are one of the most prominent themes in my interviews. In cases where the father is not in the family, he is replaced by the mother, especially if she is the breadwinner. Thus, the relationship with the father figure walks along with the economical way. Most interviewees have a distant relationship with the father and a relatively closer relationship with the mother. As far as the connection does not go beyond the economy, the distance between child and parent opens up, and the child grows up in an environment with a restricted sense of intimacy, the subjective well-being of the child is negatively affected. I argue that the mentioned kind of disconnection occurs in families where parents come from a lower class of origin then experience upward mobility which causes the value differences among parents and children. Because of the establishment of value judgments in early childhood (Adler, 1927), and spending their early childhood under different socioeconomic circumstances, their values differentiate, as Inglehart states, materialist and postmaterialist (1977). To understand this relationship, it is essential to refer parents' lives before they made upward mobility.

The parents I am talking about (I got the information second-hand from their children) are individuals who spent their childhood and early adolescence in severe poverty. These people supported the family's livelihood by working in the tobacco field, selling Turkish bagels (simit), balloons, sweets, et cetera. However, born between 1955 and 1975, they could make better incomes than their own families by attending university and climbing the social ladder. Their occupations are dentist, dental technician, teacher, government or private company manager, computer and electronics engineer, banker, veterinarian, and nutritionist. In addition to the economic situation, these parents grew up with strict rules and tremendous pressure, and were sometimes exposed to domestic violence.

After having children, they did their best not to cause them the financial difficulties they experienced until their early adolescent years. Thence, it would not be wrong to say they have dedicated their lives to ensure that they and their children will not experience it again. In other words, after all their achievements, they are afraid to experience downward social mobility (Ehrenreich, 1989). Studies claim that middle-class parents even determine their neighborhood according to the right schools for their children to be sure they will not go socially backward in their future life (Benson et al., 2015; Çelik & Özdemir, 2022; Lareau & Goyette, 2014). Such hard work costs something in return because, it naturally consumes a considerable amount of parents' time.

Nilsu, 29 years old dentist, has four siblings. Two older sisters have their professions. Nilsu is a Ph.D. student at a private school in Cyprus and is about to get her title. Her younger brother has just started his undergraduate in Europe. Nilsu, whose father is also a dentist, mentions her father's attitude when I ask her if her parents are happy with their life:

According to my father, he has no life. It's all about making money and taking care of his family when we asked him. Unfortunately, my mother can no longer practice her profession. She had to close her clinic because she moved to Ankara for a while. And this is a serious unhappiness for her because my mother would be happy that she was doing business and, above all, was getting her own money. So I'm not sure how satisfied they are¹².

The father devoted his whole life to his son and daughters to send them to good schools, make them have remarkable professions, and succeed in life. In return, Nilsu cites that he gave up his own life. Even after his children had a job and went their separate ways, the father continued to work in the same intense way, even though he complained that

¹² Babama göre babamın bi hayatı yok. Tamamen para kazanmaya ve ailesine bakmaya yönelik ona sorduğumuzda. Annem ne yazık ki mesleğini artık yapamıyo. Çünkü bi dönem Ankara'ya taşındığı için kliniğini kapatmak zorunda kaldı. Ve bu onun için ciddi bi mutsuzluk çünkü iş yapıyo oluşu ve her şeyden önemlisi eline kendi parasının geçiyo oluşu annemi mutlu ederdi. Yani o yüzden ne kadar memnun oldukları konusunda birazcık emin de olamıycam.

he had sacrificed his life for this cause. On the other hand, the mother went to Ankara with her son so that he could go to a prestigious school, and she gave up one of the most important things that made her happy, her business.

The cost is not just the parents' dedicated life. Parents who overwork for their children's happiness steal the time they will spend with their children when they allocate for work. An imperial corpus of studies focuses on the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, and adolescents' subjective well-being. A positive relationship is characterized by support, acceptance, trust and warmth (Allen et al., 2006). The negative relationship is characterized by rejection, over-control, over-protectiveness, and coldness (Hale et al., 2005). Low-quality parent-adolescent relationships with negative emotions are more likely to lead to a higher risk of depression symptoms in adolescents, while high-quality relationships with positive relations can decrease depression symptoms among adolescents (Cheung et al., 2016; Cortés-García et al., 2019; Duchesne & Ratelle, 2014; Withers et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2021). Based on the attachment theory, relative to the father, the mother is the main attachment figure for children and adolescents, and her role in the adolescent's psychological condition is more important (Bowlby, 2008). Some recent studies also follow this argument claiming that mothers are more involved in the daily care of adolescents, making them more influential on the psychological well-being of youth (Van Lissa et al., 2019).

In another aspect, culture theory states that in traditional families father has the authority and the economic power that makes him the man in charge of the children (Ho, 1987). However, in modern families, changing social circumstances increase the proportion of women (and mothers) in the labor market, increasing the father's participation in daily care (Li & Lamb, 2015). Therefore, an increasing number of studies emphasize the importance of the father's role (Möller et al., 2016). Some even states that the paternal relationship has a stronger effect than maternal relationships (Keizer et al., 2019; Shek & Zhu, 2019).

Although the family is used as a modernization project in the post-Republican era in Turkey, and the society is wanted to be reshaped in line with the modern Western lifestyle (Yılmaz, 2015), the traditional family institution continues without losing its power (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Accordingly, the mother plays a fundamental

role in the growth and upbringing of children. The father, on the other hand, works outside the home to ensure the economic sustainability of the family (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Since it is no longer possible for the father to carry the family's financial burden alone in today's society, the mother has also started to be more involved in business life to contribute to the family budget. However, the father's role in housework and childcare, like the mother's, remained an exception, leading to an unfair division of labor within the home. Therefore, it is possible to say that this inequality is socially internalized (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). In addition, in the last 20 years of AKP rule, family-centered welfare regime practices and Islamization policies have made the family institution even more centralized, while the fact that women stay at home and are responsible for child and elderly care has become legitimized (Kaya, 2015; Yılmaz, 2015).

Relationships with both mother and father are important for the subjective well-being of children and young people. In the family structure of Turkish society, the father's traditionally more distant position from children has not changed with the entrance of mother to the labor market. Adding the time-limited and tired mother to the distant father caused the positive relationship within the family to weaken further and increased its negative impact on the young. The data from my interviews supports the fact that low-quality emotional parental relationships increase the possibility of observing low subjective well-being among adolescents. The fact that the father (in some cases, the mother too) works hard to ensure the financial sustainability of the house and to meet the "all" (material) needs of his children turns the parent-adolescent relationship into a negative one. As I mentioned above, feelings such as rejection, over-control, over-protectiveness, and coldness become more palpable.

Pelin, 25 years old banker who declares that she had suicidal thoughts before, says that during their childhood, they (four siblings) did not emotionally connect to their father but only economically:

He used to work in a bank and a bookstore at the same time when we were younger... [our relationship] with my father was very bad. Because you know why? When we were little, he was working in double shift. He didn't even come home most of the

time. He says I didn't see your childhood because of the work. When everything was completed financially, he thought everything was okay.¹³

Pelin's father spent most of his time making more money to supply good quality of life for his children. While doing it, she says, he thought he would fulfill their needs. Since the parents are deprived of the most basic needs in Maslow's Hierarchy and their value judgments are formed during their early childhood period, they are not conscious of the needs that arise from the third step of the Pyramid, postmaterialist needs. Stating that she took every step she took throughout her life to gain her father's love and attention, Pelin sought the reason for the emptiness and meaninglessness she felt during her depression in her mid-20s. Pelin, who ate too much food and shopped to fill the void she could not name, during the interview we held for this study, silenced for a moment and stated that it was actually a love void from her childhood.

Another one, Kağan, who says he has never had financial difficulty in his life, expresses that his mother is well aware of financial issues from her early life and never let her son be in financial difficulty. However, despite growing up in an authoritarian and restrictor environment, she does not rein herself back and behaves over-protective toward her son:

My mother had difficulties in terms of lovelessness and friendship relations (he is referring the family restrictions of her mother). However, she has no thought of not reflecting it on me that way. She learns the financial part but does not learn the spiritual part.¹⁴

¹³ Bir ara biz küçükken hem bankada çalışıyordu hem de bir tane kitapçıda çalışıyordu... Babamla [ilişkimiz] çok kötüydü. Çünkü niye biliyo musun? Biz küçükken işte dedim ya ek işte falan çalışıyordu. Eve gelmiyordu bazen. Hatta çoğu zaman eve gelmiyordu. Babam öyle der. Ben sizin küçüklüğünüzü görmedim der. Çalışmaktan. Maddi olarak her şey tamamlanınca her şey okey diye düşündüğü için öyle eve gelmiyordu.

¹⁴ Sevgisizlik, arkadaşlık ilişkileri konusunda ben zorluk çektim (annesi için söylüyor) ama ben bunu ona o şekilde yansıtmıyım şeklinde bi düşüncesi olmuyo. Diğer tarafı öğreniyo aslında maddi olayı öğreniyo ama manevi tarafı aslında öğrenmemiş oluyo.

Kagan had previously felt the need for psychological support and had regular meetings with a psychologist for two years. He states that he started these talks because of his private relationships. However, later on, the issue was always tied to his mother and her mother's overprotective behaviors.

In one case of my interviews, disconnected paternal relationships are completed with well-established maternal relationships. The deficiency from one side is supplemented and supported by the other (Rueger et al., 2014). Yağmur, 23 years old psychology student with a very detached relationship with her father, states off the record that while her father supplements the materiality, her mother covers the spirituality in her world. She believes that the void left by one is filled by the other. According to her, having such a paternal relationship is normal, and every 'normal' father is alike:

I did not grow up seeing my father. In general, he was working until late or he always had a job, for example, he was going out of town. I realized the next day that he was gone... He was always late to come home... In that sense, we don't have such a close relationship. How a normal person sees her father, that is, a default person is like that, so for me, he is a normal father figure... [On the other hand] our relationship with my mother is good. Because I spend a lot of time with my mother. When I was in middle school, I was extremely close to my mother. So we were always close. We didn't have a lot of separation emotionally. I still call her, we talk for two hours.¹⁵

While parents work hard for their children for supplying "everything" they need, they also expect their children to do the same, work hard, and as they did once, be successful, climb the social ladder (or at least protect certain achievements), and live better lives.

¹⁵ Çok hani babamı görerek büyümedim. Genel olarak böyle geç saatlere kadar çalışıyordu falan ya da hep bi işi vardı şehir dışına falan gidiyordu mesela. Ben gittiğini ertesi gün falan fark ediyodum böyle. Aa babam dün gece gelmedi falan. Çünkü zaten geç geliyordu yani. Ben uyumaya gidiyodum ertesi sabah uyanıyodum aa babam gitmiş falan diyodum. O anlamda çok böyle bir yakınlığımız yok yani. Normal bir insan babasını nasıl görüyorsa yani default bi insan o şekilde yani benim için normal baba figürü yani... Annemle ilişkimiz iyidir ya. Böyle baya şey annemle çok vakit geçiririm çünkü o yüzden. Ortaokuldayken falan aşırı yakındık hatta annemle. Sonra hep yakındık yani hep böyle bi hiç şeyimiz olmadı yani çok ayrı kalma durumumuz olmadı duygusal olarak. Hala şey yaparım yani ararım 2 saat konuşuruz falan yani.

They are aware of the familial advantages they ensure for their children, like resources and various kinds of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and they compare their parenting style (for the effect of parenting style on children's outcomes, please check: Feinstein et al., 2008; Kiernan & Mensah, 2011) with their parents. Yağmur, as I just mentioned in the previous paragraph, his father is an engineer and overworking, states that her father emphasizes particular advantages he brings for them which he did not have during his childhood and adolescence:

I did not have an engineer father like you. My father was a worker.¹⁶

According to her, he uses this kind of expression all the time regardless of whether the context is suitable or not. The father is aware of the advantages he provides to the children, and when he does not see them working as hard as he does, he attributes the comfort of the children to the fact that he provides them with a comfortable life. However, even as a child, the father had to work to survive. Parent's emphasis is not just on economic advantages but also the comfort children have at the house is a matter of fact. Mother of Yağmur also compares her better parenting style with her mother:

I never did to my children as much as my mother did to us [the difficult living conditions].¹⁷

Yağmur says her mother expresses the farmer's life and the difficult conditions in natural life with this expression. Nevertheless, she states that these conditions, under which her grandmother was dealing as a mother, were not valid for her mother; therefore, her maternity could not be that "bad." According to Yağmur, her grandmother was also a good mother under the mentioned conditions. Ultimately, she was a woman with six children and worked in the tobacco fields. On the other hand, her mother has two children, and she does not work in the fields neither.

¹⁶ Benim senin gibi mühendis babam yoktu. Benim babam işçiydi.

¹⁷ Benim annemin bize yaptığı kadar şeyi [zorlu yaşam koşullarını] ben kendi çocuklarıma asla yapmadım.

Similarly, Kağan, whose father was a computer engineer coming from an economically disadvantaged family, explains his university preparation process and an anecdote of his parents about the *dershane* (private teaching institution for university preparation) discussion:

When I said that I want to go to the *dershane* in the 9th-10th grade, my father said: “Why, you are so young. There is no need for such a thing. When you come to the 12th or 11th grade, you will think about it”... Besides that my father always told me: “In our (his father’s) time, there was neither a *dershane* nor anything. I went by myself and won ITU. You can do it in the same way.” Classical expressions of families like there were nothing in our time. But it is very obvious that they supplied what they could not do in their own time to us. I think it is especially visible in a very obvious way when it comes to economic issues.¹⁸

In Kağan’s quotation, parents desire to provide their children with opportunities they did not have in their youth. However, on the other hand, father expects his son to be successful the way his parents are, and he is questioning why their son can not achieve the sufficient exam result for Istanbul Technical University without attending the *dersane* as he did once in poverty.

There is also a vein in these statements that underline the failure of adolescents. For parents, it is not easy to understand why their children, with all the opportunities, cannot get better achievements and be happy with their lives. Pelin, they are four siblings, narrates:

¹⁸ Babam hani ee ben 9. sınıfta 10. sınıfta dersnaeye gideceğim dediğimde neden, daha çok gençsin. Gerek yok böyle bişeye. 12.sınıf, 11.sınıfa geldiğinde zaten bunu düşünürsün... Babam hep anlatırdı bana. Bizim (babasının) zamanımızda ne dersane vardı ne bişey vardı. Ben kendim gittim İTÜ’yü kazandım. Sen de yapabilirsin felan filan gibisinden. Klasik ailelerin şeyleri bizim zamanımızda hiçbi şey yoktular. Ama şey çok bariz bi şekilde görebilirsin yani onların kendi yapamadıkları ve bizim üzerimizde uyguladıkları hani. Ekonomik anlamda özellikle çok bariz bi şekilde görünür şeyler yani bence.

For example, my siblings are driving my father crazy. They are being spoiled. Just because he didn't buy something. My father graduated from university with three sweaters and two pants. Wearing the same things every day. For example, my father says, why don't you get enough? After that, he compares things like it is a great chance that the study environment we have is so comfortable...For example, we all have our own room. Everyone in the house is quiet when someone is studying. My father says that when I look at your study environment, I want to study again. I (the father as a university student) used to sit in a corner, I didn't have a table, I didn't have anything but the sofa... That's why my father tried to do everything financially for us. He does not want to afflict his children with similar difficulties he had.¹⁹

In these statements, on the one hand, there is parent's implication of "I was able to do it in poverty, why can't you do it despite all the opportunities, why are these not enough for you?", on the other hand, there is the child's acceptance of failure. Pelin thinks not for herself, but for her siblings to be spoiled, dissatisfied and unsuccessful. She stood close to her father's standing point while conveying these statements as if she was speaking from her father's side or his mouth. Pelin does not think she is a failure but talks as if her "spoiled" siblings are. Therefore, I infer that she internalized her father's statements in this sense.

On the other hand, some internalize that they are failures. Eylül is a final year graduate student. She would have her degree in June, and we had the interview in April. She was making job applications during that time, and unfortunately, she was getting no response. It became a very touchy moment while she was expressing:

¹⁹ Mesela kardeşlerim falan çıldırıyor ya, şımarıklık yapıyorlar. Yok onu almadı yok bilmem ne. Babam üniversiteyi 3 kazakla bitirmiş. 3 kazak 2 pantolonla. Her gün aynı şeyleri giyerek. Mesela diyo ki niye doymuyosunuz falan diyo (babası) onu kıyaslıyor. Ondan sonra işte şeyi kıyaslıyo mesela ee ders çalışma ortamının böyle rahat olması gerçekten büyük şans. Biz çok rahat şey yaptık okul hayatı geçirdik. Ne biliyim hepimizin kendi odası var. İşte evde herkes sessiz oluyo birisi bişey çalıştı mı. Babam diyo ki yani diyo benim diyo sizin diyo böyle ders çalışma ortamınıza bakınca tekrar ders çalışmam geliyo diyo. Ben diyo otururdum diyo bi köşede diyo masam yok bişiyim yok diyo koltukta... İşte diyorum ya o yüzden maddi olarak her şeyi yapmaya çalışmış... Aman ben bunları yaşadım çocuklarım yaşamasın.

For example, not having a response from this job makes me think what if I am not good enough? Can't I achieve anything? Because they say that my father couldn't even tell people that I have a literature degree. (Hesitates, eyes fill with tears) You know, I feel like, do I embarrass my parents like that?²⁰

Under current crisis conditions in Turkey, she feels the personal responsibility of being unemployed. Her father's attitude makes her think that she cannot achieve anything. Even situations brought about by a collective destiny, such as mass unemployment, are individualized in modernity (Beck, 2019, p. 132). Studies conducted in Turkey also show that unemployed qualified young bear the responsibility and psychological weight of not having paid jobs (Kaya Erdoğan, 2021, p. 218). Nevertheless, here we encounter testimonies of young people overshadowed by successful, materialistic parents who value financial returns. Young people "cannot even find a job and earn their livelihood, far from climbing the social ladder." From this point of view, it is not a coincidence that almost all of the young people I interviewed wanted a job in the future where they could earn their own money and value it, despite being closer to the postmaterialist side on the postmaterialist value scale. On the one hand, they have the potential to be unemployed with degrees (Kaya Erdoğan, 2021), no matter how hard they work in the society they live. On the other hand, they feel a personal responsibility and want to step out of their parent's shadow and make them proud by being successful.

Career selection is among the things they do to make their financial success-oriented parents proud. There is a tremendous amount of literature on the impact of parents and social class on young people's career choices (Bourdieu, 1986; Goldthorpe, 2000; Irwin & Elley, 2013; Jung & Young, 2019; Manzoni, 2018; Parsonage et al., 2022; Rogers, Creed & Praskova, 2018). However, in the case of Turkey, unlike in other countries, parents and teachers are more effective than all other factors in students' career choices (Bacanli, 2016). In other words, students' career choices in Turkey are shaped by the

²⁰ Bu işin olmaması falan mesela bende şey oldu işte küçüklükten gelen bir yetersiz miyim. Hani ben hiçbir şeyi başaramıyacak mıyım. Çünkü ya benim babam edebiyat okuduğumu insanlara söyleyemiyomuş bile. (Duraksıyor, gözleri doluyor) Hani şey böyle utandırıyor muyum hep falan oluyor yani

expectations of their family and society rather than the desires and abilities of the students (Bacanli, 2012).

Pelin, who studied her undergraduate and graduated degrees as her father desired, sets an example for the studies I mentioned above. Pelin explains why she did not object to her father's choices even though she did not want to live with his choices with the following statements:

My father used to tell me when I was preparing for university: we will choose these fields. Here, we write the following fields. No matter what you want, look, these are the best. The best (loudly). I do not know. For example, I would like to study psychology. "What are you going to do with psychology?", my father was saying. Or if he had let me choose, I would study gastronomy (Laughs)... My mother doesn't love me anyway, there is no mother's love. I do whatever my father says so that he doesn't stop loving me. I conform to him. Let it be what he wants. I want to make him be happy. I'm doing everything to say "look dad, what I did."²¹

When I ask Pelin, who has three siblings, whether this is the case for her other siblings, she says that her father's expectations from each child are different. However, according to Pelin, her father has high expectations of her. She says the father sees himself in Pelin. Because according to her, he thinks Pelin is hardworking and talented, which is why he tries to get her to do what he wants. In this way, she rationalizes her father's pressure within herself and continues to endure a behavior that is actually toxic, interpreting it as being loved.

²¹ Babam bana diyodu bu ee üniversiteye geçerken bu bölümleri yazıcaz. İşte şunları yazalım. Hani şey değil, (sesi yükseliyor) ne istersin değil. Bak en iyisi bunlar. En iyisi (yüksek perdeden söylüyor). Bilmiyorum. Ben mesela psikoloji okuycaktım. Napıcan psikoloji okuyup falan diyodu böyle. Valla. Ya da şey beni bıraksa gastronomi falan okurdum (Gülüyor)... Ulan annem zaten hani sevmemiş, anne sevgisi yok. Babam da sevmekten vazgeçmesin diye o ne derse yapıyım. Ona uyuyım. O onun istediği olsun. Mutlu olsun. Çünkü yapıyorum yapıyorum bak gördün mü yaptım falan diye..

Two more interviewees gave statements similar to those of Pelin about the profession. I find clues about the negative parent-adolescent relationship I mentioned above in these expressions. Studies say that parent-adolescent relationships fueled by negative emotions increase the risk of depression in adolescents (Cheung et al., 2016; Cortés-García et al., 2019; Duchesne & Ratelle, 2014; Withers et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2021). I should point out that Pelin, under pressure from her father about her profession, had depression and suicidal thoughts. Nilsu, who is about to get her Ph.D. title in a profession she does not like, was diagnosed with anxiety and depression and took medication. On the other hand, Mert that I mentioned his dispute on profession with his old man, did not receive any psychological help but had attempted suicide three times before and escaped from these feelings by escaping from his father. Two other themes in the interviews can be associated with mental health: perfectionism and a sense of belonging. These did not come up just due to the relationship between adolescents and their parents. At the same time, society harms youngsters' SWB and mental health.

b. Psychological Existence Under Materialist Parents: Perfectionism

All but one in eight youngsters I interviewed said they think they are perfectionists. Predominantly in the psychology literature, perfectionism is associated with various mental illnesses (Fairburn et al., 1998; Fairburn et al., 1999; Lilenfeld et al., 1998; Lilenfeld et al., 2000; Stoeber, 2018), including anxiety (Antony et al., 1998; Blankstein et al., 1993; Frost & DiBartolo, 2002; Kawamura et al., 2001; Levinson et al., 2015; Saboonchi & Lundh, 1997; Shafran et al., 2002; Wheeler et al., 2011), depression (Blatt et al., 1998; Enns & Cox, 1999; Hewitt & Flett, 1990; Hewitt et al., 1996; Kawamura et al., 2001; Park & Jeong, 2016; Shafran et al., 2002), and obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCB) (Frost & DiBartolo, 2002; Frost & Steketee, 1997; Shafran et al., 2002). According to Hamachek, in the minds of perfectionist people, it is not just to do the work they do to the best of their ability. Instead, it is to do better than it has ever been done before: “whose efforts—even their best ones—never seem quite good enough, at least in their own eyes. It always seems to these persons that they could—and should—do better...” (Hamachek, 1978, p. 27). Therefore, they “demand of themselves a higher level of performance than is usually possible to attain. And this, of course, severely reduces their possibilities for feeling good about themselves” (Hamachek, 1978, p. 27).

The negative effect of perfectionism on the SWB of the youth I interviewed is mentioned. İpek has suicidal thoughts and has been diagnosed with depression and anxiety. When she refers to perfectionism, she brings the ongoing dissatisfaction forward:

My mother criticizes [me] for sure. Because she tells me that you are not satisfied with anything. I am not satisfied with anything. Why? Everything has to be great. Everything has to be perfect. Because I am not satisfied... I think my mother thinks that I see them as contemptuous and inferior to me. Because we had such an argument. But actually there is no such thing. I respect her very much as well. But she thinks that I don't respect her, I am not satisfied with her that I expect more... While I actually expect more spiritual things from her, she thinks that I expect material things and she can't afford it. At least that's how I perceive it.²²

İpek is aware that she wants everything to be perfect and is experiencing a dissatisfaction. She says this situation also affected her relationship with her mother. But her mother seeks financial reasons behind her daughter's perfectionism and dissatisfaction and tries to make up for her financial deficiencies. However, according to İpek, the things she is in search of are not material but spiritual issues.

These young people are aware that being a perfectionist is a problem and is causing them losses. Kağan, who previously needed psychological support and whose mother was overprotective, states that being a perfectionist causes losses:

²² Bi eleştiri annem yapmıştır kesin. Hiçbi şeyden memnun olmuyosun falan filan diyo bana çünkü. Ben hiçbi şeyden memnun olmam. Niçin? Herşeyin harika olması gerekiyo. Her şeyin mükemmel olması gerekiyo. Tatmin olmuyorum çünkü... Şey zannediyo sanırım işte annem ee hani ben sanki onları hakir görüyomuşum gibi hani daha şey nasıl diyim kendimden aşağıya işte çekmişim gibi öyle bakıyomuşum gibi tatmin olmuyomuşum şeyi var sanırım. Öyle bir tartışmamız olmuştu çünkü. Ama aslında öyle bi şey yok. Gayet de saygı duyuyorum kendisine de. Ama o sanki ben ona saygı duymuyomuşum, hani fazlasını bekliyomuşum zannediyo... Ben aslında ondan daha çok manevi bişeyler beklerken hani o maddi şeyler beklediğimi ve kendisinin bunu karşılamadığını zannediyo. Ben böyle algılıyorum en azından.

There are times when it causes too much trouble. I am a perfectionist both in my business life and in my private life... If I have not done a job properly, I will not deliver it. It has to be perfect for me. It doesn't matter what the other party thinks. For me that job should be perfect and I have to say I did something for it. I did this. It was like that in college. For example, why not better in classes? Why not be more perfect? I extended the university because of a course. Well, think of a single lesson, almost 6 hours of my day was spent in the library. For a single study.²³

They all are conscious of perfectionism's costs, which is why they try to regenerate themselves. Nevertheless, only one, İpek, had thought about the reason behind it and created a connection between perfectionism and dissatisfaction by telling an incident she experienced in her childhood:

When I was a child, I used to do something, for instance, I painted. When I was painting, I thought like this, oops, it is the most beautiful painting I have ever done. Look, mom, I did it. It could have been better (her mother's answer). Bitch, how could it be more beautiful? I did my best. Maybe that is why I am not being appreciated so much. Maybe I am looking for things to get more appreciation for.²⁴

This memory told by İpek and Doğan Cüceloğlu's concept of Witness (Tanıklık) can be considered together. Cüceloğlu mentions five dimensions of existence in his book, *İletişim Donanımları*, first published in 2002 (Cüceloğlu, 2003, p. 88):

²³Fazlasıyla sorun yaşattığı zamanlar var. Hem iş hayatımda hem de özel hayatımda fazlasıyla mükemmeliyetçiyim... Bi işi tam yapmadıysam ben o işi teslim etmem. Benim için mükemmel olması gerekiyo. Karşı taraf ne olduğunun önemi yok. Benim için o iş mükemmel olmalı ve ben şey demeliyim ben bunun için bir şey yaptım. Ben bunu yaptım. Üniversitede de böyleydi zaten. Derslerde mesela neden neden daha iyisi olmasın. Neden daha mükemmel olmasın. Ben üniversiteyi bir ders yüzünden uzattım. Ee tek ders düşün günümün nerdeyse 6 saati kütüphanede geçiyodu. Tek ders çalışmak için.

²⁴Çocukken ben bi şey yapardım işte resim yapmışımdır. Hani kendim o resmi yaparken hep ama şöyle bakıyorum, ayy bugüne kadar yaptığım en güzel resim. Bak anne ben yaptım. Daha güzel olabilirdi (annesinin verdiği cevap). Bitch daha güzel nasıl olabilir? En güzelini yaptım işte. Belki diyorum acaba bu yüzden mi çok da fazla takdir edilmediğim için, daha çok takdir alacağım şeyleri mi arıyorum acaba?

“1- Am I being considered? Do they care about me? 2- Am I accepted? Do they accept me as I am without judgment? 3- Am I valuable? Do they see me as indispensable and unique? 4- Am I enough? Do they see me as capable of doing something and trust me? 5- Am I worthy of being loved? Do they miss me for who I am and want to spend time with me?”

Cüceloğlu claims that the individual seeks answers to these questions intuitively, not consciously. He argues that for a person to exist psychologically, his/her existence must be witnessed. The most important witnesses of a person's existence are his/her parents, and this witnessing proceeds through the five dimensions of existence. In İpek's memory, that painting, which was very important to İpek, was not found sufficient by the mother, and, in Cüceloğlu's words, the child's psychological existence was damaged. At the age of 24, İpek still remembers the picture that her mother did not like and thinks about this memory and the reason why she is not satisfied with anything in her life and always wants everything to be perfect.

c. Sense of Belonging of Secular Middle-Class Youth in a High Surveillance Society

Belonging is located in the third step of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943). It means, according to Maslow, a person needs to belong (the sense of connection) after s/he supplies the need for food, shelter, and security. Belonging is a “sense of personal involvement in a social system so that persons feel themselves to be an indispensable and integral part of the system” (Anant, 1966, p. 21, as cited in Hagerty et al., 1992). For an individual to complete her/his psychological existence, the sense of belonging plays a vital role (Cüceloğlu, 2003). Further, there is also a connection as a “lower sense of belonging is associated with poorer psychological functioning” (Hagerty et al., 1996, p. 238) like anxiety, depression, and suicidality (Anant, 1969; Hagerty et al., 1996; Lee & Robbins, 1998).

Knowing that the sense of belonging is not all about family but also the identity dimension that people develop for a community, nation, or group (Kestenberg & Kestenberg, 1988) is a significant concept for sociology. Recently, there has been growing sociology of youth literature on the concept of belonging that focuses on social identity (Abu El-Haj, 2015; Ali, 2018; Habib & Ward, 2019; 2021), transition (Woodman & Wyn, 2015), youth cultures and social networks (Bennett & Robards, 2014; Robards & Lincoln, 2020; Woodman & Bennett, 2015), and economy (Bessant et al., 2017; Furlong et al., 2018).

Harris, Cuervo, and Wyn argue that beyond the institutional processes, researchers should pay attention to how youth transitions regarding belongingness have been experienced in society (Harris, Cuervo, & Wyn, 2021). Because the social context is becoming increasingly fluid and unstable that “the statement ‘I belong here’ may be becoming more difficult for young people to express with any conviction” (Wyn, 2018). In the case of Turkey, we observe mentioned vacancy. The rapid change in society shakes youth’s feeling of belonging, and they express that they start to lose this feeling for any community or country. From my interviews, I observed that the lack of belongingness to the country is highly connected with the country’s current situations namely, oppression, and surveillance. Youths of the target profile of my study, secular middle-class, feel uneasiness and discomfort on the street (and indeed in their life in general) because of not having a space to express themselves, and even the times they tend to do it, they do not feel secure.

Nilsu is one of those young that do not have the belonging to the country she lives, and she expresses it with the following words:

[I do not feel belonged here] Probably because I don’t have a peaceful personal space. I need it to feel like I belong in that place. Yes, I live in Cyprus and I can move around in a peaceful way, but still... Where I would like to live, in France or Canada. Because there are less judgmental glances than here or the human profiles I encounter around are more independent. Everyone has their own personal space, noone interferes with anyone. This is unfortunately the case even in Cyprus.

Diyarbakır (she lives alone in Cyprus but she were in Diyarbakır with her family before the university education), of course, you have no personal space in any way... It is important for me to live in a place where everyone can have their own personal space.²⁵

While describing these, Nilsu complains that she cannot wear the clothes she wants and cannot go out with her friends as she wishes so as not to be judged by others. She tells that even if they plan to meet at home, she and her friends feel uncomfortable because of the eyes of the neighbors. She constantly has to live with the feeling that she is doing something inconvenient. Nilsu's longing for personal space and less judgmental stares brings to mind Şerif Mardin's concept of "*Mahalle Baskısı*". Without naming this concept, Mardin first discusses it in Ergun Özbudun and Ali Kazancıgil's book named "Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State" (1981) with the article "Religion and Secularism in Turkey." The Turkish version of this article is later published under "Türkiye'de Din ve Laiklik" in Mardin's book "Türkiye'de Din ve Siyaset." However, Şerif Mardin used this concept for the first time in an interview with Ruşen Çakır in 2007 under the name of Mahalle Baskısı, and later it became a topic of broad debate in Turkey. According to Mardin, this is an organization rather than a concept and should be tried to be understood in the historical process starting from the Ottoman Empire:

"The mahalle (smallest operative unit of the community in the Ottoman empire, the mahalle or city quarter) was more than an administrative unit with somewhat arbitrarily drawn boundaries; it was a compact *gemeinschaft* with its boundaries protected by its own toughs and faithful dogs, and a setting within which much of the normal life of an average Ottoman citizen was shaped. It is here that primary education was undertaken, births

²⁵ Huzurlu bi kişisel alanımın olması muhtemelen. O yere ait olmayı hissetmem için bunu ihtiyacım var. Huzurlu bi şekilde bi yere gidebilecek olmam yani evet bunu Kıbrıs'ta da yaşıyorum ama ya mesela nerde yaşamak isterdim ya Fransa ya Kanada'da yaşamak isterdim çünkü orda buraya kıyasla yargılayıcı bakışlar daha az ya da sokağa çıktığımda görebileceğim insan profilleri daha bağımsız. Herkesin kendi kişisel alanı varken kimse kimseye karışmıyo. Bu ne yazık ki adada Kıbrıs'ta bile böyle. Diyarbakır tabi ki de hiçbir şekilde kişisel alanın yok. Ama yani Kıbrıs içinde ne eksik benim için tam net söyleyemem ama genel olarak söyleyebileceğim şey herkesin kendi kişisel alanının olabileceği bir yerde yaşamak benim için önemli.

were celebrated, marriages were arranged, and the last rites were performed for the dying. It was here that the mosque operated as a social institution bringing all inhabitants to hear what was expected of them... Atatürk's reforms have an aspect which tried to replace the personnalistic ties and the hypocrisy that pervaded the mahalle morals-control by a set of rules which tried to obviate control and replace it by a system of regulations that gave the individual responsibility for his actions. Atatürk's determination to wrest the individual away from folk control had an origin which once more, is found in the new educational system." (Mardin, 1981: 214)

According to Mardin, this Mahalle structure, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, was regulated by the reforms made in the republican period. However, it has not entirely disappeared and continues its existence by transforming. While the social control implemented by the Mahalle was limited to the neighborhood and its inhabitants in the pre-republican period, it became surveillance of everybody over time (Çakır, 2009). Mardin argues that the eye is an essential tool in putting pressure on society and that it is impossible for anyone to escape from it. Therefore, what we call Mahalle Baskısı is that people constantly construct each other in the social structure of Turkey. For Mahalle Baskısı, which is a type of social control, with the transformation it undergoes over time, there is a need for collectivity, shared values, and control mechanisms such as looking and seeing (Çakır, 2009).

The situation that Mardin describes with Mahalle Baskısı is similar to how disciplinary power has descended into the capillaries of society and interferes with the values of the individual. In other words, Atatürk's attempt to free the individual from the morals-control of the neighborhood by using the education system and to gain individual responsibility with the system of regulations (Mardin, 1981: 214) seems to have deviated from what is intended in today's Turkey. The use of the education system for the purpose of raising pious youth during the AKP period, statesmen's speeches in support of the Mahalle Baskısı, and the decisions taken in the judiciary encouraging the neighborhood morals-control mechanism in the direction the AKP wanted, transformed the Mahalle Baskısı into stronger surveillance-control mechanism.

While young people have been systematically exposed to the norms accepted by the AKP at school through education since 2011 (Lüküslü, 2016), they also live with the Mahalle Baskısı on the street. On the one hand the surveillance situation in every area causes individuals to regulate their movements, on the other hand, people look at each other in order to judge with the Mahalle Baskısı. In the AKP period, which regulated educational institutions according to their belief system to control citizens, surveillance methods went beyond Mahalle Baskısı. “The contemporary Turkish state possesses an advanced ASA (authoritarian surveillant assemblage), which includes four interconnected surveillance systems: a protest and dissent surveillance system, an internet surveillance system, a synoptic media surveillance system and an informant–collaborator surveillance system.” (Topak, 2019). While these systems are operated with technology, methods of spying on citizens who do not conform directly to the mold determined by the government are also used (Topak, 2019).

When all these means of oppression and surveillance come together, the tension in society lowers people’s happiness (Prati, 2022). Not surprisingly, under this circumstances, young people are both unhappy in the pressure environment and do not feel a sense of belonging and fondness for this place, which has become the land of sullen. They are looking for happiness and sincerity from other people who they share the country. Eylül, 23 years old young woman, expresses the importance of happiness and laughing with random people:

I love the Scandinavian ones from the countries I’ve visited. For example, in Denmark, I felt very strangely that I belonged there. I wish I lived there. If I had such a chance, I would go without thinking... The happiest people in the world are people from Scandinavia. What I observed when I visited was same. Even the shopkeeper I entered there, the person in any shop or the cashier was chatting happily with a smile, talking to me. Or a person on the street. We were taking pictures with my sister, a bicycle was going to pass in front of us, then it stopped for us. He was an old man and he said, for example, should I take your photo, he said you are very cute, he complimented us for no

reason... Take this street, for example, look now. We cannot find three happy people. There is no one smiling, it's always a judgmental thing.²⁶

When people look at each other with judgmental eyes instead of smiling in Turkey, it alienates Eylül from the country, makes her loss of sense of belonging and she wants to go to places where she thinks people can smile at each other on the street. İpek, another 24 years old young woman, uses color to clarify the deficiency of the belonging to the county:

There is no place where I can call as my hometown anymore. I don't know why. For a homeland to belong, something has to happen. It should have a yellow feeling.²⁷

She tries to express a warm environment, the sincerity with the yellow feeling. But unfortunately, current circumstances in the country prevent young from having a sense of belonging to the country and shake the identity they build around it. Since women are under more oppression in Islamic regimes (Alhajri & Pierce, 2022), it is noteworthy that among the young people I interviewed, women, in particular, included these statements.

According to Henri Lefebvre, the space is socially created and affects people's practices and perceptions (Lefebvre, 2014²⁸). Likewise, the belongingness of informants of my study (secular, middle-class) is shaken because of the imposed monotype social spaces

²⁶ Gezdiğim ülkelerden İskandinav tarafları falan çok seviyorum. Danimarka'da çok garip bir şekilde kendimi çok oraya ait hissetmişim mesela. Keşke orda yaşasam falan derim yani. Öyle bi imkanım olsa hiç düşünmezdim cidden... Dünyanın en mutlu insanların iskandinavla bölgelerindeki insanlar falan ya, yani gerçekten ben gittiğimde gözlemlediğim şey şu oldu yani orda hani girdiğim bi esnaf mı diyim işte herhangi bi dükkandaki insan bile gerçekten seni hani girdikten sonra o kasadaki insan bile yani çok güzel mutlu bir şekilde gülerek sohbet ediyodu, seninle konuşuyodu falan böyle. Ya da sokaktaki bi insan da. Ablamla fotoğraf çekiniyoduk, hani önümüzden bisikletli geçicekti, durdu bizim için. Yaşlı bi insandı mesela yaşlı bi adamdı ve şey dedi mesela ben sizi çekiyim mi falan dedi çok tatlısınız falan dedi böyle bize iltifat etti falan durduk yere. Hani böyle garip bi şekilde işte böyle küçük şeyler beni şeyapmıştı yani... Sokağa çık mesela bak şimdi. Toplasan 3 kişi bulamayız mesela. Gülümseyen yok zaten hep bi yargılayıcılık.

²⁷ Ben artık hani memleketim sözünü söyleyebileceğim bi yer yok yani benim artık. Yani artık öyle şeyapmışım. Niye bilmiyorum. Memleketin olması için şeyin olması lazım ya orda nasıl diyim işte gittiğinde gördüğünde böyle bi böyle değişik bi his olması lazım ya böyle. Sarı sarı bi his olması lazım.

²⁸ Originally published in French in 1974.

in which youths feel excluded, not represented, and distressed. The set of values imposed by the state in education, media, and public space shape the norm. Therefore, young people outside the norm are labeled as threats because they do not fit society's accepted values, primarily through the media (Wyn & White, 1997).

Since the Gezi Movement in Turkey, President Erdogan (who was then Prime Minister) has systematically labeled young people as a threat. In 2013, when the Gezi Movement took place, Erdoğan used the expression “Çapulcu” to refer to the youth who formed the movement, and later stated that this word was an appropriate expression for the youth there, as he stated, Çapulcu means “those who burn, destroy, attack” (Hürriyet, 2013). Even after nine years, Erdoğan labels the youth who participated in the Gezi Protests as a threat. In his speech at the June 2022 party group meeting, he increased the dose and used the words “bandit, terrorist, rotten, and bitch” for the Gezi protesters (Cumhuriyet, 2022). Erdoğan also states what is reasonable by positioning the youth, whom he portrays as a threat in the same speech, against the Islamist values that he tries to impose on society through state institutions. Daniel and Cornwall, in their work in Australia, argue that young people who are marginalized due to changes in the economic and social organization of the society, have few points of engagement with society and this situation reduces their sense of belonging to the community (1993). They describe these young people as a “lost generation” (Daniel & Cornwall, 1993, as cited in Wyn and White, 1997).

Not just the society level but also there is deficiency of belonging in youth at the family level because of the material-postmaterial value differences among generations. Informants of my study also feel un-belonged to the places created around their family relations when their feelings, ideas, or desires are not recognized (respect, esteem). Esteem is the fourth step of Maslow's Pyramid, and it seems they are connected. Psychology literature states that the absence of belonging is related to poorer psychological functioning. Therefore, it is noteworthy to pay attention for the SWB of youth.

Youths growing as unrespected (to their desires, their choices) do not have belongingness to the home they are living with their families. Mert, who has imposed the particular type of high school he attended and the occupation by his father, states

that he does not have a single sense of belonging to the place they once lived. His hometown is Gaziantep, but because of the pressure on him in his hometown, he never develops the sense of belonging to the place. He ran away on all occasions, and now, he is living in Ankara with his girlfriend, away from his father and hometown:

I have never felt that I belonged to Antep. I've always been forced. I even fled from Antep at the slightest escape opportunities. Whether it's 3 days or 5 days. You know, we used to close our workplace on Saturday evening, the distance between Antep and Maraş is 45 km. As soon as we closed the shop on Saturday evening, we got in the car and I drove my father to home, then I went to Maraş... I don't have that sense of escapism at the moment. It was something unique to Antep. I wouldn't say because of the way they raised me, but because my ideas were not asked when I was raised. It had become an unbearable place.²⁹

Due to the relationship between Mert and his father, his perceptions and practices have been negatively shaped and Antep has become an intolerable place that reminds him of the darkness due to these perceptions and practices. Mert respects his family very much and emphasizes that he loves them very much at every opportunity, but the lack of respect for him and the fact that he was not asked for his opinion even in the parts related to his life caused him to remember his time in Antep as a dark place and to flee without feeling any connection with it.

Young people, who have value gap with their parents, are deprived of attention and grow under the shadow of successful parents in the family, and marginalized in society by the state, suffer from their sense of belonging, their SWBs decrease, and their probability of having mental health problems increases. In this environment where

²⁹ Ben hiçbir zaman kendimi Antep'e ait hissetmedim. Hep zorunlulukla kaldım. Hatta en ufak kaçış detaylarında kaçtım gittim Antep'ten. 3 gün olsun, 5 gün olsun. Hani biz cumartesi akşamı dükkan kapatırdık, Antep'e Maraş arası 45 km. Biz cumartesi akşamı dükkanı kapatır kapatmaz arabaya binerdik babamı eve bırakır Maraş'a giderdim... Şu an kaçma hissi yok. Antep'e has bişeydi. O da biraz daha şeyden dolayı işte yetiştirilme tarzı demeyim de yetiştirilirken fikirlerinin sorulmamasından kaynaklı. Artık yani çekilmez bi yer olmuştu.

being young is becoming increasingly complex, even among middle-class youth (with relatively better financial conditions), they need spaces where they can express themselves. They need to be understood. The interviewees gave timid answers at the beginning and relaxed as the conversation progressed. Although it was the first thing, I emphasized that the recording I received would not be shared anywhere and in any way; they needed to ask and confirm it again in the following minutes. After the reassurance, they continued to express themselves more relaxed and sincerely. It made me conclude that they are really in need of sharing their problems that they think they suffer from are invisible. Many thanked me at the end of the meeting and stated that it was like a therapy and they needed it. From the words of Eylül:

It was like therapy. I don't leave the house for days, I don't get out of bed, but it feels excellent right now.³⁰

Eylül is a teenager who has previously been diagnosed and treated for depression and OCD. As she said, the fact that she has not been out of her house and bed for days may be a signal for his mental health. The consequences of ignoring youths real needs, not listening to them, and not being able to express themselves as they wish by being confined to small spaces can be very serious. Depression is a condition that can be disastrous if left untreated, but is preventable, treatable, and manageable. Increasing the awareness of the society is vital.

³⁰ Terapi gibi oldu. Kaç gündür evden çıkmıyorum, yataktan çıkmıyorum yani ama şu an böyle aşırı iyi geldi gerçekten.

5. DISCUSSION

In Turkey, young people whose parents experienced upward mobility try to create themselves under successful parent figures, mainly their fathers. Parents, who lived in great poverty and had difficulties in their childhood and early youth, could improve their living conditions by attending school or getting vocational training, along with societal developments (Uner & Gungordu, 2016). The youth of these parents, born between 1955 and 1975, coincided with the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. In these years, in Turkey, the sector shifted from agriculture to service, the need for qualified workers went up, the number of universities increased, and the massification of higher education occurred in the society (Boratav, 2019; Keyder, 1987; Lüküslü, 2020; Pamuk, 2021). These developments paved the way for people who could go to university at that time to find jobs in better positions and salaries than their parents. Thus, they could move socially upwards, earn better incomes and improve their living conditions.

However, Inglehart theorized that people's values are shaped by their priority needs, as listed by Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943). Inglehart states that people who spent their childhood at the bottom of the pyramid and in need of shelter, clothing, and food have materialist values (Inglehart, 1977). Therefore, these parents, who spent their childhood in financial poverty, came out to be as people with materialistic values and prioritized monetary things. The mentioned societal developments and absolute social mobility allowed materialist parents to provide better conditions for their children than their own parents. It revealed another situation that Inglehart claims. With the parents having better socioeconomic conditions, their children grew up in an environment where survival was taken for granted, which caused their needs to pass the bottom two steps in the Hierarchy of Needs, moving up to love, belonging, esteem, and self-actualization, respectively. Therefore, children who grew up with survival taken for granted had postmaterialist values and prioritized non-monetary things (Inglehart, 1977). In this way, rapid societal change differentiated the values of parents and children, which caused a break in intergenerational interaction (Gauillier, 1998, p. 33, as cited in Lüküslü, 2008).

Intergenerational interaction, interrupted by the differentiation of values, negatively affected the communication between parents and children, blunting their ability to

understand each other's worlds. Parents with materialist values work for long hours, sometimes even doing additional work, to maintain their economic position in society (Benson et al., 2015; Çelik & Özdemir, 2022; Lareau & Goyette, 2014) and earn more money. Therefore, they spend most of their time at their jobs and working, which reduces the quality of the relationship and time that parents spend with their children. While they think that they meet all the needs of their children when they make good financial gains, children with survival taken for granted grow up without parents' love and attention because they cannot spend time with their fathers (there are cases where the mother is also in the labor market). However, even though the importance of socioeconomic status is indisputable, getting parents' social support occupies even more crucial space for children's subjective well-being among higher SES (Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2016). Consequently, this situation creates a serious obstacle to the psychological existence (Cüceloğlu, 2003), subjective well-being (Uyan-Semerci & Erdoğan, 2016), and mental health of children (Cheung et al., 2016; Cortés-García et al., 2019; Duchesne & Ratelle, 2014; Withers et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2021).

According to Cüceloğlu, in order to exist psychologically, the existence of the individual must be witnessed (Cüceloğlu, 2003). To understand this, Cüceloğlu uses the field of law to give a metaphor. Accordingly, for a person to be legally convicted when he commits a crime, there must be evidence or witnesses that he has committed that crime. In the absence of evidence and witnesses, the case is dismissed. Cüceloğlu says that an individual needs a witness in order to exist psychologically (Cüceloğlu, 2016). Without the witness of the individual's life, s/he cannot exist psychologically. What is meant by witnessing here is that the individual is accepted as s/he is, cared for, trusted in her/his capacities and abilities, and feels worthy and worthy of being loved (Cüceloğlu, 2003; 2016). While the young people I interviewed were strongly supported financially by their parents, they seemed deprived of the testimony that would provide their psychological existence, as Cüceloğlu stated. This situation paved the way for their psychological injuries.

Based on the data I collected from the field, to spend more time with their parents, be visible to them and earn their love, young people take the steps they take in their own lives not in a way that will make them happy but in a way that their parents (especially the father) will appreciate. While this shows itself in shaping the school they attended

and the hobbies they were interested in according to their father's wishes in early childhood, it can also be seen intensely in the career choices they made during their youth, which will affect their whole lives. Moreover, engaging in a profession they do not like becomes one of the biggest obstacles to their happiness. In addition, it is possible to say that they seek to be appreciated in a way that ensures their psychological existence in their work and the steps they take, and they constantly chase perfection.

On the other hand, young people who do not make their choices according to their father's wishes may experience the anxiety of "shaming" him or "not being able to make him proud." When structural factors such as the high unemployment rate, inflation, and economic crisis are added, they assume the responsibility of being a "failed" son/daughter in the shadow of a father who once started from deep and made a giant leap (Kaya Erdoğan, 2021). Due to the socio-economic conditions in which they grew up, materialist fathers who value individual success and financial gain are unaware of the basic needs of their postmaterialist children who grow up in better economic prosperity. This situation also damages the young person's sense of belonging to the family home. They state that they do not feel peace, happiness, and warmth when they stay at home.

Here, I should briefly recall Baudrillard's Consumer Society³¹. While examining the consumption phenomenon, Baudrillard tries to understand how the difference between real and unreal needs disappears in capitalist society (Baudrillard, 2021). Together with the "formal rationality" brought by society, individuals seek happiness with the accumulation of objects and try to maximize their feelings of satisfaction. Behind it, there is the logic of exchange value, which is one of the basic principles of capitalism. The value of a commodity is measured by its type, quantity, and market exchangeability. In this hyper-reality environment created with the support of the media, "individuals lose their ability to distinguish reality from the simulation of reality", and they start to accumulate and consume things even to feel valuable (Baudrillard, 2021).

³¹ Originally published in French in 1970, "La société de consommation"

Parents, who are unaware of the real needs (love and belonging) of their children due to the materialist-postmaterialist value difference, they become even more disabled to realize the real needs because of the consumer society. According to them, all needs of their children are met as long as the latter can attend private schools, use the latest model cell phones, and buy everything they want. In addition, young people become unaware of their actual needs due their parents' attitudes and the consumer society's influence. As Pelin expresses, they try to fill the void inside them by hanging around, eating, and shopping.

While young people living under the shadow of successful fathers in the house suffer from the value gap between them and their parents, they are also in the position of the direct addressee of the control mechanism applied by the state on the street. Significantly since 2011, the project of creating pious youth by the AKP government (Lüküslü, 2016) has weakened the sense of belonging of young people towards their country and made them unhappy. The set of values and lifestyles imposed on young people through education in schools narrows the living space of young people from middle-class secular families. Those who do not comply with the "ideal youth" imposed by the state are defined as "other" by the institutions and politicians at the top of the state, stigmatized as a threat, and turned into targets. As a result, marginalized young people's points of engagement with society decrease, and this situation reduces their sense of belonging to the community (Daniel & Cornwall, 1993, as cited in Wyn and White, 1997).

Surveillance methods (Topak, 2019), added to the socially-politically imposed lifestyle mentioned above, cause young people to live with the feeling that they are constantly being watched on the Internet, on the street, at school, and at work, which makes their lives more difficult. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the young people trapped at home and by state policies are under the direct influence of the economic crisis, which has been a severe problem in the country in recent years. Apart from having difficulties finding a job, they cannot go out with their friends and socialize in Turkey, where everything is commodified. In addition to narrowing the spaces where they can express their opinions, the economic crisis also pushes them out of the physical spaces.

The experiences of the young people I interviewed and the prominence of suicide as a theme gives clue that Durkheim's study of Suicide may still be relevant today. According to Durkheim's work, suicide depends on social causes not only individual causes or unhappiness. After describing the individual causes of suicide at the beginning of his work, he groups and describes the forms of suicide that developed by several social factors. Although Durkheim highlights different nuances among these factors, the basis of all of them is how connected and integrated the individual is into society (Durkheim, 2005).

The first of these is Egoistic Suicide, which occurs as a result of the individual's inability to integrate with his or her social environment. Here, the individual's weakened or broken social and family ties increase the suicidal tendency. This is why Durkheim argues in his study that suicide is more common among single people than among married people (Durkheim, 2005). Altruistic Suicide, on the other hand, is the opposite of egoistic suicide and results from excessive attachment to society or group. Here, the individual may commit suicide by sacrificing himself (or herself) for the common good of the society, or committing an act contrary to the norms of the society may result in suicide (Durkheim, 2005). The fact that the concept of respect has a very important place in Japanese society and that committing an action contrary to this concept or believing that one has lost his/her dignity results in suicide can be considered under the heading of altruistic suicide.

The third form of suicide, Anomic Suicide, occurs when the norms in the society are dissolved and people have difficulty in finding a criterion by which to determine their behavior (Durkheim, 2005). Economic or political crisis environments increase the incidence of this type of suicide because social norms are disrupted in crisis environments, the normal flow in society is disrupted, and the behavioral criteria that individuals rely on become ambiguous. This is why suicide rates increase in times of crisis. The existence of social norms is important in terms of guiding the individual, but to the extent that they are rigid, they increase suicide. Fatalistic Suicide, the last form of suicide, is also related to this. This form of suicide occurs as a result of strict rules that put too much pressure on the individual (Durkheim, 2005).

According to Durkheim, a suicide can be analogous to more than one kind. Among the young people who contributed to this study, those who have thought or planned to commit suicide before associate it with the oppressive environment in the society, the economic crisis and especially the weakening of their communication with their families, causing egoistic, anomic and fatalistic forms of suicide to come to the fore. Therefore, the lack of interaction that may arise from the materialist-postmaterialist value difference in the family and the set of values and the lifestyle imposed in the society may cause a psychological problem in young people. As I mentioned at the introduction of the study, data of Turkish Statistical Institute shows that suicide is most common among young cohorts. Through this thesis, I want to underline the vitality of these issues and the need for further work.

As I mentioned at the beginning of the study, being young is very difficult, even by definition. When the current conditions of Turkey are added to this, the experiences of the young people become far from pleasant. Among the young people I interviewed, those struggling with depression, anxiety, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and suicidal thoughts were the majority. They state that they are not happy when they go out, even though they point to the situation in the family as the reason for their poor mental situation. Their mental health is negatively affected by their struggle with the successful father in the family. The more domestic violence increases, the more likely their health is adversely affected. One of the young people I interviewed came very close to committing suicide three times before. He managed to escape these thoughts only by escaping from his environment and family home. If spaces are not created where young people can express themselves more, both within the family and in society, it will not always be possible to escape the darkness they feel. For this, families should try to understand the experiences of young people according to the period and conditions in which they live, and conditions should be provided for young people from all walks of life in society to express themselves freely.

6. CONCLUSION

With this study, I sought to discover the question of what it feels like to be young in a secular middle-class family with parents having experienced upward mobility in Turkey. For this purpose, I conducted in-depth interviews with eight young people between the ages of 20-30 at different times and locations for 1-2 hours. In order to earn their trust, I let them decide the interview time and venue. I paid attention that the young people I interviewed were those whose parents spent their childhood in poverty but climbed up the social ladder by getting a university - vocational education. Thus, I tried to catch the materialist-postmaterialist value difference, and inquired if it made a difference in the family.

Without generalizing to the population, the data I obtained from the interviews shed light on my deduction that the secular middle-class young people, who are assumed to have relatively better life conditions because of their material opportunities, are actually in an invisible distress and this negatively affects their psychological health. While these young people struggle to become self-sufficient individuals in the shadow of their “successful” parents at home, they also try to gain their love, attention and appreciation. On the other hand, outside the home, they are faced with the systematic effort of the state to mold them. Thus, they are constantly engaged in a struggle for existence both at home and outside. This constant struggle has a negative effect on their psychology, and depression, anxiety, OCD and suicidal thoughts become more likely among young people.

With this study, I want to draw attention to this issue, which is missing in literature and invisible in practical life. Thus, I would like to emphasize once again that the suicide cases among young people cannot be explained only at the individual level with psychology, and that the sociological structure with the impact of the society behind the cases is essential to look into. Remembering that psychology and sociology must work together in such situations will empower us as social scientists to raise awareness of further cases with dire consequences. In addition to these areas, including political science is also vital to work on the policies that can be produced through government institutions, to improve the living conditions of young people.

Before concluding the study, I should mention the limitations and shortcomings of the study suggestions for and further research of the study. Access to informants with snowball sampling limited the study within a narrow range. Whether similar results can be achieved by changing the sampling method is a question that can be examined in future studies. In terms of the method I used, this study is weak in terms of generalizability. However, I think that a method other than in-depth interview would be weak in terms of answering my research question. Therefore, the generalizability of the study can be increased by increasing the sample size as much as possible and supporting it with a quantitative method. The interviews had a depth beyond my foresight. Going to the field with a stronger guide by taking advantage of psychology can both strengthen the hand of the researcher and ensure that the young people interviewed receive support by providing the right guidance while the research is still in the field stage.

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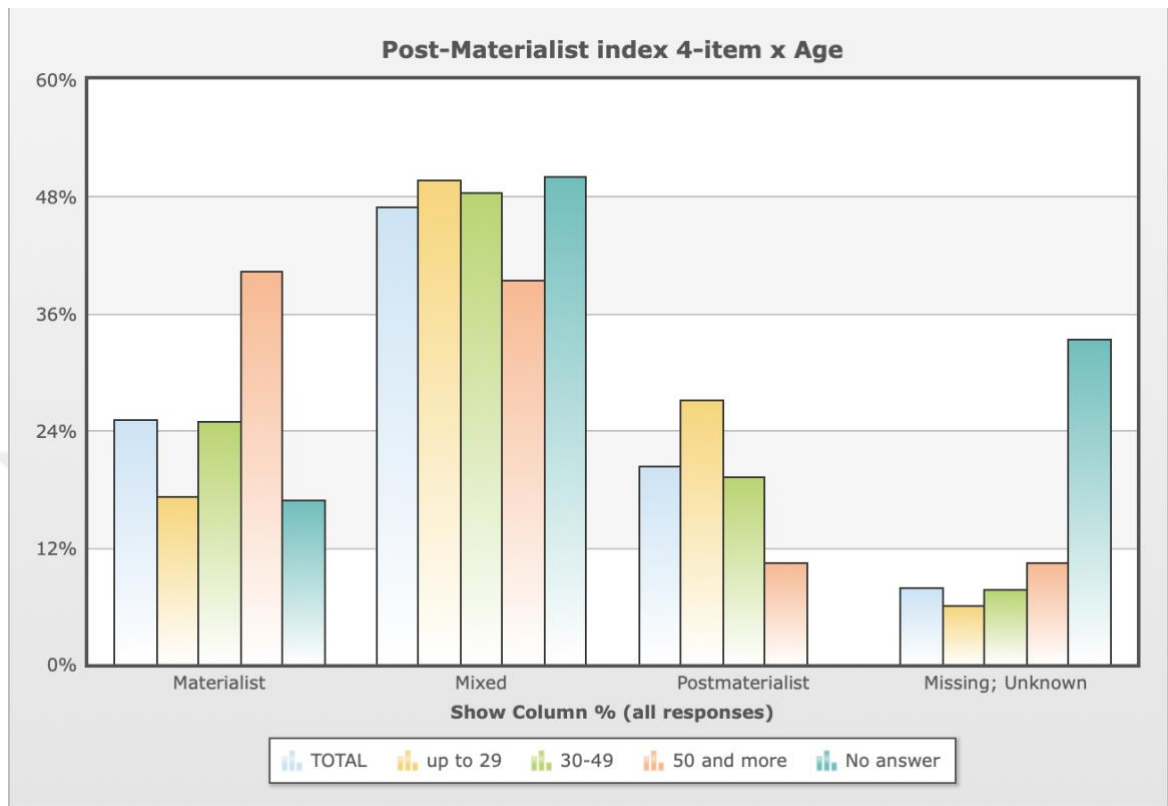
Zhang, Q., Pan, Y., Chen, Y., Liu, W., Wang, L., & Jean, J. A. (2021). Effects of Father-Adolescent and Mother-Adolescent Relationships on Depressive Symptoms among Chinese Early Adolescents. *Applied Research in Quality of Life* , 1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11482-021-09997-5>

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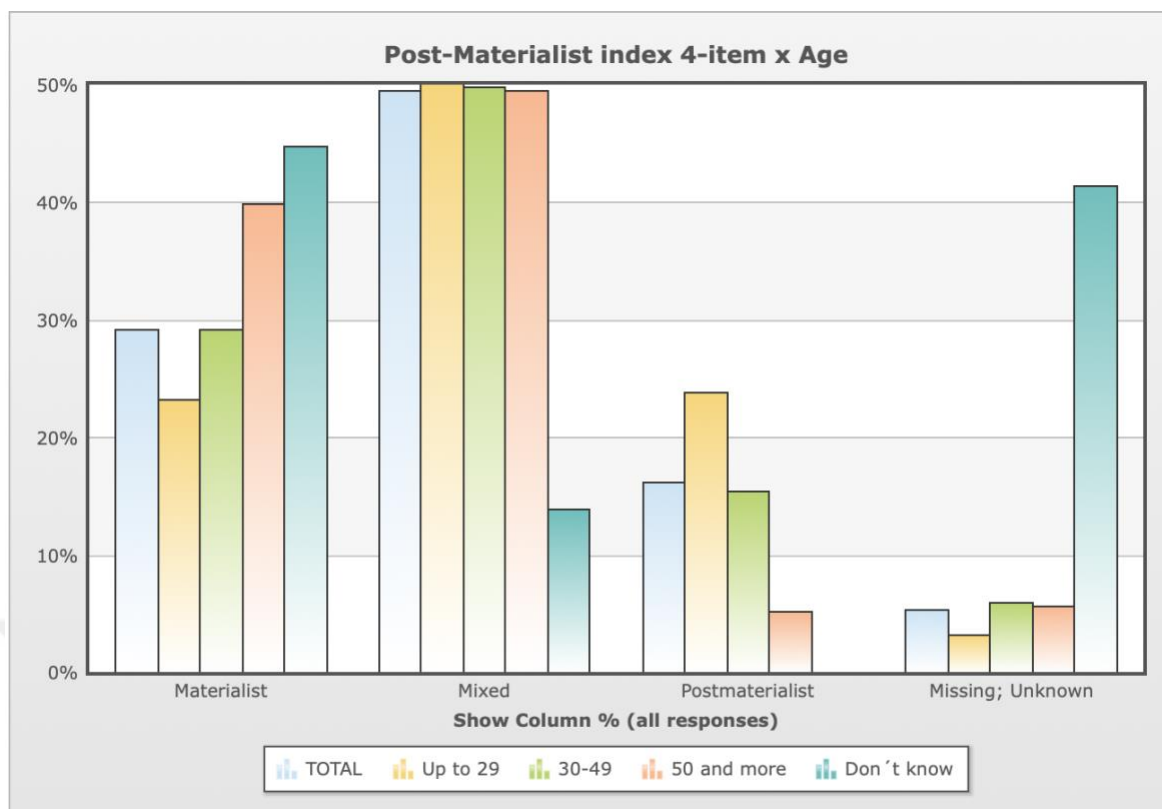


APPENDIX

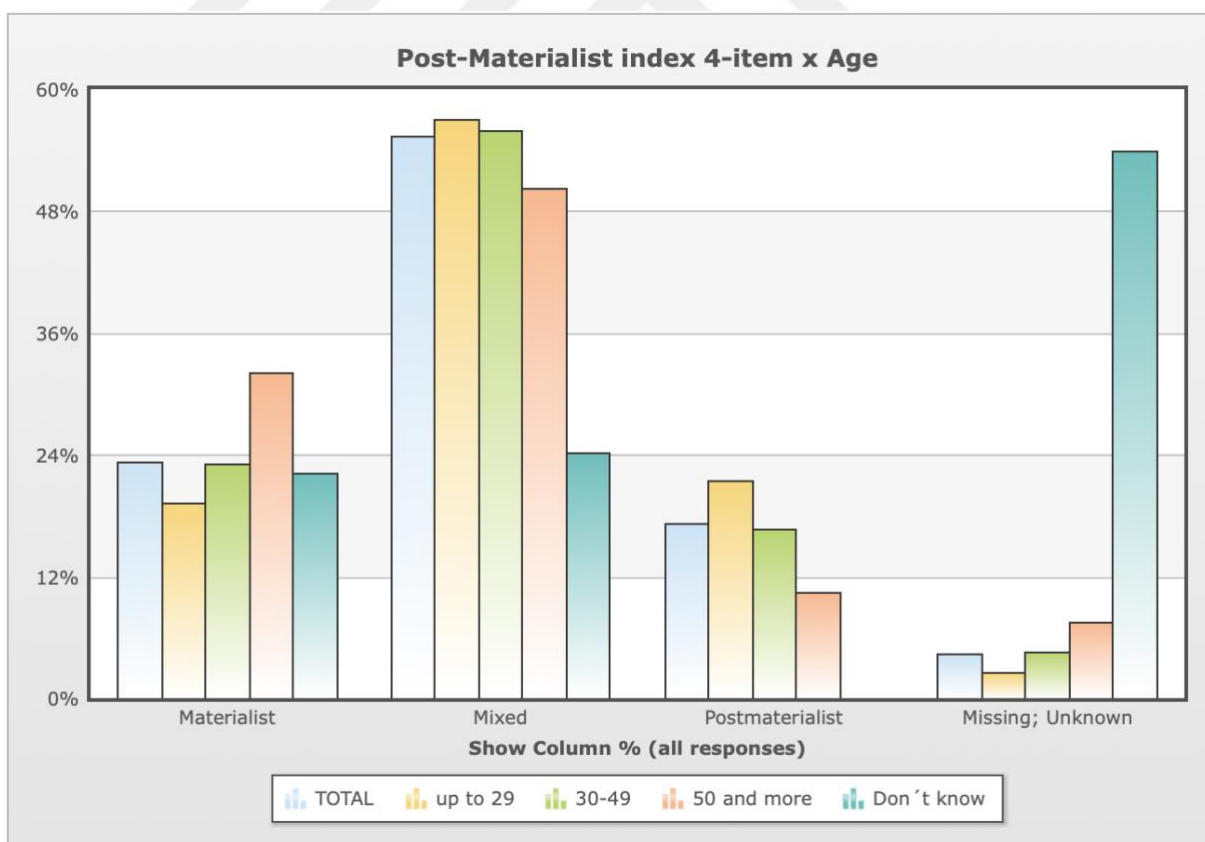
Value distribution in Turkey according to age groups between 1989-2019.



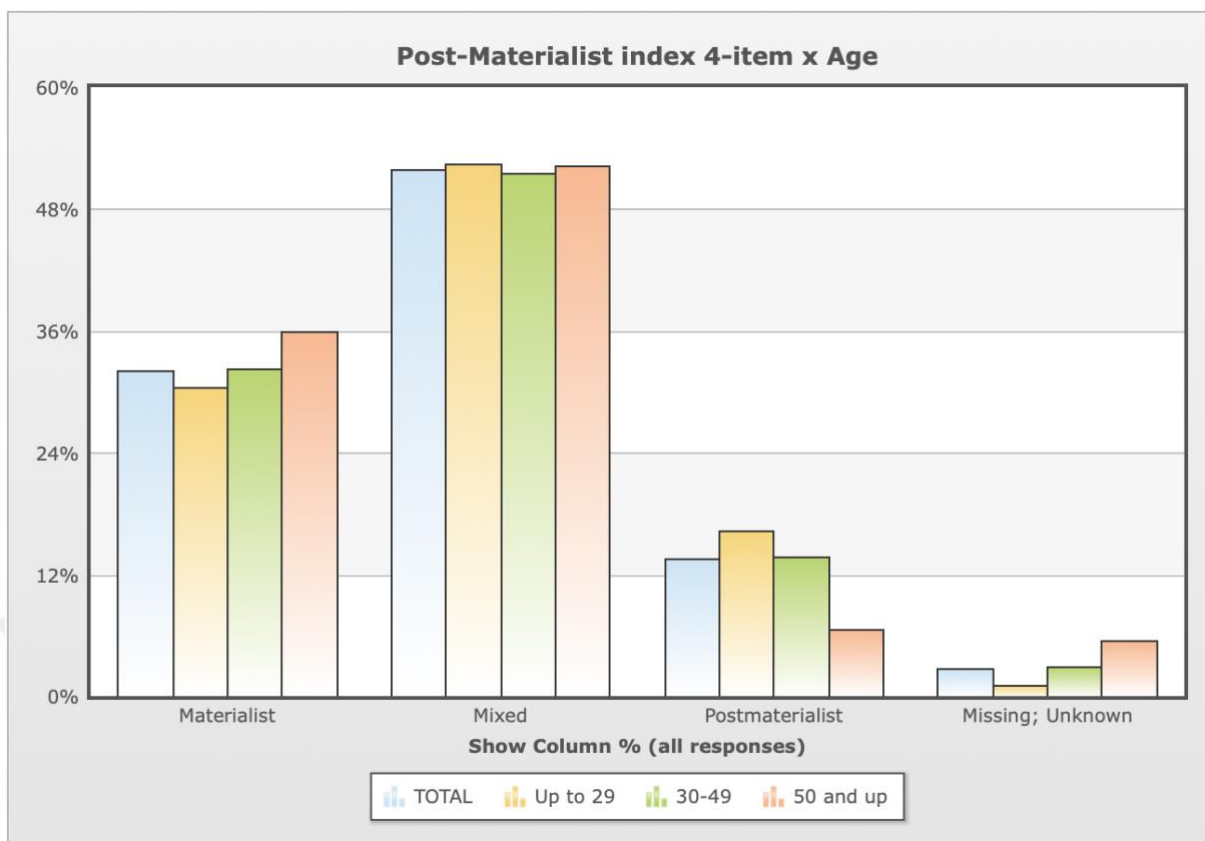
Selected sample: Turkey 1990 (1,030)



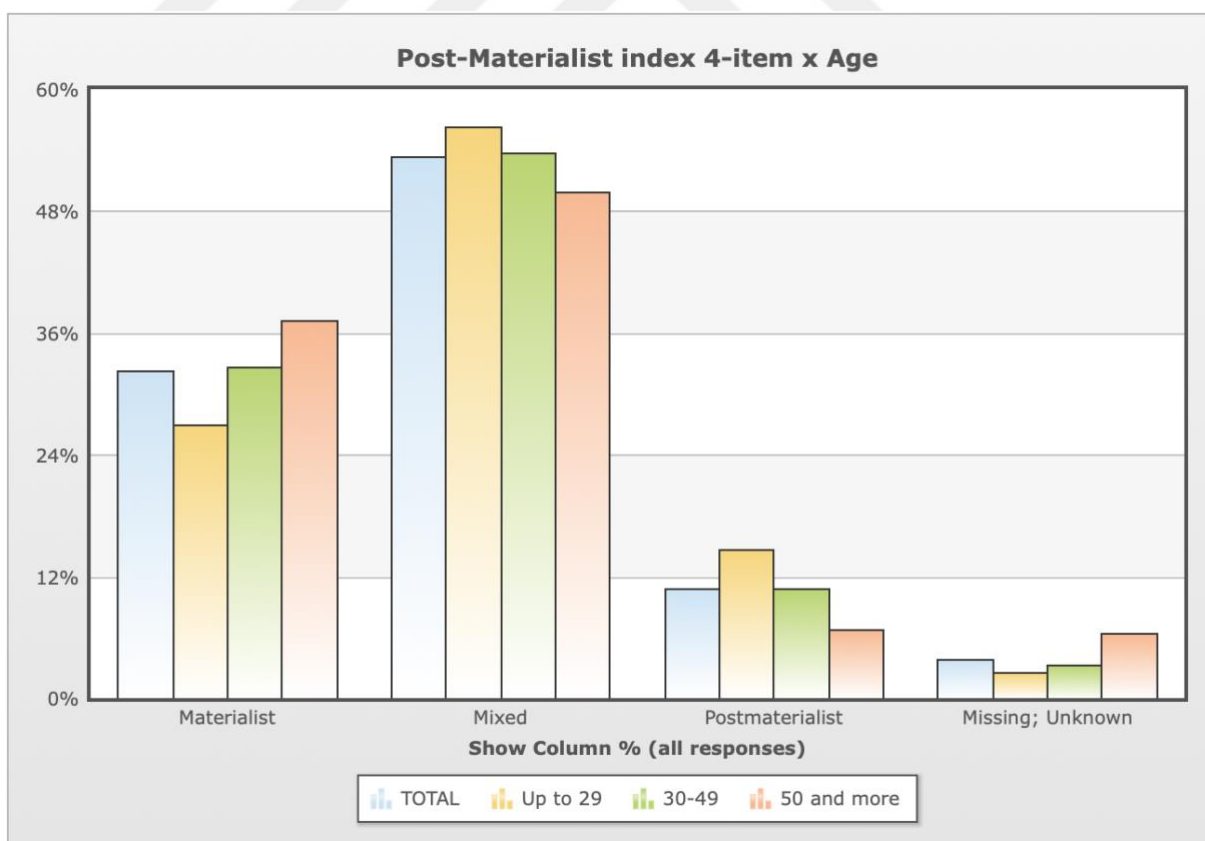
Selected sample: Turkey 1996 (1,907)



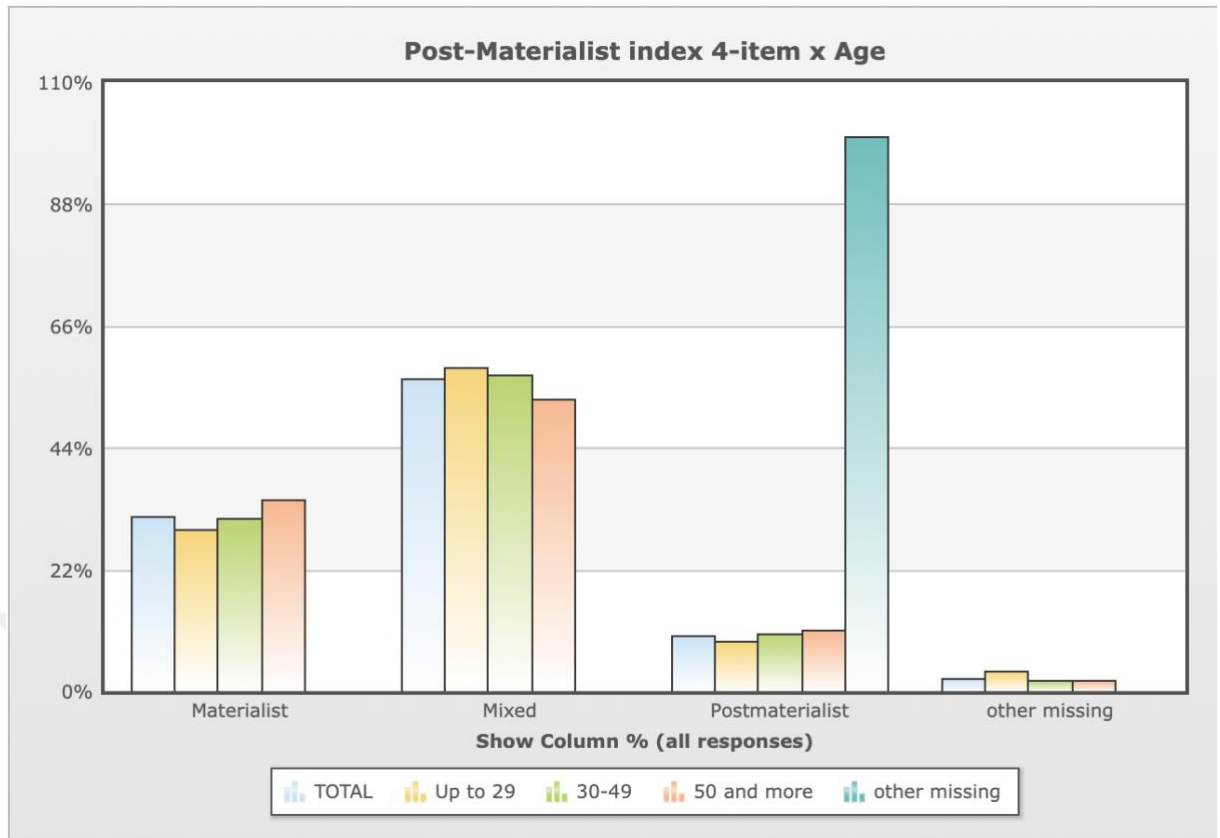
Selected sample: Turkey 2001/02 (3,401)



Selected sample: Turkey 2007 (1,346)



Selected sample: Turkey 2011 (1,605)



Selected sample: Turkey 2018 (2,415)